

LABOR LOOKS AT AUTOMATION

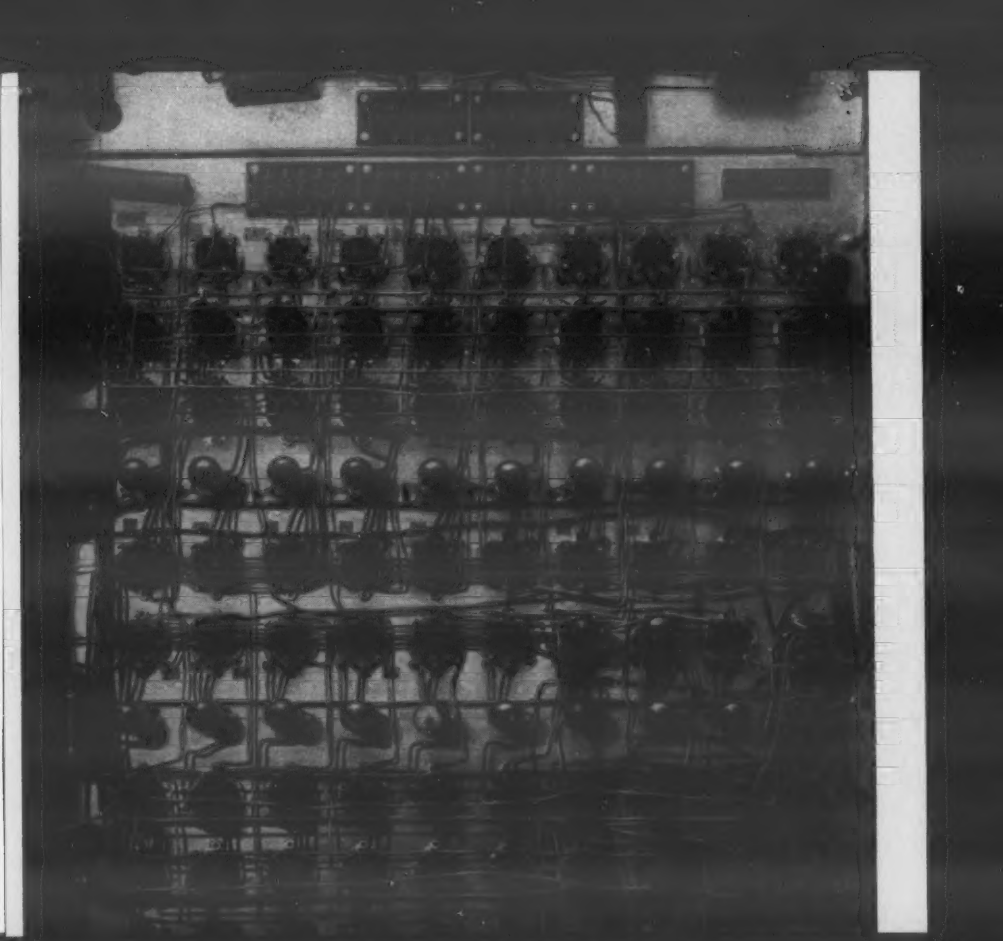
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND
CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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FOREWORD

THIS is a time of remarkable technical progress. Significant new types of automatic machines and methods—symbolized by the term "automation"—are being put to use rapidly and widely.

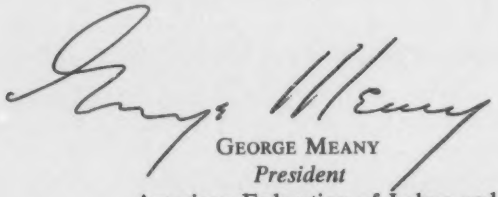
Labor welcomes these technological changes. The new techniques offer promise of higher living standards for all, greater leisure, and more pleasant working conditions. Yet, there are pitfalls as well as promises in the new technology. There is no automatic guarantee that the potential benefits to society will be transformed into reality.

It is not characteristic of the trade union movement to sit back and let the future take care of itself. Labor unions can be expected to raise with employers the problems created by the new technology. The collective bargaining process must be utilized to work out the necessary arrangements for introducing the new machinery and equipment, for reviewing the wage structure and job classifications that might be affected, and for making certain that the benefits flowing from the new technology are shared fully with the workers.

At the national level the new technology raises questions of a different character. While the new machines are almost human in the way they solve problems of production, they still cannot create the necessary income to purchase their additional output. There is no value to new machinery which lies idle for lack of sufficient purchasing power in the hands of consumers to buy the products of the machine. Labor will continue to press for an expanding national economy with sufficient income in the hands of consumers to purchase the increasing output of American industry.

The trade union movement does not pretend to know all the answers to the questions raised by the new technology. We are confident, however, that all groups in our society—management and government as well as labor—want to find the solution to these issues.

We also know that it is important for all Americans to learn about the new techniques and to inform themselves regarding the questions that they raise. This pamphlet has been prepared to help gain more informed attention as to the nature and implications of automation.



GEORGE MEANY
President
American Federation of Labor and
Congress of Industrial Organizations



In a few brief years "automation" has moved from the drawing boards into our factories, stores, offices and banks. Its status can be measured in the many magazine articles explaining the subject, in speeches in its praise and the congressional investigation of its impact on America.

This new technology rapidly increases output per manhour of work and promises to make possible the creation of economic abundance. It represents a potential for increasing leisure. Wise use of automation could bring an era of vastly improved standards of living.

But at present, the spreading introduction of automatic and semi-automatic production systems is creating a host of problems for workers, businesses and entire communities.

It is the hope of the AFL-CIO that this brief pamphlet will help turn the spotlight of understanding and knowledge on this complex and important subject.

WHAT IS AUTOMATION?

The pace of technological change is increasing sharply, creating vast changes in the production and distribution of goods. For more than 20 years scientists have been bringing forth a host of new developments in electronics and production methods. Many of the techniques and devices developed for military equipment and missiles are being applied to civilian use.

Various terms have been used to describe this new technology. The most common term is "automation." It started as a technical term for certain types of production methods, but general usage has given it a broad meaning. Regardless of how this new technology is defined,

it represents ways of doing things much more automatically than in the past. It makes possible the automatic office, as well as the automatic factory.

Although the extent of automation differs from one industry to another, many departments, offices and plants throughout the country have converted to automatic and semi-automatic operations. Others are making the change-over now or planning it for the future.

Automation involves the linking together of machines and production processes. Not only are machines linked to each other, but conveyors, chutes and other equipment tie together different production processes into automatic and semi-automatic continuous-flow operations.

The new technology also involves mechanical and electronic devices that automatically control the operation of machines. It includes electronic computers—often called giant brains—that automatically perform such varied jobs as storing office records, controlling the operations of complicated machines and preparing customers' bills and employee payrolls.

Related to this new technology are new products that aid its development. Printed circuits and transistors are replacing electric wiring and electronic tubes in radios, television sets and other electronic equipment. Radioactive isotopes, by-products of atomic reactors, are widely used in industry for testing the precise thickness of materials, detecting leaks in pipes and testing metal structural parts for defects. New plastics are replacing metals for some purposes.

Automatic and semi-automatic methods are spreading into almost every type of work—in manufacturing industries, offices, communications, railroads, warehouses, large retail stores and farming. Radical changes in production methods, work-flow, office procedures and labor skills are taking place in numerous parts of the American economy.

And in the offing is the increased peacetime use of atomic energy and the utilization of solar energy in industry and commerce.

SECOND INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Automation has been described by some scientists as introducing the second industrial revolution. The first industrial revolution replaced the muscle power of animals and human beings with steam- and electric-powered machines. The new technology moves in the direction of using automatic-control devices to replace human regulation and control of machines. The first industrial revolution turned the handtool worker into a machine tender. Automation tends to change the machine tender into a supervisor of an automatically controlled operating system.

An important aspect of this new technology is the concept of feedback control or automatic self-correction. The most common example of this technique is the thermostat. It automatically increases or reduces the furnace fuel supply when the temperature of the room goes above or below a pre-set level.

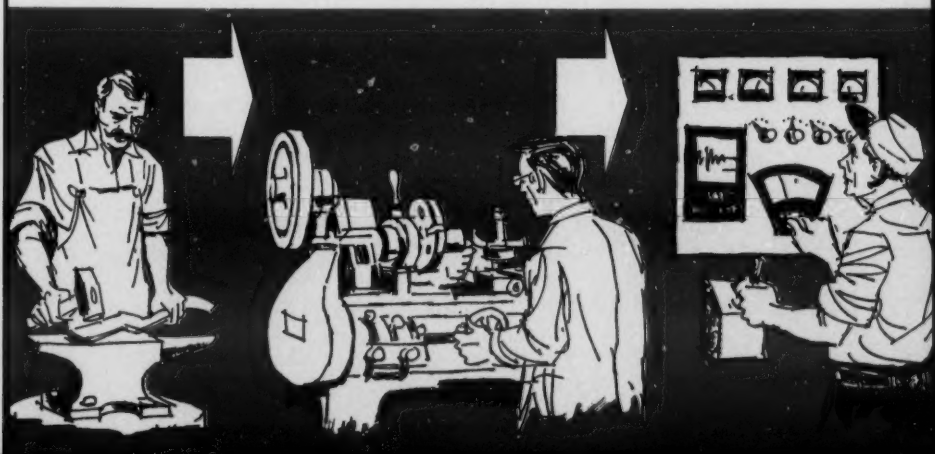
Extend the concept of the thermostat to industrial operations and you have the goal that automation is trying to achieve. The worker does not operate the machines; he sets the controls and repairs the system in case of a breakdown.

CONTINUOUS AUTOMATIC PRODUCTION

The machining department of the Ford engine plant in Cleveland is perhaps the best-known example of "Detroit automation" or "continuous automatic production." It also demonstrates the stepped-up pace of technological change.

In 1952 Ford started operations in this plant to machine automobile engine blocks with a battery of 71 machines linked together into an automatic line about 1,600 feet long. Automatic machine tools perform more than 500 boring, broaching, drilling, honing, milling and tapping operations with little human assistance. The timing of each operation is synchronized so that the line moves forward uniformly. In announcing the opening of this plant, the Ford News Bureau stated:

> "Rough castings of engine blocks and heads that later emerge from the Cleveland plant in engines operating under their own power are seldom touched by workmen during their machining enroute to the final assembly line.



"Electric nerve-centers direct them, by mechanical arms and fingers, from one cutting machine to another in much the same manner that a policeman directs traffic."

Shortly after this plant started operations it was estimated that 154 engine blocks an hour ran through the production line, requiring 41 workers. The same production pace, with older methods, required 117 men.

Advances in technology have moved so rapidly that this almost revolutionary 1952 example of automation has long since been replaced by more "automated" plants. This plant, too, has been improved frequently since its operation began. Prof. James R. Bright of Harvard University said that "in four research visits to Ford's Cleveland plant over an 18-month period, the cylinder block line never appeared the same twice. Always there were changes in machinery that had taken place since the last visit."

Somewhat similar continuous automatic production methods are in operation in other sections of the auto industry and in the assembly of radio, television and other electronic equipment components.

FEEDBACK CONTROLS

The use of automatic control devices has attained its highest development in the petroleum refining industry. In this type of continuous-flow process, crude petroleum feeds in at one end of the plant, flows continuously through a series of automatically controlled chambers and pipes, and pours out a variety of finished products at the other end. Eugene Ayres, a chemist with the Gulf Research and Development Co., has described an oil refinery, in the September 1952 *Scientific American:*

"It is a bewildering kind of factory, with metallic towers rising 20 stories high, hundreds of miles of pipe, and only an occasional modest building. A few lonely men wander about the special monster doing supervisory or maintenance tasks here and there . . . Every day a quarter of a million barrels of oil flow unobtrusively into its maw and about as many flow out in the form of dozens of finished petroleum products—all profoundly and specifically altered by proccessing . . .

"The nerve center of this mechanical organism is the control room with its control panel. Here are ensconced the human operators—attendants upon the little mechanical operators of the plant. The human operators watch, they



One man at a control board supervises processing of thousands of barrels of oil.

sometimes help or correct the instruments, but only occasionally do they take over the major part of operating responsibility . . .

"On the control panel are many things—indicators of measurements, indicators of valve positions, indicators of settings of controllers, knobs for changing these settings, facilities for shifting from automatic to manual control, knobs for effecting manual controls, alarms and safety devices, recordings of measurements for operation analyses, and recordings of measurements for accounting . . . Five hundred controllers, 400 motor-operated valves, 15,000 indicators and 800 recorders are in slight but significant motion at all times—like the steering wheel of a speeding motor car on a straight road."

For many years engineers dreamed of the day when the automatic devices that control oil refining processes would themselves be regulated and controlled automatically by an electronic computer. On March 12, 1959, the Texas Co. added an electronic computer to provide central, automatic controls for its Port Arthur, Texas, refinery, which first started operations in 1942.

This small refinery, which produces 1,800 barrels of high-octane gasoline per day, is "the first fully automatic, computer-controlled industrial process," according to *Business Week,* April 4, 1959.

> "Automatic remote controls on the plant long ago cut crew requirements to three men per shift," the magazine said. A human operator, however, "simply can't look at about 50 recorder-controls that indicate pressure, temperature and flow; then relate the readings that indicate the level of activity of the reaction or condition of the catalyst; then calculate the complex interrelationships of the process, all in time to reset the controls to keep the plant operating at maximum efficiency.
>
> "Texaco's RW-300 computer, on the other hand, has no difficulty doing that job every 5 minutes, 24-hours a day."

The Texaco plant will not remain the only fully automatic industrial process for long. Monsanto Chemical Co. and B. F. Goodrich Chemical Co. expect to have computer-controlled plants in operation before the end of 1959. Successful operation of these plants will result in a rapid increase of computer-controlled, automatic plants in the next few years.

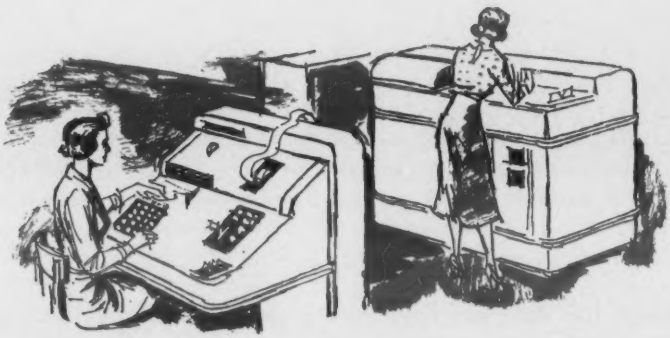
OFFICE AUTOMATION

Automation is spreading rapidly in the nation's offices. Millions of dollars are being invested in electronic computers, automatic bookkeeping machines, devices for filing and storing records. Automatic machines are taking over many tasks that used to be done by office workers—in banks, insurance companies, large retail firms, government agencies, and offices of many companies.

Computers represent the most radical change in office operations. General and special purpose computers are capable of recording and storing vast amounts of information, in the form of numbers, and of performing both simple and complex mathematical operations on such information in very short periods of time.

The computers that track man-made satellites and predict their orbits can make 42,000 mathematical caluculations a second. H. W. Prentis, Jr., chairman of the board of Armstrong Cork Co., describes his firm's use of a medium-sized computer:

> "In 8 hours, it makes all the calculations required to determine the gross payroll, deductions and net pay for the 3,000 employees of our Lancaster floor plant. Formerly, about 225 manhours of calculations were required for this."



The New York Life Insurance Co. uses a computer to figure premiums and dividends for $20 billion worth of life insurance policies and the machine types out premium notices for mailing. Premium notices for most of the John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Co's two million ordinary life insurance policies and payrolls for the firm's 5,000 central-office employees are prepared by computer. The government's 80 million social security accounts are reviewed four times a year by two electronic data processing machines.

Banks are using electronic machines to an increasing extent to maintain records of customers' accounts and to process checks.

The National Cash Register Co. produces for retail stores the Sales-Tronic complete register, a machine that rings up a sale and punches on a tape the following information: the clerk's number; the customer's account number; classification of the sale (cash, charge, c.o.d., etc.); the item's color, size, stock number; the various taxes and other items. A clerk can write up this information in essentially one operation. If the tapes on each Sales-Tronic in a department store were attached to a computer the store could have rapid and automatic reports on inventory, departmental comparisons, fast- and slow-selling items, and commissions that are due the individual clerks.

One of the best known, special-purpose computers is American Airlines' Magnetronic Reservisor. Any one of a number of separate sales offices in the New York area, for example, can quiz the central drum of the computer to see whether seats are available for a certain number of passengers on a specific flight. A light flashes on the keyboard of the interrogating unit located in the sales office indicating whether or not seats are available. If the customer makes the reservation, the clerk informs the computer by using a key system, and the number of available seats for the flight is decreased by the number of seats sold to the customer.

The Bell Telephone System's long-distance dialing, direct from the subscriber's phone, is made possible by automatic message accounting, which uses a combination of electronic units to record both local and long-distance calls, to assign these calls to the proper subscriber's account and to prepare automatically and print telephone bills.

The special-purpose inventory-control computer at the John Plain mail order house in Chicago, is reported to handle 90,000 tallies a day, keeping track of inventory on the 8,000 items in the firm's catalog.

Many other new types of office equipment are in operation. One government check-writing machine, for example, can turn out 80,000 checks a day. Automatic ticket printers cut clerical work for railroads, airlines and bus companies.

NEW TECHNOLOGY IN METAL-WORKING

The metal-working industries, which have traditionally required a large number of highly skilled and trained workers, are deep in the throes of the automatic revolution.

Automatic machine tools now perform complicated tasks, using methods that resemble the player pianos of the 1920's. "Numerically-controlled machine tools—which run almost untouched by human hands from instructions punched on tapes or cards . . . are beginning to revolutionize short-run metal-working production," said *Business Week,* March 14, 1959.

The machine tools cut out metal shapes automatically, by following instructions which are "programmed" into them by means of punched holes or magnetic tapes. The coded punched holes are "read" by a computer, which controls the motions of the machine tools. The entire operation is automatic, except for the coding of the punched holes on the tape.

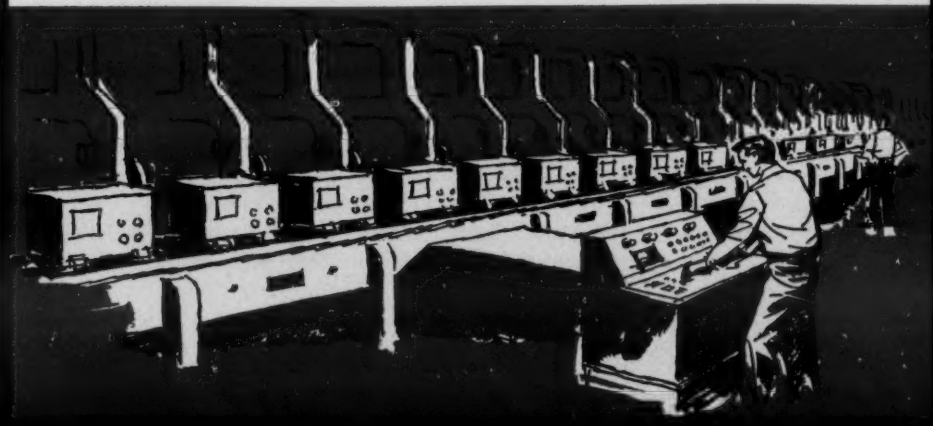
The coded tapes are usually prepared by methods devised at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Using this system, an experienced machinist's directions for producing a part are converted by a computer into coded tape instructions for hundreds or thousands of machine tool positions required to do the job. The tape can be used numerous times to produce the same part automatically.

The coded tape control of Kearney and Trecker Corp.'s Milwaukee-Matic selects tools from a battery of 31 stored in a drum. It can rotate the tool up to 4,000 rotations a minute and can cut at speeds up to 99 inches per minute. This automatic machine can handle simple slopes and arcs; it can rough-cut, finish-cut, ream, tap and bore. Tool changes take nine seconds.



More complex automatic machines can cut three-dimensional curves for parts that are used in aircraft and other equipment. Case studies of automatic machine tools, according to *Business Week,* reveal production cost savings of 50 percent to 90 percent.

The Sundstrand Machine Tool Company produces an automatic lathe, which gauges each part as it is produced, and automatically re-sets the cutting tools to compensate for tool wear. In addition, when the cutting tools have been worn down to a certain predetermined limit, the machine automatically replaces them with sharp tools. The parts are automatically loaded onto the machine and are automatically unloaded as they are finished. These lathes can be operated for five to eight hours without attention, except for an occasional check to make sure that parts are being delivered to the loading mechanism.



WIDE APPLICATION OF THE NEW TECHNOLOGY

These are not isolated examples. They reflect only a small number of the uses of automation. The new technology is applicable in at least part of most industries and commercial operations.

In numerous bakeries, for example, biscuits and bread are prepared, baked and packaged by automatic and semi-automatic equipment. In meat packing, semi-automatic hide-pulling machines strip the hides off slaughtered cattle. Huge chemical plants operate with few production and maintenance workers. Steel mills, pulp and paper plants, large saw mills, printing plants, public utility and textile plants are moving in the direction of more automatic operations.

Robot tracklaying equipment, automatic signalling and communications systems and devices for automatic handling and dispatching of freight cars are among the developments in railroading. Earlier, the diesel replaced the steam engine on the railroads.

In warehousing, electronic selection mechanisms, automatic conveyors and automatic loading and unloading equipment have been combined with other advances to make operations at new warehouses largely automatic.

Retail supermarkets are using an increasing amount of automatic and semi-automatic equipment—turntables at check-out counters, automatic bagging, automatic wrapping machines for pre-packaging of goods, semi-automatic scale and labeling machines, conveyor belts and chutes.

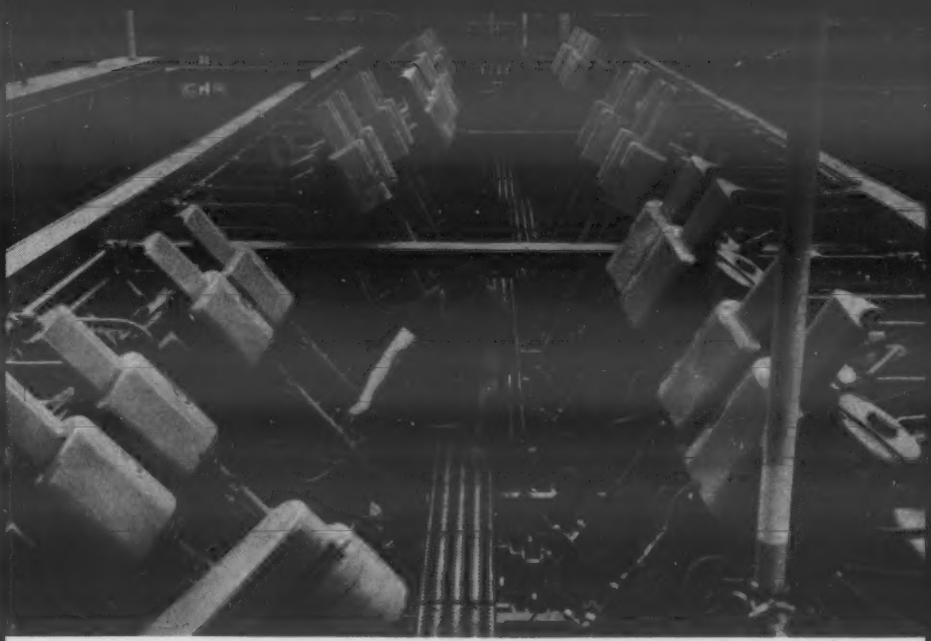
THE IMPACT OF AUTOMATION

Technological change between the end of World War II and 1953 brought a few dislocations, concentrated largely in textiles, railroading and coal mining. During that period rapidly rising sales and increasing job opportunities cushioned much of the disrupting effect of changing technology.

Between 1953 and 1959, however, sales and output increased at a slower rate. In 1955 the new technology began to spread rapidly. As a result, the economic and social impact of automation was sharper than in early postwar years and it spread to numerous industries, including autos, steel and parts of electrical manufacturing.

It was particularly marked as the economy moved out of the 1958 recession after many companies had taken advantage of the recession to adjust their new equipment to highly efficient operations.

No one can be certain about the speed of applied technological change in the next few years. Some industrial processes, such as continuous-flow operations, lend themselves to easy conversion to auto-



Drilling and tapping operation along a 63-station automatic machine tool line.

mation. With others, automation can be introduced only after changes in the production process and, perhaps, in the redesign of the product itself. Most kinds of work, however, can be converted to some degree of automatic or semi-automatic operations.

The extent of automation's future impact will depend largely on the speed of its introduction and the rate of economic growth. But it is clear that automation has already had a profound effect. Here are a few examples of the impact of the new technology.

The U.S. Labor Department reports the following changes in a large bakery after the installation of new automatic equipment: One man operates the equipment that moves 20 tons of flour an hour from railway cars to bins, compared with 24 men who used to move 50 tons of flour into the plant in 5 to 6 hours. In the bread-baking department, the number of workers on each shift was reduced 50 percent and capacity was increased 75 percent. Jobs in the wrapping department were cut 70 percent, while there was a 75 percent rise in capacity.

"With the aid of an electronic-computer installation for the Bank of America's mortgage and installment-loan operation," said *Fortune*, in March 1959, "100 employees are now doing the work of 300."

One aircraft and missile firm's first experience with an automatic tape-run milling machine, according to *Electronics* magazine, July 10, 1957, "cut a part's tooling time from 210 to 118 hours, reducing machining time from 5.5 to 2 hours."

In the assembly of television components at the Admiral Corp., according to Prof. James R. Bright, "condensers, resistors, wire jumpers and tube sockets are inserted mechanically. By using automatic insertion and printed circuits, over 400 hand-soldered connections are eliminated."

New machinery and production methods have increased the output of electric light bulbs from 250 to 450 per manhour.

A completely automatic plant is producing mixed and ready-to-use concrete for the Cleveland Builders' Supply Company. Operated from an electronic control panel, the plant can produce and load into ready-mix trucks any one of some 1,500 different mixing formulas that may be demanded. This automatic plant has a capacity of 200 cubic yards of concrete per hour and it uses no manual labor at any point in the process.

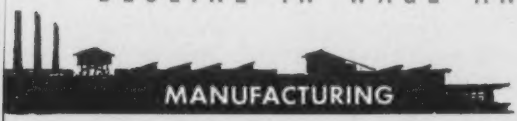
In 1955, the U. S. government turned loose what was then described as the world's largest electronic computing system on the Bureau of the Census' 1954 Census of Business. For the first time in the Bureau's history, the results of a full-scale national census were tabulated automatically on the government agency's two computers which tabulated, checked, edited and corrected the statistics. One machine, government officials stated, did the work of about 100 conventional tabulating machine operators.

The impact of automation can be seen in several key areas of the economy that have experienced rapid technological change since 1953. In 1955-1957, following the pick-up from the 1954 recession, employment in manufacturing, railroading and mining never returned to 1953 levels. And in the spring of 1959, after a year of upturn from the 1958 recession, there were fewer jobs in those activities than in 1955-1957.

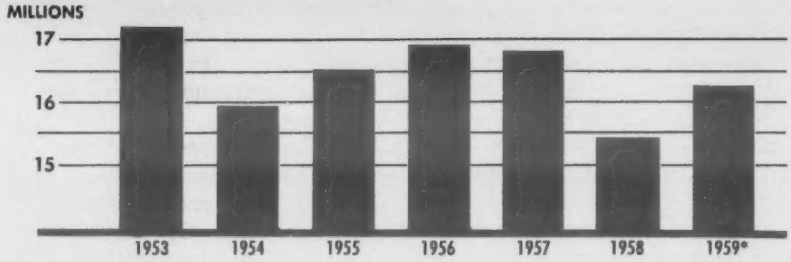
William McC. Martin, Jr., chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, told a congressional committee on February 6, 1959, that "automobile output in December (1958), while only 4 percent lower than in December 1956, provided one-fifth less in production worker employment than two years earlier. The railroads, while carrying about as much freight as in late 1957, provided 10 percent less employment. Similarly, the coal mines have been about equalling output levels of a year ago with about 15 percent fewer employees."

Steel production in the January-March quarter of 1959 was 3 percent less than in the same period of 1957, but wage and salary jobs in steel mills were down almost 12 percent.

DECLINE IN WAGE AND SALARY JOBS

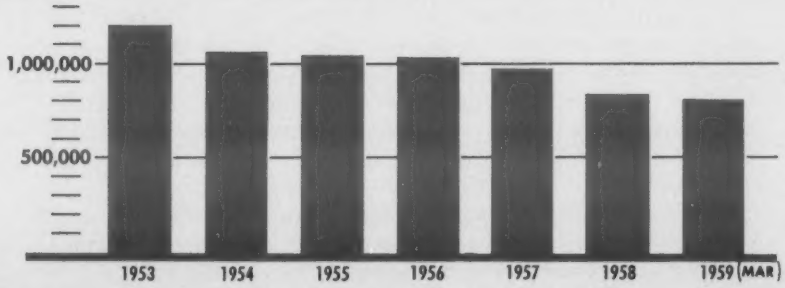


MANUFACTURING



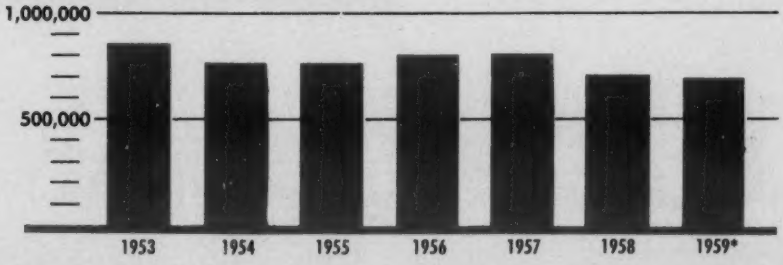


RAILROADS





MINING



*MAY, Adjusted for seasonal variation
SOURCE: U.S. Department of Labor.

The new technology also has been a major factor in changing the composition of the work-force and the location of industry. The decline in many types of job opportunities from 1953 to 1959 was concentrated among semi-skilled and unskilled production and maintenance workers. White collar and service jobs, however, rose—particularly for professional and technical employees and supporting staffs. There were employment increases, generally, in retail and wholesale trade, state and local governments, services and financial institutions.

Changes in technology have caused the movement of departments and entire plants out of the older industrial centers to new locations. Many firms prefer to build new automated plants in new locations, rather than to renovate old plants. In the East, Midwest and Upper South, there are many economically distressed communities whose major industries have moved to new areas.

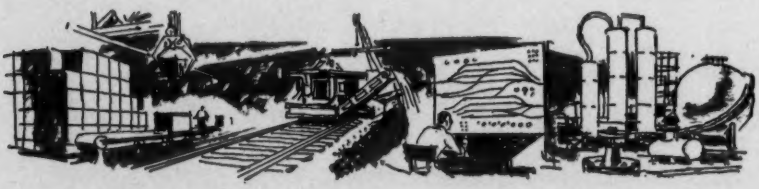
IMPLICATIONS FOR THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

The new technology represents new tools for the production of economic abundance. It raises productivity (output per manhour of work) rapidly, reduces direct production costs and promises to provide the basis for a great improvement in living conditions and an increase in leisure time.

There are a host of problems, however, arising during the transition to the widespread use of the new technology. Assurances about the long-run benefits of automation do not help solve present problems nor provide answers for those that may arise in the near future.

Positive information about the precise nature and degree of impact of the new technology will depend on serious and continuing examination by government and private groups.

Automation results in increased productivity. But increased manhour output without an increase in total production and growing markets is a formula for depression. If automation spreads rapidly and sales rise at a slow pace, joblessness will increase. Without customers for the mounting output made possible by rising productivity, unemployment is inevitable.



In the post-World War II years, output per manhour of work in the national economy has been rising more rapidly than in previous periods. But during most of the years from 1946 to mid-1953, the national economy's total production also expanded rapidly. It was this substantial economic expansion—achieved through growing markets and rising demand—that gave us high levels of employment.

Between mid-1953 and mid-1959 economic growth slowed down considerably. The volume of national production rose merely about 2.5 percent a year. In several industries there were developing difficulties as the new technology spread and sales failed to rise rapidly enough. The number of economically distressed communities increased. Unemployment rose from 3 percent of the labor force in 1951-1953 to 4.3 percent in 1955-1957 and possibly higher levels of joblessness in 1959 and the next few years.

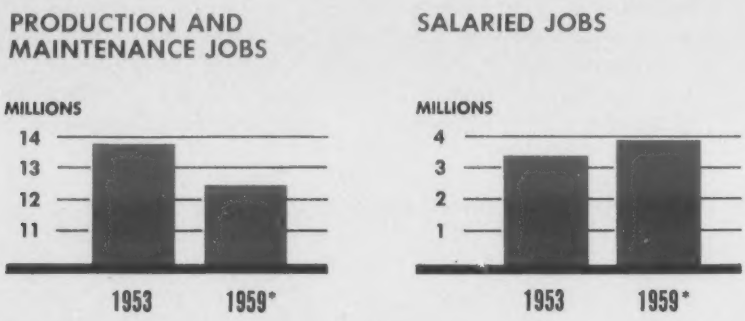
Labor displacement during the transition period to a widespread use of automation poses an acute problem. Expansion in other job areas cannot take place immediately. A displaced auto or textile worker, baker, billing clerk, miner or railroad worker cannot overnight become an engineer, technician or an employee in an industry that produces automatic machinery. Nor is it easy for such a displaced worker to find a full-time job, at about equal pay, in retail or wholesale trade, construction or the services.

Job opportunities have not been expanding significantly in industries that produce automation equipment—except for professional, technical and other white collar jobs. In these industries, too, the new technology has been spreading. Despite rising sales, the number of semi-skilled and unskilled workers has been declining in such industries as instruments and electrical machinery. Between 1953 and the spring of 1959, for example, instrument output rose 14 percent while the number of production and maintenance workers fell 13 percent. In that same period, production and maintenance jobs in electrical machinery likewise declined.

From 1953 to 1959, many young people and displaced workers found job opportunities in white collar employment, retail and wholesale trade, state and local governments and the services. The spread of automation in most of these activities may slow down the increase in such jobs—particularly if output and sales fail to rise fast enough in a period of rapidly changing technology.

Even if automation is introduced slowly in the coming decade, and the displacement of large numbers of workers does not occur, it is possible that the economy may not expand rapidly enough, during the transition period, to provide jobs for young people who are entering the labor force. We are at the beginning of a period when the growth

BLUE COLLAR JOBS DOWN—WHITE COLLAR JOBS UP



*MAY, Adjusted for seasonal variation
SOURCE: U.S. Department of Labor.

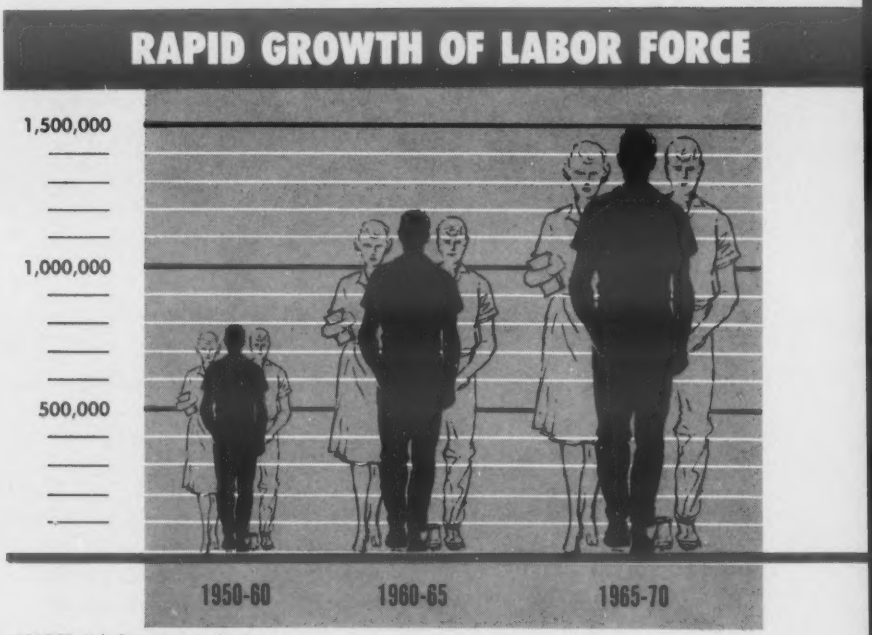
of the labor force will feel the effects of the rising birth rate since 1939. There will be more young people of working age in the coming decade than in recent years.

The Census Bureau expects the labor force to grow at an accelerating rate in the years ahead. From an average yearly increase of some 800,000 during 1950-1960, the labor force is expected to rise more than 1,200,000 a year in 1960-1965 and about 1,500,000 a year in 1965-1970.

To meet this challenge, rapidly rising sales and output are needed to prevent large-scale layoffs and widespread social disruption. Rapidly expanding markets are required to provide job opportunities for young people who are entering the labor force, as well as for workers who would otherwise be displaced by improved technology.

High levels of employment can be achieved by economic growth of about 5 percent a year—based on growing markets—and federal government assistance to workers and businesses in distressed communities, as well as a gradual reduction in working hours. Increases in the buying power of wage and salary earners are required to build expanding consumer markets. Government policies are needed to encourage economic growth and to cushion the disrupting effect of rapid technological change on working people, businesses and entire communities.

Economic and social policies to cushion the effects of rapid technological change will not occur automatically. Positive measures must



SOURCE: U.S. Department of Labor.

be taken by the government and private groups to sustain economic growth and minimize the disrupting effects of the spread of the new technology so that the creation of economic abundance can become a reality.

THE IMPACT ON WORKERS

Automation promises to eliminate most routine, repetitive jobs. It makes possible greatly improved working conditions and the reduction in the length of the workweek.

But even in periods of high employment, the introduction of automatic machines means that some workers are likely to suffer layoffs, to be affected by changes in skill requirements or by job transfers.

For many skilled and semi-skilled workers, automation results in making their old skills obsolete and in a loss of job satisfaction. The new technology usually means the elimination of some jobs, downgrading some skill requirements and upgrading others. Academic assurances that all will work out well in the long-run are of no help to the directly affected displaced or downgraded workers and their families.

Workers and their unions naturally are concerned with the problem that automation poses and will raise in sharp focus in the coming years as well as the hope for a better life it contains. They are seeking safeguards to minimize the dislocations that accompany the widespread introduction of automatic and semi-automatic equipment in industry and commerce.

There are few ready-made answers. Most problems have to be solved on the practical basis of specific conditions in the industry, area and particular plant. As unions and management gain experience in dealing with the problems of rapid technological change, precedents are developing. But these precedents are usually only guides whose details frequently differ from one industry or one plant to another.

The prospect of labor displacement can be eased by joint consultation between companies and unions and by management planning to schedule the introduction of automation in periods of high employment, to permit attrition to reduce the size of the work force and to allow time for the retraining of employees. Expensive automatic equipment is usually ordered long before its installation. If management would inform the union when the equipment is ordered there would be ample time for the union and company to plan jointly in advance for the necessary changes. Labor-management planning before the new equipment is installed can minimize hardships for workers and disruption in the plant.

Organized labor is also alert to the need for workers to share adequately in the fruits of rising productivity. Substantial improvements in wages and fringe benefits and a reduced workweek are needed to spread the benefits of the new technology to the great mass of American families.

A financial cushion for workers who are laid off and a financial incentive for management to plan ahead to minimize employee dislocation can be provided through labor-management agreements on guaranteed wage plans and severance pay provisions.

Collective bargaining can also provide other necessary safeguards—the need for fair and orderly procedures governing layoffs, rehiring, transfers, promotions and changes of job classifications and wage structures.

There are a multitude of details to be worked out in labor-management negotiations during a period of rapid technological change. It may be necessary, for example, to revise seniority provisions in collective bargaining contracts. Unions are giving much thought to the need for broadening seniority areas—such as company-wide or plant-wide seniority—to assure equitable seniority protection for their members and the right to interdepartment and inter-plant transfers based on

seniority. Preferential hiring provisions are being considered which would require all plants under contract with the union to give preference to laid off workers in the same industry and area.

Seniority provisions should assure senior employees a full opportunity to qualify for new, higher-skilled jobs. Such employees should not be passed over in favor of new or junior employees simply because of age or employer unwillingness to provide retraining.

Significant changes are required in wage structures. New job classifications and new wage structures have to be worked out as production methods and job content change. With rapidly rising productivity and increases in job responsibility, wage rates have to be revised upwards after automation is introduced into a firm. Existing job evaluation plans should be reviewed and possibly revised or discarded. Wage incentive systems may have to be eliminated or changed drastically.

The introduction of automation frequently results in layoffs for some employees and upgrading for others. But many employees, particularly in semi-skilled jobs, are downgraded in the process of transfer from one job or department to another. Downgrading also occurs when skills are made obsolete by automatic machinery or when workers who are unable to adjust to new jobs are shifted to lower-rated jobs. Special job-and-wage protections have to be worked out for downgraded employees.

Pension plans may also have to be changed through the collective bargaining process to permit early retirement and the transfer of pension rights from one plant to another within an industry or area so that displaced workers are not hit by the loss of accrued pension rights.

Many unions will probably seek provisions for the retraining of workers at company expense. Some unions have already initiated training and retraining programs to familiarize members with new automatic and semi-automatic processes.

Unions also are considering collective bargaining clauses to protect workers whose plants move to new locations—provisions that give workers the opportunity, on the basis of seniority, to work in the new plant, and financial provisions to aid workers and their families to move to the new area.



Older workers too young to retire face several problems in addition to possible displacement. Their skills may be made obsolete by the new technology and they may not adjust to retraining or to the requirements of automatic production systems. Union are seeking special measures to maintain job opportunities for such older workers.

Although the introduction of automation reduces physical fatigue, it increases job responsibilities of most workers and for many, it results in mental fatigue and a loss of job satisfaction.

Many special trade union problems arise during the transition to the new technology. Some companies attempt to use the transition period to reclassify employees into supposedly supervisory categories in order to reduce the size and strength of the union bargaining unit. The attempt by companies to combine traditionally separate skills into one job, particularly in maintenance employment, presents problems for traditional union jurisdictions as well as for job classifications and wage rates. Other problems for unions arise when automatic equipment is installed in one part of the plant while old equipment also is used for the same kind of production.

The new technology presents many challenges and uncertainties about the future to working people, trade unions and the process of collective bargaining between unions and management. The spread of automation through the economy is a challenging test for the entire collective bargaining system.

BASIC PROBLEMS OF NATIONAL SCOPE

Many problems posed by automation can be handled through collective bargaining. Many others, however, require government attention. Some of these areas of national interest include the following:

The transition to the new technology requires continuing high levels of employment and economic expansion of about 5 percent a year. Only in an economy that is growing rapidly and creating new job opportunities can the dislocations of automation be held to a minimum. It is the responsibility of the federal government, under the Employment Act of 1946, to pursue policies "to promote maximum employment, production and purchasing power."

Consumer buying power must rise sufficiently to provide the growing consumer markets that are needed to buy the products of automated industry and commerce.

The benefits of the new technology should be shared widely among all groups in the population to raise living standards, strengthen national defense, increase leisure, and improve housing, the education system, health, community and recreational facilities.



You press the first valve down—and 40 automobile crankshafts are machined each hour.

With the spreading tendency of firms to shut down old plants and to build others in new areas, federal government assistance for economically distressed communities is essential. Relocation allowances, under law, as well as collective bargaining, may be necessary—to assist workers and their families to move to locations of new job opportunities.

Substantial improvements in unemployment compensation are also required to cushion the impact of joblessness on displaced workers and to meet the needs of those whose skills become obsolete.

The nation's education system must train an adequately skilled labor force to operate and maintain an economy that is increasingly automated. Vocational training facilities, as well as technical schools, are required to retrain workers in new skills and to train technicians.

The Social Security Act should be improved to provide opportunities for earlier retirement. Employers should cooperate with unions to develop means of providing job opportunities for older workers who are too young to retire.

Federal law, as well as collective bargaining contracts, should be improved to provide a gradual reduction of working hours, as the new technology raises productivity and reduces manpower requirements.

Special efforts should be made to bring an adequate share of the fruits of technological progress to low-income families.

Careful government attention should be focused on the possible further concentration of control of industry by large corporations, since the costs of introducing automation may be so great—and the required use be so large—as to increase the tendency towards economic domination by giant firms.

Above all, the government should encourage economic growth to minimize social and economic disruption during the transition to the new technology. As the productivity of industrial equipment rises, in addition to increasing manhour output, family and business purchases and government expenditures, in combination, must grow sufficiently to maintain expanding markets.

New skills but fewer men are needed to tend complex automated drilling operations.



CONCLUSION

These developing issues require responsible consideration by all segments of our society. Unions are studying the effects of automation in their respective industries and in the national economy. Union staffs and technical consultants are working with negotiators to develop means of easing the adverse effects of the new technology.

The AFL-CIO has been urging the government to pursue policies that will sustain rapid growth of sales and jobs, aid unemployed workers and assist communities of chronic economic distress.

In cooperation with management and the government, unions hope and expect to develop realistic solutions to the difficulties that arise. The problems posed by automation can and must be worked out by the joint efforts of labor, management, government and other groups in society, if the transition to the new technology and the achievement of its potential for vast improvements in our living standards is to be accomplished with a minimum of social dislocation and human suffering.

CONCERN FOR THE HUMAN FACTOR . . . .

It is clearly wrong to dismiss automation as nothing more than an extension of mechanization. We are clearly on the threshold of an industrial age, the significance of which we cannot predict and with potentialities which we cannot fully appreciate . . .

The fact that representatives of organized labor are watchful lest the material gains of automation become the sole objective, without recognizing the individual hardships that may be caused by job losses and skill displacements, ought not to be turned into a charge that labor, as such, is obstructive to new developments.

Whenever one has been in a position to have witnessed first hand the hardships experienced by the skilled and older worker in any line of endeavor—industrial or professional—suddenly wrenched from the job by the installation of a new machine, or new technology, one can scarcely be unmindful of the inequities which can come about where management and public policy have not given recognition to needs for retraining, relocation, severance pay, and other programs which tend to soften the transition . . .

However much we may welcome the fruits of advancing technology—however optimistic one may be that the problems of adjustment will not be serious—no one dare overlook or deny the fact that many individuals will suffer personal, mental, and physical hardships as the adjustments go forward . . .

The best and by far the most important single recommendation which the subcommittee can give is that the private and public sections of the nation do everything possible to assure the maintenance of a good, healthy, dynamic, and prospering economy, so that those who lose out at one place as a consequence of progressive technology will have no difficulty in finding a demand for their services elsewhere in the economy . . .

The subcommittee recommends that industry, and management for its part, must be prepared to accept the human costs of displacement and retraining as charges against the savings from the introduction of automation . . .

SUBCOMMITTEE ON ECONOMIC STABILIZATION

Congressional Joint Committee on the Economic Report

AFL-CIO PUBLICATIONS:

- **AFL-CIO News**

  A weekly newspaper with news, pictures and features about organized labor, its activities and programs.

  $2.00 per year.

- **AFL-CIO American Federationist**

  A monthly magazine, illustrated, with articles by leaders of the AFL-CIO about labor's problems.

  $2.00 per year.

- **Labor's Economic Review**

  A monthly analysis of principal economic problems.

  Published by the AFL-CIO Department of Research.

  $1.50 per year.

- **Collective Bargaining Report**

  A monthly report of facts and articles of value to unions in the collective bargaining process.

  Published by the AFL-CIO Department of Research.

  $1.00 per year.

- **Education News and Views**

  A monthly bulletin with feature articles, news stories, book reviews and discussion material for union educational experts.

  Published by the AFL-CIO Department of Education.

  $2.00 per year.



AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR & CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

AFL CIO

THE HOUSE OF LABOR



WASHINGTON, D. C.

"We pledge ourselves to the more effective organization of working men and women; to the securing to them of full recognition and enjoyment of the rights to which they are justly entitled; to the achievement of ever higher standards of living and working conditions; to the attainment of security for all the people; to the enjoyment of the leisure which their skills make possible; and to the strengthening and extension of our way of life and the fundamental freedoms which are the basis of our democratic society."

—From AFL-CIO Constitution



AFL-CIO President George Meany is pointing out detail in mosaic mural to President Eisenhower who made tour of building following dedication.

FOREWORD

This building is both a symbol and a workshop. It is dedicated to the memory of the pioneers who built this labor movement, to the welfare of those now enrolled under the banner of free trade unionism, and to the future generations of trade unionists who will carry forward and develop still further the high standard of living which has been achieved in our country.

This building is a symbol of the achievements and aspirations of millions of trade union men and women. As a symbol it represents a gratifying realization of goals set by the pioneers of the trade union movement.

As a workshop, this building represents a continuing effort by the united labor movement to bring new attributes of better living to all workers — organized and unorganized, for we know from experience that progressive action by and in behalf of trade unionists benefits all who toil for a living.

This building is also dedicated to the perpetuation of those priceless ideals embodied in the Constitution of our nation and the precious freedoms spelled out in the Bill of Rights. This building, also in its consecration to the welfare of workers, is dedicated to the opportunity for human progress which can come only through peace and freedom.

The working people of this nation are well aware of the ever present challenge to peace and are determined to keep the peace and to bring the greatest possible measure of freedom to all men. To the unremitting task of winning a decent life in peace and freedom, this building as well as our undivided energies is dedicated.

WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER
Secretary-Treasurer

GEORGE MEANY
President

This building is a focal point of both leadership and philosophy of the American labor movement and a center of service to the trade unions.

An inspiring demonstration of the progress and achievements of organized labor over three-quarters of a century, it represents the respected place which trade unionism has won in America and in the world.

This trade union center, as embodied in the headquarters structure, has a two-fold mandate of service. It is a beacon light shining bright rays of hope to the dispossessed, the oppressed and the regimented of other lands who hope some day to achieve the blessings of human freedom. It also provides within its walls an array of services which can come only from a coordinated and planned program of democratic trade unions working in harmony and unity.

The headquarters is an embodiment of the many responsibilities of leadership and service which a changing society and an evolving economy demand.

In the area of organization and education it houses the staff for production of booklets, pamphlets, magazines, newspapers and visual aids in behalf of information and organization. In this area also the trade union center speaks with a unified and an authoritative voice on all matters — international, economic, organizational, legislative — pertaining to the unified trade union movement.



Dedicatory ceremonies for the AFL-CIO building were held on June 5, 1956 with the President of the United States, Dwight D. Eisenhower, as principal speaker. Following the ceremonies the distinguished guests were given a tour of the new headquarters building.

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Looking southward from the AFL-CIO building the White House and Washington Monument may be seen. Next door is the famous "Church of the Presidents," St. John's Episcopal. At the lower right is stately Sixteenth Street, a principal artery.

In the area of legislation and political action the headquarters houses a staff which works closely with both the Congress and state legislatures and with local and state groups on political education.

In the area of specialized services the building is the center of a number of departments serving the building trades, industrial unions, metal trades, railroad employes and maritime workers.

The headquarters building also houses service facilities in such specialized areas as union label and service trades for the promotion of union-made goods and union-provided services.

In short, this building is the sum-total of efforts designed to aid the trade unions in America. These efforts as exerted by the personnel are dedicated to improving the lot of working men and women.



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The office of President George Meany is the hub of the vast organization which is the AFL-CIO. Here he greets visitors from abroad and confers with labor and public leaders. This room has numerous mementos presented to Mr. Meany by many visitors from abroad. Located on the southwest corner of the eighth floor, the office looks out upon Pennsylvania Avenue and H Street on one side and on busy Sixteenth Street on the other, looking toward the west.

Close by the office of the President is that of Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler. Directing the administrative activities of the organization, Secretary - Treasurer Schnitzler confers here with members of the AFL-CIO staff. The AFL-CIO endeavors to insure that its worker-members will receive maximum service from per capita tax paid in by affiliated unions. Through the office of the Secretary-Treasurer, careful examination is given of all finances.



The years 1886-1924, from the founding of the American Federation of Labor to the death of President Samuel Gompers, is often called the "Gompers Era in American labor". The labor movement was shaped during these years by the impact of the strong personality and aggressive leadership of the little Dutch cigarmaker. He was a moving spirit in the establishment of the Federation and through the compelling force of his energy and ability, he led the organization throughout his lifetime, except for a single year.

From an amalgamation of 25 unions and 316,469 members in 1886, the Federation grew into an organization of wide and respected influence. When Gompers passed from the scene, the AFL had 107 unions and 2,865,979 members. During the Gompers Era, organized labor grew with the nation and passed through panic and prosperity, setbacks and continued progress. Organized labor's mettle was severely tested in this long period of economic growth and economic change. Labor benefitted from the rapid development of the country and the industrial and commercial expansion of almost four decades. As the work force grew, the trade unions grew in numbers and influence; with this growth came enlarged responsibilities.

The AFL was dedicated to the task of winning advances for working people through higher wages, better hours and improved conditions. The Federation fought largely on the economic front, exerting influence where productive and economic power were necessary, particularly through key trades.

The Federation fought also on the social and legislative fronts and battled "injunction judges", hostile courts and restrictive laws. Gompers and his disciples, although staunch advocates of "voluntarism" and nonpartisanship, were aggressive in their encouragement to union members to reward their friends and punish their enemies at the ballot box.



1850 Samuel Gompers 1924

Few leaders in any field of endeavor have so influenced their era and succeeding generations as did Samuel Gompers by his lifelong service to the cause of labor. Born on January 27, 1850 in Holland of working folk parents, Sam Gompers had only four years of schooling, after which he was apprenticed to the shoemaker's trade. He soon turned to his father's trade, cigarmaking. He held Card No. 1 of the Cigarmakers and his energy led to his efforts toward establishing a national confederation, the American Federation of Labor, in 1886. He was first president and held that office until his death in 1924, except for one year. The principles he laid down have been the touchstone for union working people for more than four score years.

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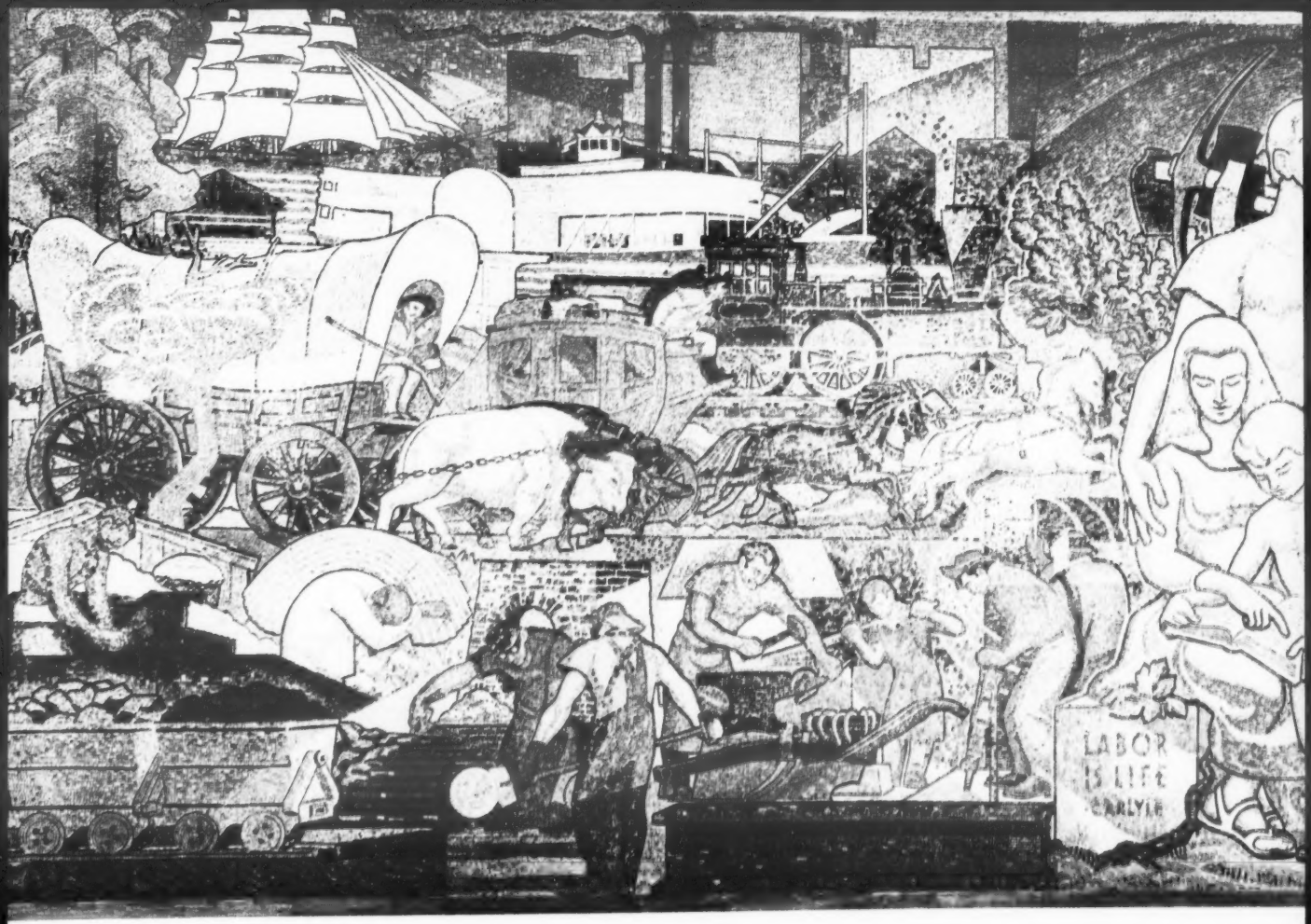
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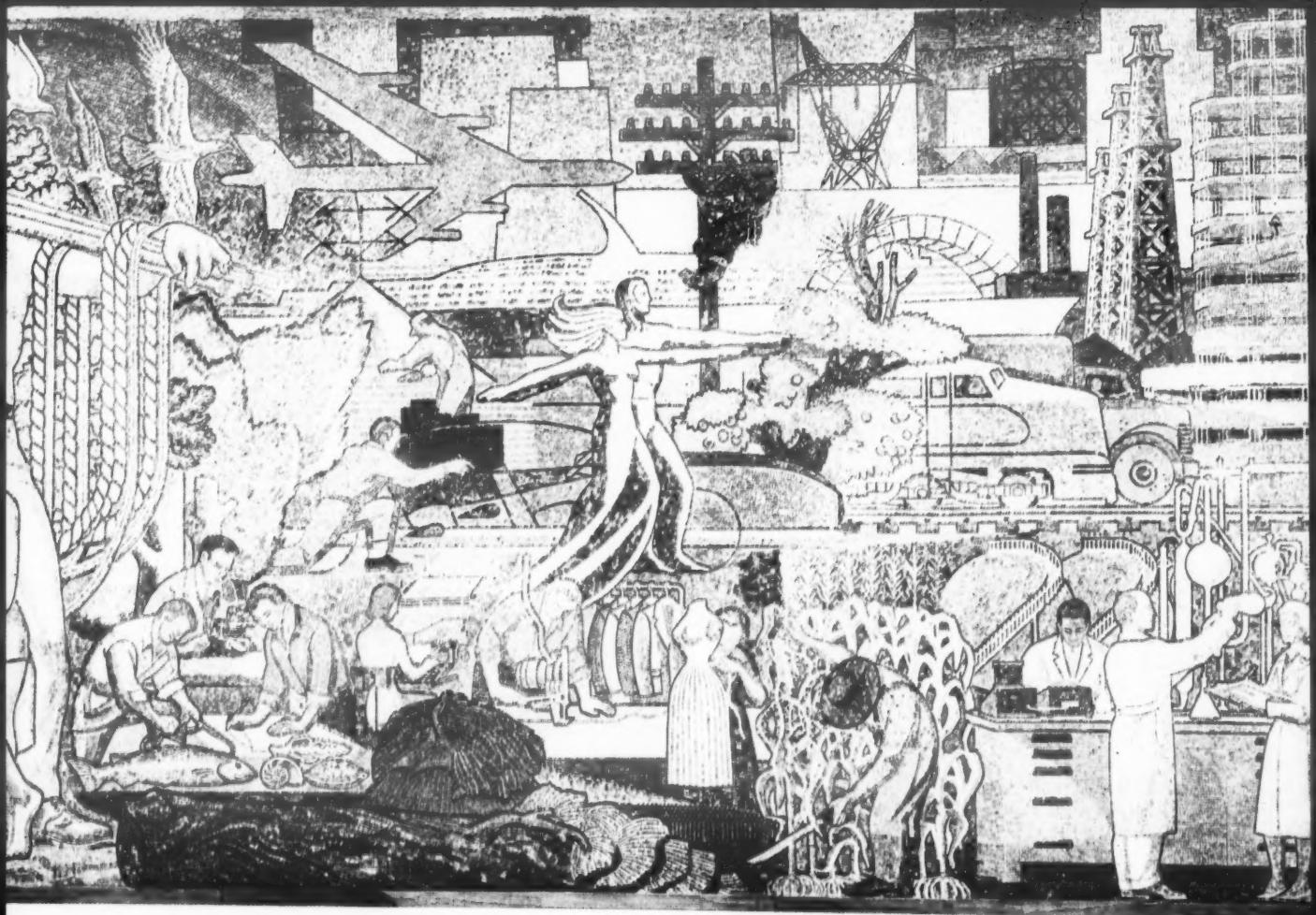
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THE AMERICAN WORKER

This impressive mosaic mural, 17 by 51 feet in size dominates the lobby of the AFL-CIO building. Thi recent addition to Washington's impressive treasures o fine art has become a highlight of visitors' interest i the Nation's Capital.

Executed in classic Byzantine mosaic techniques, th monumental panel was designed by the distinguishe Kansas-born artist, Lumen Martin Winter and installe by union craftsmen. The mural, as a tribute to th American worker, depicts the broad sweep of America labor history from the days of settlement to the presen



This great panorama is composed of hundreds of small glossy units assembled one by one from five colors of glass-gold from Italy and six colors of marble. The 860 square feet of wall space is made up of 300,000 separate pieces of mosaic and is one of the largest murals of its kind in the United States.

The worker as the central figure is shown with tools which have historically shaped the essentials of progress —a pick, an axe, a sledgehammer and an adze. Coils of rope symbolize shipping and transportation. With his right arm he protects his wife and child. The wife, seated on the central stone block, is teaching the fundamentals of work and social living to the coming generation, the son.

In 1957 the United States Post Office Department issued a special commemorative stamp honoring labor, using as its illustration the central panel from this AFL-CIO mural.

The motto shown is from Thomas Carlyle: "Labor is life" and the general theme of the blended elements is man's mastery over the machine in behalf of progress.



1870 William Green 1952

1886 Philip Murray 1952



William Green, an Ohio coal miner, won fame as a leader in labor as a young man and rose steadily in the movement. He succeeded Samuel Gompers as president of the AFL in 1924 and served in that post until his death in 1952. His portrait hangs on the eighth floor of the AFL-CIO building.

William Green was president of the American Federation of Labor in a period of rapid growth and increasing industrialization—1924-1952. During this era the nation went through the boomtimes of the twenties, the depression of the thirties, the economic comeback trail of the New Deal years, World War II and the advent of the global struggle of the Free World against totalitarianism. This period of storm and tension was also one of tremendous growth of the AFL—from 2,865,979 in 1924 to 8,098,302 at the time of President Green's death.

Philip Murray came into prominence as a result of resurgent efforts to organize the mass production industries which evolved into energetic attempts to develop industrial unionism in the early thirties. A difference of opinion on trade union philosophy and organization strategy led, in 1935, to the formation of the Committee for Industrial Organization—later Congress of Industrial Organizations. Mr. Murray became vice president of the newly organized industrial confederation and in 1940 became president, a post he held until his death in 1952. The CIO under Phil Murray's leadership made sharp advances in the mass production field where industrial or vertical type unionization found wide favor.

The growth of the labor movement under the leadership of both William Green and Philip Murray, each in his own sector, stands as a lasting monument to the dedicated service of two great Americans to the cause of the working people.

Philip Murray, Scotch-born unionist, for twelve years was president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations. A dedicated unionist, Mr. Murray was an ardent exponent of industrial unionism and led to the unionization of millions in the mass production industries. His portrait hangs on the eighth floor.

The 29 members of the AFL-CIO Executive Council meet periodically in the council chamber on the eighth floor of the Headquarters Building. The Council is the AFL-CIO's governing body, an assembly of veteran labor leaders elected in convention by the nation's trade unionists to guide the course of AFL-CIO affairs. Each of them came out of the "rank-and-file" of his union.

As administrators of the world's largest trade union organization their decisions have an intimate effect upon the well-being of the nation's workers. They establish policy on legislative matters, confirm the establishment of new unions, arbitrate inter-union disputes and speak the voice of labor on wages, hours and other issues.

Around the oval table, shown below, they bear the responsibilities of the AFL-CIO with experience and dispatch, in a tradition steeped in courage and ingenuity.







Views of entrance lobby and elevator lobby are shown on this page. In upper photograph is the main entrance lobby looking northward. The seal of the AFL-CIO is imbedded in the floor immediately in front of the mosaic mural pictured in center of this brochure. In the lower photo are shown the three elevators and the bas relief sculpture, "The Triumph of Labour".



An acoustically-designed, wood paneled auditorium on the first floor, to the right rear of the lobby, serves as a general conference room. The auditorium is frequently used for meetings and discussions. The chairs are equipped with convenient arm-rests for note-taking. This all-purpose room is a popular center.



The AFL-CIO Library, in the rear of the first floor, preserves the rich history of the American labor movement. The library has approximately 25,000 indexed volumes, 5,000 pamphlets and scores of vertical file newspaper and magazine clippings, providing a 150-year collection of all aspects of the history of labor.



Keeping the records of the multi-million organization is a tremendous task. On the seventh floor, the Department of Accounting records receipts and expenditures. Skilled union office workers operate the latest in modern business office equipment, enabling them to keep daily, accurate AFL-CIO financial records.



A specially equipped television film room on the first floor is used for radio and tape recordings, film and television interviews. Here AFL-CIO President George Meany is shown making a motion picture film record for presentation at an affiliate's coming convention. Sound and visual media are important to labor.

TRADE AND INDUSTRIAL DEPARTMENTS OF THE AFL-CIO



BUILDING & CONSTRUCTION TRADES

The skilled craftsmen of the building trades belong to this department, one of the oldest in the AFL-CIO; it was chartered on March 20, 1908 and all phases of skilled craftsmanship have been represented in the affiliated national and international unions since the early days of the American Federation of Labor.



INDUSTRIAL UNION

The Industrial Union Department was formed at the time of the merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations in December, 1955. This department, newest in the AFL-CIO, represents members from the great mass production industries and unions which function primarily as vertical type organizations.



METAL TRADES

The Metal Trades Department includes unions whose members are engaged in some phase of metalworking — construction, manufacture and mining. All the affiliates of this department are primarily of the craft type organization. Apprenticeship and craft training promotional efforts rate high with MTD affiliates.



MARITIME TRADES

The Maritime Trades Department represents more than sea-going personnel. This department has for its affiliates organizations of personnel afloat and unions which supply goods or services to the maritime industry. This department carries on a constant program of education against "run-away" ships which fly foreign flags to escape wages, hours and conditions prevailing on American vessels.



RAILROAD EMPLOYES

All AFL-CIO departments make their headquarters in Washington, D. C., except the Railway Employes Department which is located in Chicago. This department represents affiliates, operative and non-operative, among the railroad brotherhoods. These unions are concerned with the many economic and legislative problems confronting railroad employes.

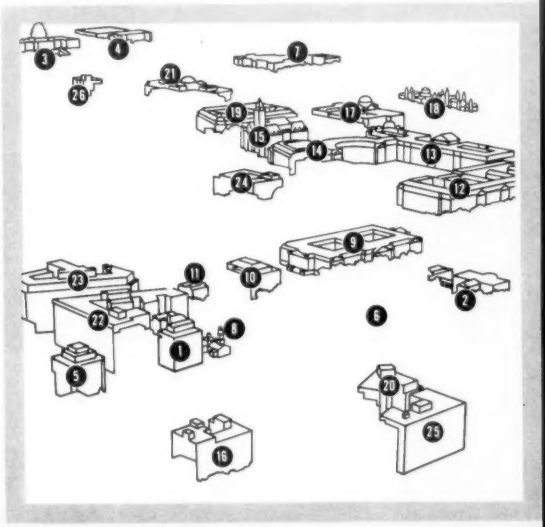


UNION LABEL & SERVICE TRADES

Promotion of the purchase of union-made goods and union-provided services is the primary objective of the Union Label & Service Trades Department. Sponsorship of the annual AFL-CIO Union Industries Show is one of its major programs in the area of public education in behalf of organized labor.

LOCATION GUIDE TO IMPORTANT BUILDINGS

1. AFL-CIO Building
2. The White House
3. U. S. Capitol
4. House of Representatives Office Building
5. Moreschi Building (International Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union)
6. Lafayette Park
7. U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare
8. St. John's Episcopal Church ("Church of the Presidents")
9. U. S. Treasury Department
10. U. S. Treasury Department Annex
11. National Aeronautics and Space Administration
12. U. S. Department of Commerce
13. U. S. Department of Labor
14. U. S. Post Office Department (Occupied 1934)
15. Old U. S. Post Office Department Building (Occupied 1899)
16. Army-Navy Club
17. National Museum
18. Smithsonian Institution
19. U. S. Department of Justice
20. International Cooperation Administration (Marshall Plan Headquarters)
21. National Gallery of Art
22. Veterans Administration
23. Federal Housing Administration
24. National Press Building
25. Transportation Building
26. National Association of Letter Carriers Building



TRADE AND INDUSTRIAL DEPARTMENTS OF THE AFL-CIO

BUILDING & CONSTRUCTION TRADES

The skilled craftsmen of the building trades belong to this department, one of the oldest in the AFL-CIO; it was chartered on March 20, 1908 and all phases of skilled craftsmanship have been represented in the affiliated national and international unions since the early days of the American Federation of Labor.

INDUSTRIAL UNION

The Industrial Union Department was formed at the time of the merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations in December, 1955. This department, newest in the AFL-CIO, represents members from the great mass production industries and unions which function primarily as vertical type organizations.

METAL TRADES

The Metal Trades Department includes unions whose members are engaged in some phase of metalworking — construction, manufacture and mining. All the affiliates of this department are primarily of the craft type organization. Apprenticeship and craft training promotional efforts rate high with MTD affiliates.

MARITIME TRADES

The Maritime Trades Department represents more than sea-going personnel. This department has for its affiliates organizations of personnel afloat and unions which supply goods or services to the maritime industry. This department carries on a constant program of education against "run-away" ships which fly foreign flags to escape wages, hours and conditions prevailing on American vessels.

RAILROAD EMPLOYES

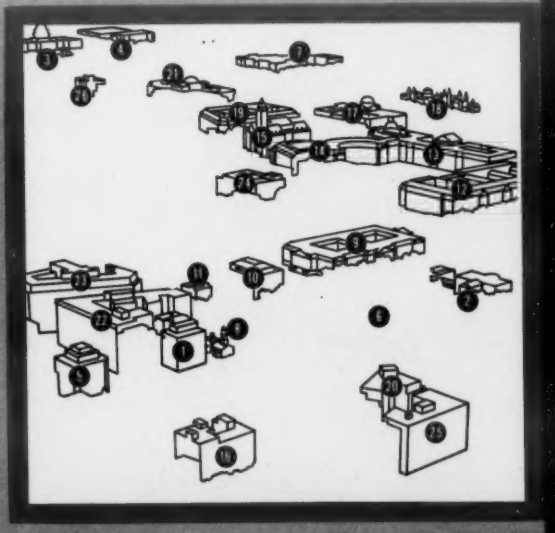
All AFL-CIO departments make their headquarters in Washington, D. C., except the Railway Employes Department which is located in Chicago. This department represents affiliates, operative and non-operative, among the railroad brotherhoods. These unions are concerned with the many economic and legislative problems confronting railroad employes.

UNION LABEL & SERVICE TRADES

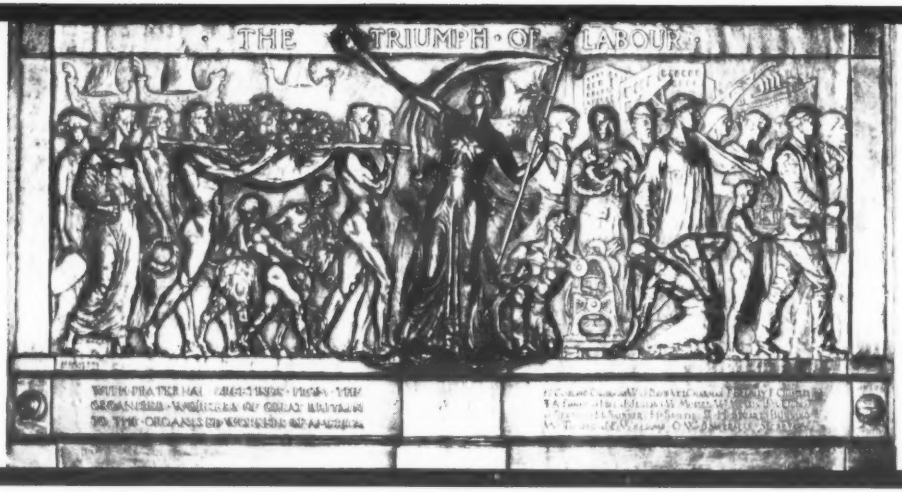
Promotion of the purchase of union-made goods and union-provided services is the primary objective of the Union Label & Service Trades Department. Sponsorship of the annual AFL-CIO Union Industries Show is one of its major programs in the area of public education in behalf of organized labor.

LOCATION GUIDE TO IMPORTANT BUILDINGS

1. AFL-CIO Building
2. The White House
3. U. S. Capitol
4. House of Representatives Office Building
5. Moreschi Building (International Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union)
6. Lafayette Park
7. U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare
8. St. John's Episcopal Church ("Church of the Presidents")
9. U. S. Treasury Department
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AFL-CIO BUILDING
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"The Triumph of Labour," symbolic sculpture, is located on the main floor facing the elevators. This art work was executed by one of Britain's most famous sculptors, L. F. Roslyn, R.B.F., and presented to the American Federation of Labor March 29, 1919. The sculpture's frame is woodwork from H.M.S. VICTORY, Lord Nelson's flagship. The main figure is a symbol of "Triumph" and the figures in the artwork represent the endless procession of working people. The sculpture was removed from the old AFL building and installed in the new headquarters lobby area.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

GEORGE MEANY
PRESIDENT

WM. F. SCHNITZLER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

MOSAIC MURAL (CENTER PAGES)
DESIGNED BY LUMEN MARTIN WINTER

FABRICATED AND INSTALLED BY
RAVENNA MOSAIC COMPANY
ST. LOUIS, MO.

BROCHURE BY
MERKLE PRESS INC. WASHINGTON, D. C.

PUBLICATION NO. 40
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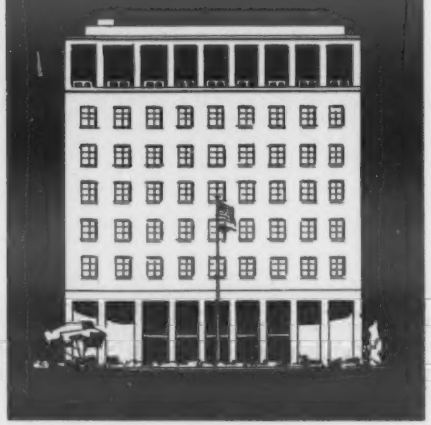
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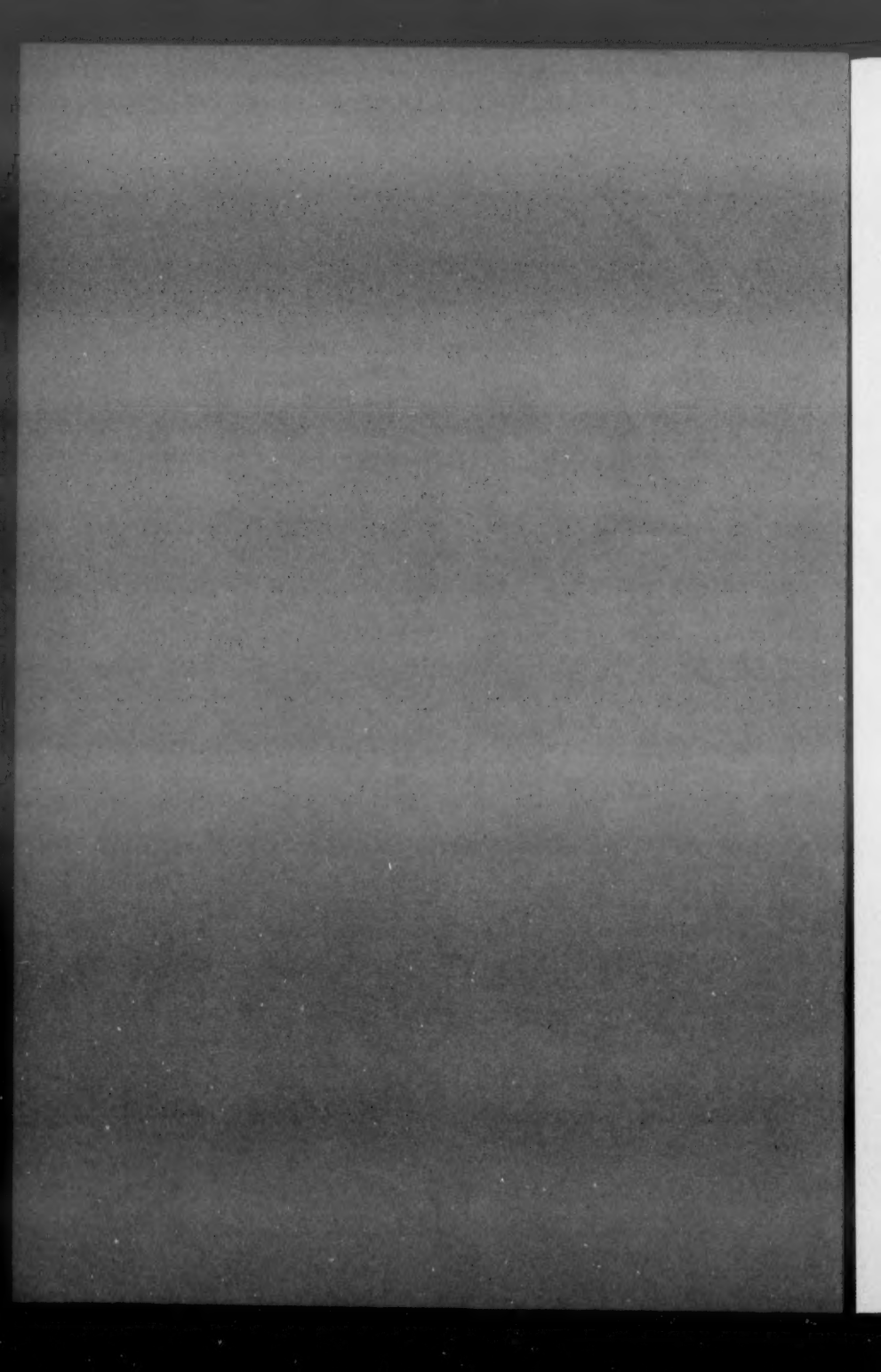
THE HOUSE OF LABOR

AFL-CIO
815 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

Consumer,

BEWARE!

A GUIDE TO
INSTALLMENT BUYING—



Consumer, BEWARE!

JOE BROWN BOUGHT a new car last year on the "no money down, years to pay" plan. Six months later he found he couldn't keep up with the payments. His car was repossessed. Joe was sad, but he thought his worries about the car were over. He was wrong.

Joe thought if the repossessed car was resold at a loss, the dealer would be the loser. He learned to his surprise that the "buy now, pay later" plan was not that simple. The paper he signed when he bought the car on the installment plan was a binding contract. The contract made him, not the dealer, responsible for any losses.

Joe was also surprised to find the dealer was out of the picture entirely. The contract was between Joe and a sales finance company. The finance company took him to court and attached his wages.

For many people like Joe buying on time seems simpler than paying cash. A din of radio commercials and newspaper ads plays on this idea. In fact, the ads make it appear that paying in those "easy monthly installments" is almost like getting something for nothing.

Many a housewife who wouldn't dream of withdrawing $69 from the family bank account to pay cash for a new vacuum cleaner that's caught her eye can be talked into signing up for a year's payments of $2 a week, figuring she can squeeze the $2 out of her petty cash allowance. She doesn't stop to think that she has committed herself to a yearly expenditure of $104 for that $69 appliance, of which $35 goes to the store for the privilege of those "slow, easy" payments.

This carefree attitude toward installment buying has made virtual paupers out of many families whose yearly earnings have never been so high. In an increasing number of cases, such a large proportion of their income is tied up in installment pay-

ments that there's almost nothing left over to pay for rent, food and other everyday needs.

The increased importance of this problem is indicated by the fact that total consumer credit has been rising rapidly, reaching a record $48 billion at the beginning of September 1959. A major part of this increase has been credit utilized for the purchase of automobiles. Since 1951, so-called "automobile paper" has increased by nearly 170 percent.

Recent annual surveys by the Federal Reserve Board of the financial position of American consumers give considerable information concerning those families who have acquired personal debts. Among the facts brought out by these surveys are the following:

►In early 1959, 60 percent of all American families owed some type of personal debt, not including mortgage and business debt. Nearly half of the families with debt owed $500 or more.

►The proportion of families with debt in 1959 was highest in the group with incomes of $4,000 to $10,000, but even among families with incomes under $1,000 about 42 percent had some debt.

►Families with debt run the gamut of all types of occupations, all regions of the country and all age groups. However, the rate is higher for families whose wage-earner is in the age bracket from 18 to 44 with children under 18 years of age. The rate is also higher for Negro families than for white.

►Even though families of lower income tend to have lower-sized debts, there are many families in the low income groups whose installment payments constitute 20 percent or more of their total disposable income. The 1956 survey on this point showed that over one fourth of the families with debt were carrying this burden.

►Of the families who were carrying some debt in 1959, 45 percent had either no liquid assets or had liquid assets less than the total personal debt. Lower income families show a substantially higher proportion without liquid assets.

These findings show that indebtedness is the rule, not the exception, among American families today. Buying on the installment plan is now firmly established as a normal means of purchasing goods. Fifty-six percent of all families purchasing new or used cars, and 55 percent of the families buying furniture and home appliances, utilized some type of credit for these purchases in 1958.

This question of consumer credit is not just an academic problem of no concern to the trade union movement. All union members need to be thoroughly informed so that they can utilize consumer credit wisely. Otherwise, union members will find that their hard-won wage increases will be dissipated in excessive interest charges, repossession costs and various types of shady practices.

Easy consumer credit has helped Americans to enjoy a higher standard of living than any other country in the world—and to achieve it at a time when they are still young enough to enjoy it. It has enlarged the mar-



We all need to know the pitfalls and gimmicks in installment buying. Many a man who signed a contract in haste has lived to rue the day.

kets for the nation's goods by providing mass distribution for our mass production industries.

The continued economic growth of industries such as auto, appliances and furniture is dependent on people being able to buy successfully on the installment plan. Imagine the drop in auto sales, for instance, if everyone had to save up the $2500 needed to pay cash for a new car.

THERE'S nothing wrong with installment buying—so long as the buyer knows what he is doing. However, buying on credit is *not* as simple as buying for cash. In some cases it may be wiser to buy on installments than pay cash. But signing up for "easy" payments from the store is not the only way to get credit. A better deal might be obtained, for example, by taking out a cash loan from a bank or a credit union.

Suppose Joe Brown wants that red and cream hard-top convertible and figures he can afford the extra money for an automatic shift if he can find a "good deal."

What *is* his best deal? Joe is interested in the list price of the car. His car salesman probably will play up a high trade-in allowance as a good deal. If Joe had cash on hand, his best deal would be a low list price and a high trade-in allowance. But Joe, like most car buyers today, is buying on time. And for those who buy on time, another factor enters the picture—the cost of credit.

For long-term installment purchases running two or three years and involving a large sum of money, as in car buying, the best deal often boils down to the best buy in credit.

Too many persons ignore the cost of credit. They cling to the habit of merely comparing trade-ins or sales

prices. They pat themselves on the back for having obtained an extra $150 trade-in-allowance, while they may be paying $300 too much on finance charges.

Consumers must know how to shop for favorable credit terms if they want to make the most of their dollars and avoid getting gypped.

They must know the pitfalls and gimmicks in the installment buying field—so that consumers can shop for credit as intelligently as they shop for the autos, appliances and other goods their credit allows them to buy.

In many ways the average American's understanding of installment buying has not kept pace with his buying habits. He is simply not aware of the "cost" of credit. This lack of knowledge has led many people to overextend themselves.

One proof that this problem has reached serious proportions for many families is the emergence in recent years of a new business—the debt adjustment or "debt pooling" agency.

Such agencies sell nothing but hope—the hope that with their advice people can get out from under the debts they've accumulated. Their favorite opening for radio commercials is:

"Why be always borrowing from Peter to pay Paul? Let us help you as we've helped thousands of other families."

The honest agencies may charge somewhere between 12 and 18 per cent interest for their services, but the dishonest ones, which far outnumber the honest ones, charge whatever the traffic will bear. As they usually take their fee immediately, before paying any client's bills, they really don't care after the first few months whether you follow their plan or not.

Case histories show that families who seek such help are not only those among the lower income groups. The files of one such agency showed it had some clients with incomes as high as $500 a week.

Consumers are more vulnerable to shady installment credit schemes partly because legislative safeguards are inadequate to protect them. Only thirty states have laws requiring sellers to distinguish between carrying or service charges and the cash sale price of an item. Some of these laws cover only automobile sales.

Auto contracts tend to be the most complicated because there are so many cost factors involved. Every contract

It Pays to Pay Up as Quickly as Possible

Assuming a $1500 debt on a new car with interest charges of 1% per month on unpaid balance

You pay per month:*	If the repayment period is:	**BUT** total credit charges amount to:
$133.12	12 months	$97.50
91.25	18 months	142.50
70.31	24 months	187.50
49.38	36 months	277.50

* Computed on credit union level payment plan, including interest.

Itemized Installment Auto Sales Contract

The cash sale price of the car		$2500.00
The amount of your down payment and trade-in, with a brief description of the goods traded in		1000.00
The amount of the difference to be financed		$1500.00
The costs of insurance and other benefit charges with the coverage defined and itemized as:		
Personal liability	$34.00	
Property damage	10.00	
Collision, $50 deductible	20.00	
Credit life insurance	15.00	
		79.00
Official fees, such as credit investigation		5.00
The principal or unpaid balance. This is the amount you still owe		$1584.00
The amount of credit service charge		221.76
The time sale price. This is the total amount the car costs you, buying on time		$1805.76
Number of monthly installment payments	24	
AMOUNT OF EACH MONTHLY INSTALLMENT		$75.24

should list separately the credit charge and credit investigation fees, but in auto contracts there are additional charges for car insurance and life insurance to protect the car dealer in case the buyer dies before he finishes making payments.

Investigations of "packed" installment contracts show that a common way to pad costs is to charge exorbitant rates for insurance charges—rates that are way above standard insurance rates.

The first step in ascertaining whether a dealer's prices are in line with those of other dealers is to insist on an *itemized* contract. It's not enough to compare trade-ins, down payments, or even service charges alone when shopping for the best buy. The time sale price is the best guide, but an even better practice is to have the dealer itemize all items.

The box at the top of this page shows the various costs that should be listed.

What is a reasonable credit service charge for autos? There is, of course, no one charge that is "reasonable" for all parts of the country and all

FOR YOUR PROTECTION

1. Buy only from a reputable dealer. Beware of dealers who are in business not to sell their products but only their finance. Be wary of ads that emphasize easy credit above the quality of their wares.

2. Read your installment contract before you sign it. Be sure you know the amount of credit charges, the penalties for default or delinquency on payments, and other conditions of repayment.

3. Examine carefully the manufacturers' or dealers' guarantee on the life of your equipment. Know what recourse you have after the "thirty days' trial period" if the appliance breaks down.

4. Check the legislation in your state, and make certain that the dealer lives up to the requirements of the law. If your state legislation is inadequate, work with unions and consumer groups to do something about it.

types of goods. Generally, state laws do not require dealers to give consumers true interest rates. The important thing is to read the contract and find out what part of your monthly payments are going to reduce the principal on your loan and what is going for installment charges.

As Sylvia Porter, financial editor for the New York *Post*, pointed out in a recent conference on credit:

"The seller is often competing not in the price and quality of his goods, but in the looseness of his financing and selling terms. * * * The individual buyer cheats himself when he uses loose credit. When he buys an automobile on terms of one-third down and 36 months to pay, the first 10½ payments may go just for financing charges, though he doesn't realize it."

Look at the *total cost* of an item, rather than just the monthly payments.

THUS far we have considered only the "cost" of installment charges. There are other angles to buying on credit that the consumer must watch.

For instance, what does the fine print in the contract say about repossession? Suppose a buyer has paid $2500 on a $2550 automobile. In many states, if the contract so stipulates, the car can be repossessed even if he defaults only on the last payment. He loses not only the car

but also $2500. He still owes the full unpaid balance, plus any cost involved in repossession.

In some states, in the case of repossession, the buyer has the right under certain circumstances to ask for a public auction. A repossessed car, however, generally does not bring much at such an auction and the costs have to be paid for, so he may still owe a lot of the original debt even though he has lost the car. The finance company or other holder of the contract can collect this debt through court action.

The moral is: Don't buy on time unless you are reasonably sure you can meet the payments. And remember, also, the longer the terms of the contract, the greater the chance some unforeseen emergency may arise before you've made your final payment.

Credit experts have pointed out that in long-term contracts the goods may actually deteriorate faster than the rate at which the payments are being made. Perhaps the best illustration of this point is in clothing.

If Joe Brown buys a $50 suit from one of the "no money down, years to pay" stores, he may find that the suit has worn out before his 18 monthly installment payments are up. Then he has to buy another suit. These payments pile up on the old ones and thus pyramid his installment debt. He's no longer enjoying the goods *before* he psys for them. He's paying *after* the goods have lost all value.

Another point that needs to be checked in the contract is what happens if the buyer repays his debt *before* the stated time. The shady dealer doesn't want his debts to be paid up quickly. He wants to squeeze out all those installment charges.

A favorite gimmick in bad contracts is to provide that the buyer still must pay installment charges or interest rates on the original contract terms, even if the debt is paid more quickly. Some state laws stipulate that an installment contract must provide a refund credit based on the anticipated installments.

Exorbitant "delinquency" charges are a rather common pitfall for the unwary installment buyer. Good state laws should also cover this point, providing that if the purchaser defaults for a period of at least ten days, the delinquency charge is not to exceed 5 per cent of each installment due or $5, whichever is less. Under some laws, attorney's fees up to 15 per cent of the amount due and court costs may also be charged.

A widely advertised feature of installment contracts in the furniture field is the "add-on" clause. It sounds good at first glance. Joe Brown buys a bedroom suite at $199.95 on the installment plan. He's almost completed his payments when he decides he wants a dining room table.

"No need to draw up a new contract," the salesman tells him. "We'll simply add it on to your original sales contract and extend the period."

The hitch is that if he defaults on the contract, Joe loses not only the table but also the bedroom suite he's completed payments on. Of course, the shady furniture stores love this plan. It encourages customers to buy all their furniture from that one store. But for the purchaser these "add-on" clauses merely add to the risk of repossession.

Most people don't realize when they sign an installment contract that the dealer normally sells the contract to a bank or sales finance company. This means the buyer is responsible only to the bank or finance company for repayments. On the other hand, the finance company is not in any way responsible to the buyer for the product he has bought. Any questions of guarantees or misrepresentation are strictly between the buyer and seller.

This has important implications if the product turns out to be faulty. Assume Joe Brown wants to buy a watch for his wife. The dealer tells him it's a real bargain at $59.95—an unknown company but seventeen-jeweled, ten-karat gold filling. Joe Brown blithely signs a contract. A week later the spring falls out. He returns the watch to the dealer, who takes it back, promising to do what he can to fix it.

But this doesn't stop a sales finance company, disclaiming all interest in whether the watch works or not, from pounding on Joe's door for money. And if Joe decides not to pay, he may open his pay envelope some day and learn that his wages have been attached.

Dealers often imply that a written guarantee isn't needed because the buyer hasn't paid for anything when he signs the contract. *Don't be fooled.* Insist that a guarantee is included in any installment contract. Don't sign a contract containing a so-called "exculpatory" clause—one that says the buyer will not enforce any defenses he may have against the seller or assignee of the seller.

Don't always accept the dealer's installment contract as part and parcel of the "sale." Consider the alternatives.

BASICALLY, any time purchase involves borrowing money. And, as everyone must pay for the use of someone else's money, each loan involves interest charges. Therefore, the wise way to approach time buying is to compare the finance rates of auto dealers' installment contracts with the rates of credit unions, banks and small-loan companies. If such rates are lower than the installment service rates, it is to the buyer's advantage to pay cash to the sales company and take out a personal loan from another source.

How do different interest rates compare? The first step in finding the best loan source is to know how to find the *true* interest rate charged by the lending agency. Let's look at the question of comparing interest rates.

Most credit unions and legitimate small-loan companies quote their rates as a monthly percentage of the unpaid balance of the loan. To get the yearly interest rate, simply multiply the monthly rate by twelve. Thus, a rate of 1 per cent a month on the unpaid balance is equivalent to an interest rate of 12 per cent a year. However, the *cost* of the loan is less than 12 per cent of the principal because the borrower pays interest only on the *unpaid* amount of the loan.

This means that the interest charge on the loan declines as it is repaid. For example, on a loan of $1200 at 1 per cent a month and twelve months to pay, the first monthly installment is $112—that is, $100 on the prin-

cipal and $12 on the interest. After this payment, the borrower owes only $1100; his next installment is $111 —$100 on the principal plus $11 on the interest. And so it goes. Each month the interest charge becomes smaller. His total repayment would be $1278—the $1200 he borrowed plus $78 interest. Thus the total interest cost is really only 6.5 per cent of the principal.

Unfortunately for the consumer trying to make comparisons, retail sales companies and banks for some types of loans often calculate interest differently from credit unions and small-loan companies. This rate at first may look smaller than the credit union or loan company charges, but appearances can be deceiving. This is because of the "discount method," which can be explained best by an example.

Suppose someone signs a contract to borrow $1200 from a dealer at a *discount rate* of 7 per cent. Seven per cent of $1200 is $84. The lender normally deducts or "discounts" this $84 right at the start, which means that the borrower actually receives only $1116. If the money is repaid in a lump sum at the end of the loan period, the true interest rate would be the interest, $84, divided by the amount of money actually received, $1116, or 7.5 per cent.

But most people borrow a lump sum and agree to pay it back in equal monthly installments. In the example above, the borrower may agree to repay the $1200 in twelve monthly installments of $100 each. After six months he has paid back half of the loan. Yet the interest charge ($84) remains the same, even though the amount of the loan on which the interest is charged is steadily being repaid.

In this example, the 7 per cent *discount* rate represents a cost to the borrower of $84. In the previous example, the cost of an interest rate of 12 per cent a year was $78.

Clearly, if the borrower is repaying the loan in monthly installments, an installment dealer's yearly discount rate of 7 per cent is actually higher than a credit union yearly rate of 12 per cent.

In fact, the installment dealer's discount rate of 7 per cent is roughly comparable to a time interest rate of 14 or 15 per cent. This leads to the following rule of thumb for comparing interest charges for monthly repayment plans:

If the loan is to be repaid in equal monthly installments, a discount rate is roughly double a straight percentage on the unpaid balance.

AT THE same time, the buyer must watch out for an assortment of hidden costs. Other conditions involved in the loan may work against the borrower. These include:

▸An investigation fee. If a lender agrees to lend you $100 at a discount rate of 5 per cent plus an investigation fee of $3, the cost of the loan is $8 and the rate is actually 8.7 per cent or $8 divided by $92. If the loan is to be paid back in twelve monthly installments, the true interest rate is not twice 5 per cent but twice 8.7 per cent, or 17.4 per cent.

▸Delinquency charges. What are the penalties if you fail to make your payment within the required time? Credit unions rarely involve such pen-

alties. In states with strict laws, small-loan companies are prohibited from making such charges. But in most states, lenders can exact penalties if payments are not promptly made.

▸Repayment allowances. What happens if you decide to repay your loan early? Remember, a bank or installment sales company may have taken out the total interest charges before you even got the money. Many state laws do not require lenders to refund any of this prepaid interest charge. Some banks will voluntarily make refunds; others do not.

▸Insurance costs. A favorite trick of small loan companies and installment sales dealers, unless prohibited by law, is to offer loans at the legal or going rate and then require the borrower to buy health, accident or life insurance at exorbitant rates.

ALL in all, there is more than meets the eye to buying on time. The average consumer is confronted by a confusing set of loan terms and conditions in deciding what his best credit buy is.

This is why, for most workers and their families, the most reliable source of funds is a credit union. Under federal and state legislation, a credit union is democratically owned and operated without profit for the benefit of its members. Before it can be chartered, it must comply with all the provisions of state and federal credit union laws.

By law, credit union interest rates in most places cannot exceed 1 per cent a month on the unpaid balance —rates far lower than those normally charged by other lending agencies. Equally important, there are no "extra" charges to worry about.

Another generally reliable source for credit is your local bank. Although bank credit standards are generally stricter than those of credit unions, it is not difficult to get a car loan from a bank. Terms are usually more favorable than financing direct from a retail car dealer.

Unfortunately, many people don't make full use of their credit union or banks for installment buying. It seems easier simply to sign a contract at the store than to wait a day and get a personal loan.

The files of credit unions contain many sad case histories to prove that many families go to their credit unions *after* they've been caught by some installment gimmick, rather than *before*.

The following box gives an itemized account of an actual auto sales contract. One column shows the charges a buyer would pay through his credit union. Note that the balance to be paid on the car was only $175. Yet the amount saved by financing through the credit union would have been $57.69.

In this true case a representative of the Credit Union National Association questioned the dealer closely on how he figured his costs to get such an itemization. This information was lacking on the actual sales contract. Insurance and financing charges were lumped together on a line which read as follows: "Cost of financing, including insurance—$94.52."

This example illustrates how car dealers can lump different types of charges together in installment contracts to conceal exorbitant rates.

Signing a Bad Contract Costs You Money

Listed below are the finance terms of an actual auto sales contract. The column headed "Credit Union" shows the charges the buyer would have paid if he had financed the car through his credit union.

TO BE FINANCED	CREDIT UNION	FINANCE COMPANY
Balance on car	$175	$175
Loan insurance	Included in finance charge	2.70
Health insurance	None	5.92
Dealer reserve auto ins.	None	8.00
Loss of car	4.40 (Comprehensive)	7.00 (Fire & theft only)
Collision	19.50 ($50 deductible)	24.50 ($75 deductible)
Amount to be financed	$198.90	$223.12
Cost of financing for 12-month period	12.93	46.40
Total cost of car on plans	$211.83	$269.52
Saved by Buying on Credit Union Plan		**$57.69**

Source: Credit Union National Association.

Such practices verge on fraud, but in states without adequate legislation buyers have to rely on their own powers of investigation to protect themselves. Yet lending agencies are in business to make money. It is reasonable that they receive a fair return from their loans.

The consumer naturally wants to know what interest rates are "reasonable" for small-loan companies and installment dealers.

Obviously interest rates must be high enough to allow the lender to cover overhead costs such as rent, salaries, etc. They must also allow for the risk involved in any loan transaction.

Small loans cost the lending agency more than large loans. Overhead costs are as high for small as for large loans, but the gain is smaller. This is why it is reasonable, in general, for small-loan companies and installment dealers to charge somewhat higher rates on smaller loans. (In

ARE YOU OVER-EXTENDED?

Buy on time, but stagger your installment purchases. For the average family with small children, a sensible guide is one major appliance at a time, plus car payments.

You should not take on new installment commitments unless—

1. *You have a steady job with good prospects of wage increases.*

2. *You have considered how the total price tag on the goods fits into your budget—not just the monthly payments.*

3. *You don't expect any other major expense in the near future. If your wife is expecting a baby in the next few months, it's not the time to buy a new TV set!*

You may be able to take on additional installment commitments if—

1. *There is more than one wage-earner in the family.*

2. *You don't hold a mortgage or other personal debts.*

3. *You have some personal savings.*

Most people get overextended on time purchases because they buy on impulse. Don't let yourself get sweet-talked by slick salesmen into signing on the dotted line. *Plan* your installment buying.

fact, some banks won't accept loans under $100, simply because there's so little profit on them.)

However, for larger amounts where there is some security against the loan, as in the case of car financing, it is reasonable to expect lower rates.

Most state laws have taken account of these factors by establishing sliding scales for maximum interest rates geared to the size of the loan. For example, under Ohio's small-loan law the following rate schedules are established:

3 per cent per month on any part of the loan balance between $1 and $150.

2 per cent per month on any part of the loan balance between $150 and $300.

⅔ per cent per month on any part of the loan balance between $300 and $1000.

This illustration gives consumers some idea of the "reasonable" rates for different-sized loans. A loan company which charges more than these rates is probably either operating an inefficient business or gouging the consumer.

THE task of the consumer trying to find a fair charge for credit would be much easier if state laws were more effective. Judging from the experience under small-loan laws, the outlook for more effective and widespread legislation on installment contracts is disheartening.

After fifty years of legislative ex-

perience with small-loan laws, there are still ten states with virtually no small-loan protection. Other states have laws that may be effective in most respects, but some loophole opens the door for loan sharks.

Under an effective small-loan law, maximum interest rates are established and any other extra charges are expressly prohibited. Small-loan companies have to be licensed, and supervisory officials are given sufficient discretion and authority to enforce the law.

Without such effective legislation, the consumer can never be sure that he is not being overcharged.

For today's consumer, the traditional type of state small-loan law is not enough because it fails to reach people who buy directly from an installment dealer. Only comparatively recently have states begun to regulate this phase of installment buying. Such laws generally require installment sellers at least to distinguish between the cash price and the finance charge on the agreement signed by the consumers.

Today 30 states regulate retail installment contracts and most of these limit actual charges that may be made. However, even where these laws are on the books, they may not adequately cover the problem of extra charges such as tie-in insurance. A number of the laws apply only to automobile sales.

State laws on consumer credit run the gamut from virtually no protection at all in some states to fairly effective standards in others. This wide disparity in state standards only adds to the consumer's confusion. It hurts business, too. Unless states have effective laws, legitimate small-loan companies can't compete with gyp dealers.

The history of state small-loan legislation shows a failure to achieve a national standard through enactment of state "model" laws. Federal legislation is needed to give the car buyer in Georgia an even break with his brother in New York. Installment buying is a national practice. Only through national legislation can all consumers be assured equal protection under the law.

UNTIL consumers become aware of all the complexities of handling time purchases, it is unlikely that there will be enough public demand to force effective consumer debt legislation.

The first step must be greater public awareness and initiative. Every consumer should be aware of what's involved when he signs an installment or small-loan contract. He may not be an expert in figuring interest rates, but he should have a general knowledge of reasonable loan terms. He should be familiar with the laws in his state regulating loan agencies.

If loan terms seem suspicious, it's up to the individual consumer to take the initiative and report his suspicions to his local union, better business bureau, legal aid society or city magistrate. Such public agencies are interested in helping consumers, but their hands are tied unless they are kept informed.

Consumers who take the initiative, both as individuals and through community groups working to get effective controls, can help make installment buying a truly effective tool to achieve a better standard of living.

STATUTORY MAXIMUM SMALL LOAN RATES

September 1959

Maximum Monthly Charge on Unpaid Principal Balance (unless otherwise noted)

▶ **Alabama**	Law not effective to authorize legitimate lending of small sums or to prevent illegal lending at high rates.
Alaska	4% to $300; 2½% to $600; 2% to $1,000; 5% on loans not exceeding $50; default fee of $3.
▶ **Arkansas**	No small loan law.
Arizona	3% to $300; 2% to $600.
California	2½% to $100 (2% if security insured); 2% to $500; 5/6% to $5,000.
Canada	2% to $300; 1% to $1,000, and ½ of 1% to $1,500.
Colorado	3% to $300; 1½% to $500; 1% to $1500.
Connecticut	3% to $100; 2% to $300; ¾% to $600; 12% a year after 20 months.
▶ **Delaware**	No small loan law as such. Law authorizes installment loans on a discount basis at a discount of 6% per annum interest plus a 2% fee; 5% fine. Size of loan limited by a ratio to capital.
▶ **District of Columbia**	Law in-operative. No licensees operate under the Act.
Florida	3% to $300; 2% to $600; 10% a year 12 months after maturity.
Georgia	No small loan law as such. Industrial Loan Act provides 8% a year to $2500, fee of 8% of 1st $600 and 4% of excess; charged on initial balance as discount for 1st 18 mos., as add-on for longer maturities; plus other charges.
Hawaii	3½% to $100; 2½% to $300.
Idaho	3% to $300; 2% to $500; 1% to $1,000.
Illinois	3% to $150; 2% to $300; 1% to $800.
Indiana	3% to $150; 1½% to $500.
Iowa	3% to $150; 2% to $300; 1½% to $500.
Kansas	3% to $300; 5/6% to $2,100; 10% a year 6 months after maturity
Kentucky	3½% to $150; 2½% to $300.
Louisiana	3½% to $150; 2½% to $300; 8% a year 1 year after maturity.
Maine	3% to $150; 2½% to $300; 1½% to $2500.
Maryland	3% to $300.
Massachusetts	2% to $300; 6% a year 1 year after maturity. Tender Act applies from $300 to $1,500. Commission rate to $1,500 stayed by court order.
Michigan	3% to $50; 2½% to $300; ¾% to $500.
Minnesota	2¾% to $300; 1½% to $600.

► Mississippi	Inadequate protection under brokerage law.
Missouri	2.218% to $500; 8% a year on remainder.
Montana	$20 a year per $100 to $300; $16 to $500; $12 to $1,000; charged on initial balance for full contract period; special rate for loans up to $90.
Nebraska	3% to $150; 2½% to $300; ¾% to $3,000.
Nevada	9% a year to $1,000; 8% to $2,500 plus monthly fee of 1¢ per $1 to $200 and ½¢ to $400; all charged on initial balance for full contract period.
New Hampshire	2%; fees in advance, $1 on loans to $50, $2 on loans to $300.
New Jersey	2½% to $300; ½% to $500.
New Mexico	3½% to $150; 3% to $300; 1% to $1,000; 10% a year 1 year after maturity and in certain other cases.
New York	2½% to $100; 2% to $300; ½% to $500.
► North Carolina	"Loan agency" law permits industrial loan agencies to charge the "same fees and interest that may lawfully be charged by industrial banks on installment loans," which are a discount of 6% a year plus extra fees.
► North Dakota	No small loan law.
Ohio	3% to $150; 2% to $300; 2/3% to $1000.
Oklahoma	10% per year plus 5% initial charge, monthly 2% (maximum $2) to $300.
Oregon	3% to $300; 2% to $500; 1% to $1500.
Pennsylvania	3% to $150; 2% to $300; 1% to $600; 6% a year after 24 months.
Rhode Island	3% to $300.
► South Carolina	Law inadequate.
South Dakota	3% to $300; ¾% to $2,500; $2 minimum; 8% a year 6 months after maturity.
► Tennessee	Law is not effective to authorize legitimate lending of small sums or to prevent illegal lending at high rates.
► Texas	No small loan law as such. Existing statutes ineffective.
Utah	3% to $300; 1% to $600.
Vermont	2½% to $125; 2¼% to $300; 1% to $600.
Virginia	2½% to $300; 1½% to $600; 6% a year after 23 months and in certain other cases.
Washington	3% to $300; 1½% to $500; 1% to $1000; $1 minimum.
West Virginia	3½% to $150; 2½% to $300.
Wisconsin	2½% to $100; 2% to $200; 1% to $300.
Wyoming	3½% to $150; 2½% to $300; 1% to $1000; plus $1 fee on loans of $50 or less; $1 recording fee.

► Indicates states with little or no small loan protection for consumers.
Source: National Consumer Finance Association, September 1959.

THIRTY STATES HAVE LAWS REGULATING INSTALLMENT SALES CONTRACTS

1959

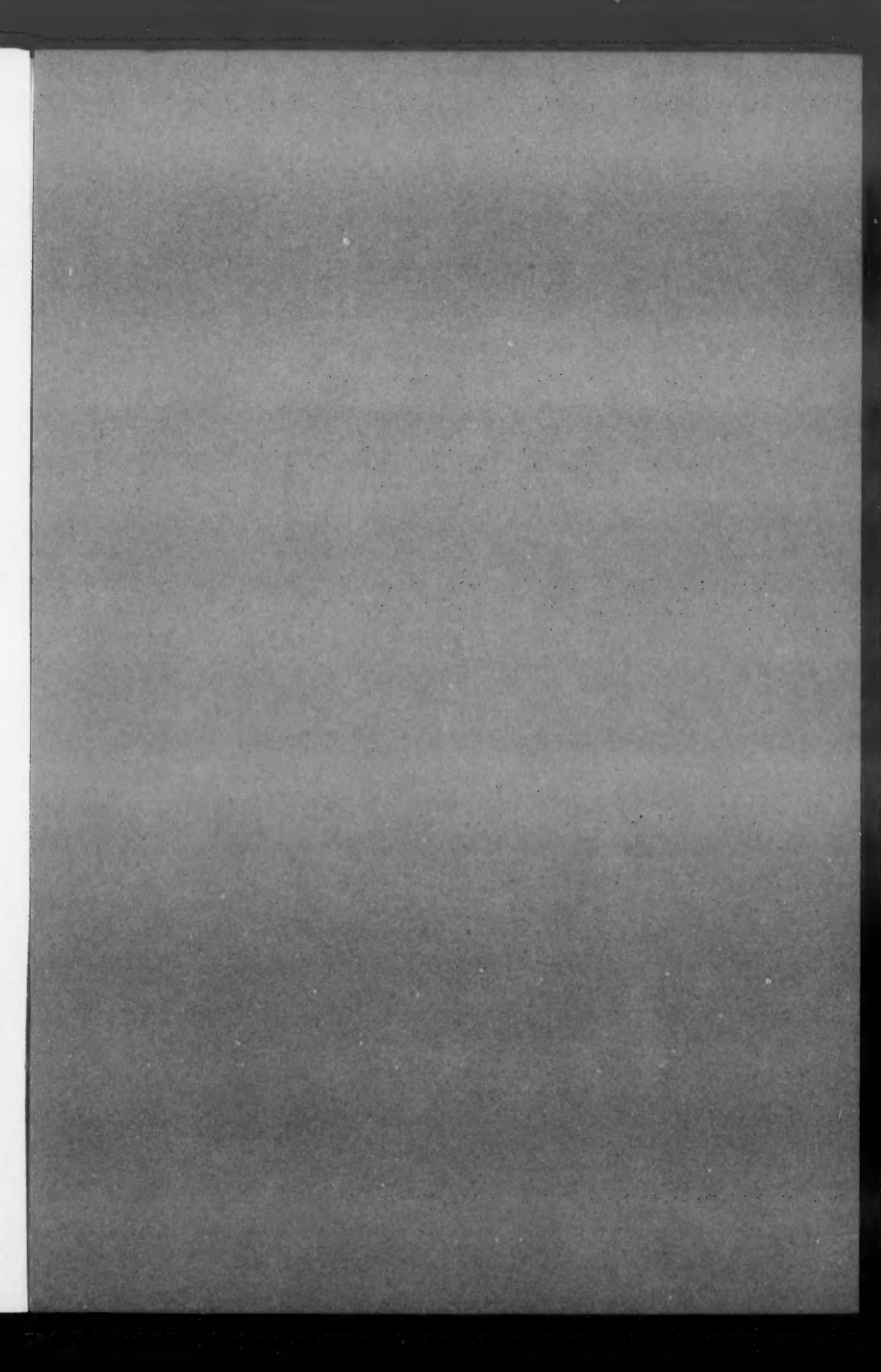
State	Coverage	Maximum Finance Charge on Principal Balance	Delinquent Charge Limits	Refinancing Charge Limits
California (1945)	Motor vehicles; other consumer goods and services of more than $50; revolving credit accounts	*Cars:* 1% of unpaid balance times no. of months of contract. *Other goods:* 5/6% per month on unpaid balance to $1,000; 2/3% on excess. *Revolving charge accounts:* 1½% per month up to $1,000; 1% on excess	Reasonable charges and interest on delinquent payments	
Colorado (1951)	Motor vehicles and all other consumer goods	*Cars:* Current new model, $8/100; less than 2 yrs. old, $12/100; less than 4 yrs., $15/100; older cars, $17/100. *Other goods:* $15/100 up to $300; $12/100 on next $700; $10/100 on excess	5% of installment or $5 whichever is less	
Connecticut (1947)	All goods having cash price of $5000 or less	New cars $7/100; less than 2 yrs old, $9/100; less than 4 yrs. old, $12/100; older cars, $14/100 when principal balance exceeds $300, $15/100 when balance is $300 or less	5% or $5	12% true interest
Florida (1957)	Motor vehicles; all other consumer goods; revolving charge accounts	*Cars:* Current new models $8/100; less than 2 yrs. old, $11/100; less than 4 yrs. old, $15/100; older cars, $17/100. *Other goods:* $10/100. *Revolving accounts:* 15¢/$10 per mo. on unpaid amounts, with $1 min. charge	5% or $5	$5 plus 1% per month
Idaho (1957)	All conditional sales contracts for installment sale of tangible personal property			
Illinois (1957)	All retail installment contracts		5% or $5	
Indiana (1935)	Retail installment contracts for goods having cash price of $5000 or less	Charges fixed by Dept. of Financial Institutions; *Cars:* New, 2% of principal balance plus 1¼% per mo. on declining balance; used cars less than 2 yrs. old, 3% of principal balance plus 1.875% per mo. on declining balance. Older cars, 5% of principal balance plus 2.3% per month on declining balance. *Other goods:* 2% of principal balance plus 1.875 per mo. on declining balance.	Determined by Department of Financial Institutions; 3-7 day delinquency, 50¢; 8-24 days, $1.00; more than 24 days, $1.50. Half above amts. if payment is $15 or less.	

Iowa (1957)	Motor vehicles only	Current model new cars, 1¼% per month on declining balance; less than 2 yrs. old, 1¾% per mo.; less than 4 yrs. old, 2¼% per mo.; older cars, 2¼% per mo. plus $1 per month up to 12 months		1% per month
Kansas (1958)	Retail installment selling and financing of goods and services	*Cars:* current model, new $7/100; less than 2 yrs. old, $10/100; older cars, $13/100. *Other goods and services:* $12/100 up to $300; $9/100 up to $1,000; $8/100 for $1,000 and over	5% or $2.50	Maximum rates, after adjustment for insurance, delinquency, and refunds
Kentucky (1956)	Motor vehicles with cash price $5,000 or less	Cars under 1 yr. old, $9/100; less than 3 yrs. old, $13/100; older cars, $15/100	5% or $5	$5 fee plus 1% per month
Louisiana (1958)	Motor vehicles only	New current model cars, 1¼% per mo. on declining balance; less than 2 yrs. old, 1¾% per mo.; less than 4 yrs. old, 2¼% per month; older cars, 2¼% per mo. plus $1 per month (up to $12)	5% or $5	Maximum rates after adjustment for insurance delinquency, and refunds
Maine (1944)	Motor vehicles only	Current model new cars, $7/100; less than 3 yrs. old, $11/100; older cars, $13/100	5% of each installment in default or 6% per yr. on total unpaid balance, whichever is greater	Original rates after adjustment for insurance, delinquency, and refunds
Maryland (1941)	All goods with cash price of $2,000 or less	*Cars:* new, $9/100; under 2 yrs., $12/100; older cars $15/100 *Other goods:* none	5% or $5	15%
Massachusetts (various dates)	All goods conditionally sold	Current model new cars $8/100; less than 2 yrs. old, $10/100; older cars, $12/100	Reasonable charges and interest on delinquent payments. On cars, 5% or $5	Maximum rates after adjustment for insurance delinquency, and refunds
Michigan (1939 and 1950)	Motor vehicles only	Less than 1 yr. old, $6/100; less than 2 yrs. old, $9/100; older cars, $12/100	2% per month	1% to 2% per month
Minnesota (1957)	Motor vehicles only	Less than 1 yr. old, $8/100; less than 3 yrs. old, $11/100; older cars $13/100 plus $3 charge	5% or $5	$5 plus 1% per month
Mississippi (1958)	Motor vehicles with cash price up to $7,500.	New cars, $7/100; less than 2 yrs. old $10/100; less than 4 yrs. old, $13/100; older cars $15/100	5% or $5	1% to 2½% per month
Montana (1959)	All retail installmen sales of goods and services	*Non-Motor vehicles:* $11/100 on 1st $300; $9/100 on next $700; $7/100 on excess. *Motor vehicles:* new current, $7/100; less than 2 yrs. old $9/100; older cars, $11/100	5% or $5; or 10% per year	Maximum rates, after adjustment for insurance, delinquency, and refunds

State	Coverage	Maximum Finance Charge on Principal Balance	Delinquent Charge Limits	Refinancing Charge Limits
Nebraska (1957)	All personal property; revolving charge accounts	*Cars:* new current model, $8/100; less than 2 yrs. old, $10/100; less than 4 yrs. old, $13/100; older cars, $15/100. *Other goods:* up to $300, $12/100; $10/100 on next $700; $8/100 on excess. Under $100, less than 12 mos., 75¢ per $5. *Revolving accounts:* 1½% per mo. on unpaid balances of up to $500 from month to month	5% or $5	
Nevada (1953)	Vehicles only	1% of unpaid balance times no. of months of contract		
New Jersey (1948)	All goods with cash value of $3000 or less		5% or $5	$5 plus 10% true interest per year
New Mexico (1959)	Motor vehicles and secured sales of other goods	Current model new cars; $8/100; less than 2 yrs. old, $10/100; less than 4 yrs. $12/100; older cars $14/100	5% or $5	1% to 2% a month; or maximum rates after adjustment for insurance, delinquency, and refunds
New York (1956 and 1957)	Motor vehicles and all other goods conditionally sold; revolving charge accounts	*Cars:* current model new cars, $7/100; less than 2 yrs. old, $10/100; older cars, $13/100. *Other goods:* $10/100 up to $500; $8/100 on balances $500 and over	5% or $5	1% per month on extensions; maximum rates on rescheduling
North Dakota (1957)	Retail installment sales of all consumer property and revolving accounts	*Cars:* New current model, $7/100; less than 2 yrs. old, $10/100; older, $13/100. *Other goods:* $10/100 *Revolving accounts:* 7% per yr. on declining balances	5% or $5	$5 plus 1% per month
Ohio (1949)	All goods where finance and/or service charge is $15 or more; also revolving accounts	$8/100 plus 50¢ per mo. on first $50, plus 25¢ per mo. on next five $50 units	5% or $3	
Oregon (1957)	Motor vehicles only	Less than 1 yr. old, $8/100; less than 2 yrs. old, $10/100; older cars $12/100	5% or $5	$5 plus 1% per month
Pennsylvania (1947)	Motor vehicles only	New cars, 6% per yr; less than 2 yrs. old, 9% per yr.; older, 12% per yr.	2% per mo.	1% to 2% per month; or original rates after adjustments for delinquency, rebate, etc.

South Dakota (1957)	Motor vehicles only	Current model new cars, 1¼% per mo.; less than 2 yrs. old, 1½% per mo.; older, 2¼% per month	5% or $5	$5 plus charge not more than original rate
Utah (1953)	All tangible personal property with cash price of $7,500 or less	1% of unpaid balance times no. of months of contract		
Wisconsin (1935)	Motor vehicles only	New cars, $7/100; less than 2 yrs. old, $9/100; less than 5 yrs. old, $12/100; older cars, $15/100	1% for each 10 day delinquency up to maximum of 5%	10% per year

Sources: American Finance Conference, *Time Sales Financing*, September 1959.





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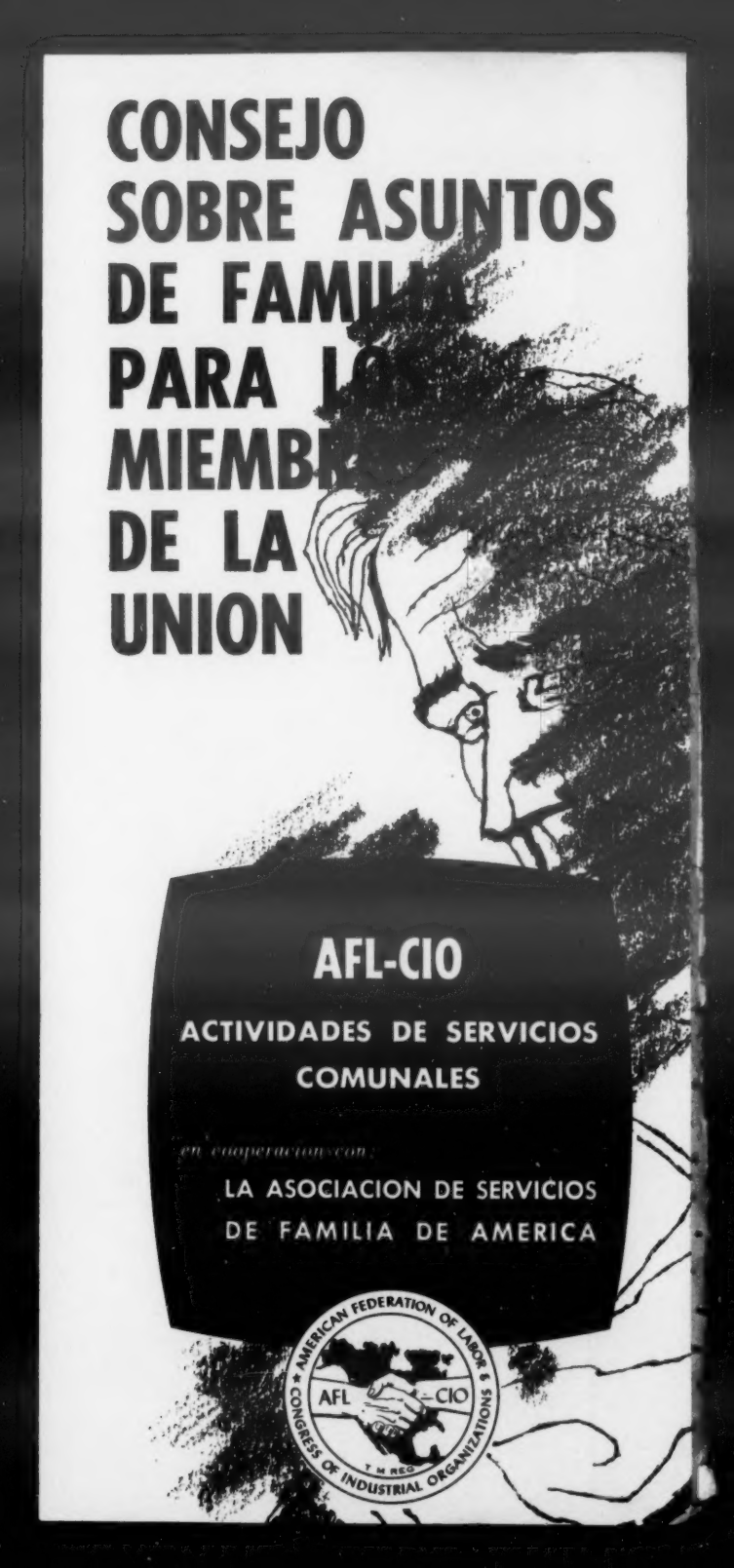
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Secretary-Treasurer

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CONSEJO SOBRE ASUNTOS DE FAMI PARA L MIEMB DE LA UNION



AFL-CIO

ACTIVIDADES DE SERVICIOS COMUNALES

en cooperacion con:

LA ASOCIACION DE SERVICIOS DE FAMILIA DE AMERICA

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR & CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

AFL — CIO

T M REG

QUE HARIA USTED?

Supongase que un companero de trabajo se acerca a usted y le dijera que esta preocupado por el comportamiento de sus dos hijos adolescentes. Estos no aparentan obedecerle, pero desde que su esposa se siente enferma y probablemente necesita atencion medica, el tiene que preocuparse de todo. Recientemente no ha habido mas que argumentos entre el y el resto de la familia. El no sabe que hacer para remediar esta situacion.

O . . .

Un viejo amigo en el vecindario se siente agobiado. Se queja amargamente de sus suegros, cuyos reganos amenazan su vida hogarena. Ademas tiene problemas economicos. Aunque es un trabajador permanente con un trabajo bien remunerado parece no poder mantenerse a flote en la administracion del presupuesto familiar.

Que haria usted si una pareja joven le preguntara que tendrian que hacer para adoptar un nino? . . . o si un padre preocupado le dijera que su hija va a tener un hijo ilegitimo . . . o si una persona que usted conoce desea saber como encontrar un sitio done su madre enferma y envejecida pueda ser atendida.

Todos conocemos personas que tratan de esconder sus preocupaciones personales y domesticas mientras estan en el desempeno de sus labores. Preocupaciones de cualquier clase son destructivas y dificiles de esconder. Mas importante aun, las preocupaciones producen personas infelices, impidiendo que estas funcionen adecuadamente.

La mayoria de las personas prefieren no envolverse en problemas de otros. Hemos aprendido de la experiencia misma que los consejos dados espontaneamente no son siempre apreciados o utilizados. Ademas casi todos nosotros no poseemos los conocimientos y las destrezas que se necesitan para ayudar a personas con problemas serios. Sin embargo, es una caracteristica humana el deseo de ayudar a otros. Que podemos sugerir?

EXISTE AYUDA

Afortunadamente en muchas comunidades hay lugares donde pueden ir personas en busca de ayuda y consejos en sus problemas personales y familiares. Existen facilidades y servicios comunales donde pequenos problemas pueden ser resueltos antes de que se conviertan en problemas complejos y dificiles. Las tensiones familiares se evitan para que no degeneren en una crisis familiar.

Estos recursos comunales proveedores de ayuda son generalmente conocidos como agencias de servicios a familia.

Los nombres especificos de agencias locales de servicios comunales varian de comunidad en comunidad, pero el proposito es el mismo: Ayudar y aconsejar a personas con problemas; ayudarlos a que se conoscan mejor y se ayuden ellos mismos.

EL FACTOR MAS IMPORTANTE EN EL SERVICIO A FAMILIA

Fisicamente hablando, una agencia de servicios a familia no es diferente a otro grupo de oficinas profesionales. La agencia puede estar localizada en un edificio de la parte baja de la ciudad, en un centro comunal o en una residencia hogarena atractiva.

Lo mas importante de una buena agencia de servicios a familia es su personal.

Los consejeros de familia que trabajan en la agencia, que son Trabajadores Sociales, estan cualificados para trabajar en el area de relaciones humanas. El Trabajador Social de Casos es una persona graduada de colegio con dos anos adicionales de estudios en una escuela de Trabajo Social y con experiencia en el ramo de trabajo.

Pero un consejero de familia tiene que tener algo mas que educacion y adiestramiento. La primera cualidad que debe poseer es tener un interes genuino hacia otras personas. El ve su trabajo como uno de ayudar a individuos y familias a desarrollar ambos la capacidad y la oportunidad de llevar una vida satisfactoria y util a la sociedad. Trabaja con y respeta a las personas no importa raza, credo o su nivel economico y social.

DENTRO DE LA AGENCIA DE FAMILIA

La mayor parte de las personas en casi todo el tiempo estan capacitadas para buscar las soluciones a sus problemas personales. A veces sin embargo lo que parece ser sentido comun no funciona o muchos problemas llevan a la persona a tal punto que se le hace imposible lidiar con ellos. Entonces puede necesitar la oportunidad de discutir su situacion con otra persona. Puede necesitar una nueva vision de la situacion' en la posicion en que esta y lo que desea hacer.

Los consejeros en servicios de familia son adiestrados para que conozcan ambos, el hombre emocionalmente y sus necesidades externas. A traves de una serie de entrevistas ayudan a la persona a entender sus propios sentimientos y las emociones de otros envueltos en su problema. Ellos estan interesados en los problemas familiares tangibles como vivienda, recreacion, cuidado de nino, asistencia legal, deudas financieras. Ayudan a la persona preocupada a hacer uso de los recursos comunales disponibles que pueden ayudarle a resolver su problema. Las soluciones nunca son formulas exactas. Ayudan las personas a entender sus dificultades mas claramente y a hacer uso de los pasos que las capacitan a desarrollar su futuro con confianza y respeto propio.

UTILIZANDO LA AGENCIA

Cuando se hace uso de una agencia de servicios de familia es importante tener algunos datos en mente:

★ Las agencias de servicios a familia no hace la labor correspondiente a las agencias de bienestar publico. Asistir a familias en lo que respecta a ayuda financiera es una responsabilidad del gobierno.

Estas agencias pueden ser extremadamente utiles aconsejando a las familias sobre los reglamentos y procedimiento del departamento local de Bienestar Publico, la Administracion de Veteranos y otras posibles fuentes de ayuda economica.

★ Los consejeros de familia no ofrecen formulas magicas pero pueden dar ayuda a aquellos que la desean y que estan dispuestos a invertir tiempo y esfuerzo para conseguir una solucion.

★ Lo discutido con un consejero de servicios de familia nunca sale afuera de la agencia excepto con el consentimiento de las personas envueltas.

★ Muchas agencias de servicios a familia estan en constante demanda pero el personal adiestrado es escaso. Debido a esto, algunas veces las personas tienen que esperar un lapso de tiempo antes de ser entrevistadas.

★ Algunas agencias cobran honorarios moderados por sus servicios de consulta, para cubrir parte de los gastos basandose en los recursos economicos disponibles. La mayor parte del dinero para estos gastos es obtenido a traves de contribuciones hecha por la comunidad. Sin embargo, todas las personas se atienden por igual, paguen o no paguen honorarios.

★ Los miembros de la union no deben vacilar en usar los servicios de una agencia de familia. Los consejeros de la union conocen las agencias de familia y pueden ayudar a los companeros miembros refiriendolos a estos recursos para ayuda que provee la comunidad.

QUIEN RESPALDA LAS AGENCIAS DE SERVICIOS A FAMILIA?

La contestacion mas simple a esto es "caso todos". Una agencia de servicios de familia, como otras organizaciones voluntarias de la comunidad es generalmente mantenida por un Fondo Comunal o un Fondo Unido. Casi todas estas agencias son no-sectarias, pero muchas comunidades tambien tienen servicios de consejos auspiciados por grupos religiosos.

Las normas y los programas son usualmente establecidas por una junta de directores compuestos por ciudadanos electos anualmente, quienes sirven gratuitamente como miembros de un Concilio de Bienestar de la Comunidad, las agencias locales se unen en el planeo y estan en posicion de hablar sobre asistencia publica, vivienda, facilidades para detencion juvenil y otras necesidades comunales.

Agencias de servicios de familia trabajan estrechamente con otras profesiones y grupos comunales en el fortalecimiento de los servicios sociales y en la educacion de la vida familiar. Cientos de uniones de la AFL-CIO han tenido la asistencia voluntaria de un miembro del personal de una gencia de servicios a familia en la planificacion de programas de consejos e institutos de salud y bienestar auspiciados por la AFL-CIO.

LO QUE PUEDE HACER LA UNION

PARA SABER

Que existen una serie de formas en que uniones locales pueden publicar el trabajo de agencias de servicios a familia. Un buen comienzo seria invitar a un representante de una agencia local para que hable en una reunion de la union. Tambien hay disponible una serie de peliculas cortas muy apropiadas para demostrarse en una reunion de miembros. Ademas se pueden obtener pamfletos y cartelones que describen las funciones de una agencia de servicios a familia en las agencias locales, Fondo Comunal o el Fondo Unido.

PARA UTILIZAR

La mejor forma en que las uniones locales pueden ayudar los miembros a que usen las facilidades de las agencias de servicios a familia es teniendo consejeros adiestrados. Como los consejeros de union son miembros adiestrados en el uso de agencias de bienestar y salud comunal, ellos pueden ser especialmente utiles explicando y refiriendo companeros miembros a los mejores recursos de ayuda comunal.

PARA SOSTENER

Como casi todas las agencias de familia estan afiliadas con un Fondo Comunal o un Fondo Unido en campanas anual pro fondos es una excelente ocasion para recordarle a los miembros que los servicios de consejos son tan necesarios para el bienestar de la comunidad como otras facilidades sociales y recreativas.

PARA SERVIR

La AFL-CIO cree que todas las agencias sociales deben ser representativas de la comunidad. En este interes a muchos miembros se le ha pedido que participen en las juntas y comites de las agencias de servicios a familia de su comunidad. Ser miembro de dicha junta es una responsabilidad importante y el Comite de Servicios Comunales del cuerpo local de la junta central de trabajo, debe hacer todo el esfuerzo posible por conseguir miembros que cualifiquen y se interesen para servir en esta capacidad.

PARA MEJORAR

Una buena agencia de servicios a familia depende de un numero de factores: personal adiestrado, un presupuesto de operacion adecuado, y aceptacion de la comunidad. El programa de servicios comunales de la AFL-CIO puede ayudar a las organizaciones locales de servicios a familia mantener altos niveles de servicios tomando un interes activo en el trabajo de estas agencias vitalmente necesarias.

PARA SABER

PARA UTILIZAR

PARA SOSTENER

PARA SERVIR

PARA MEJORAR

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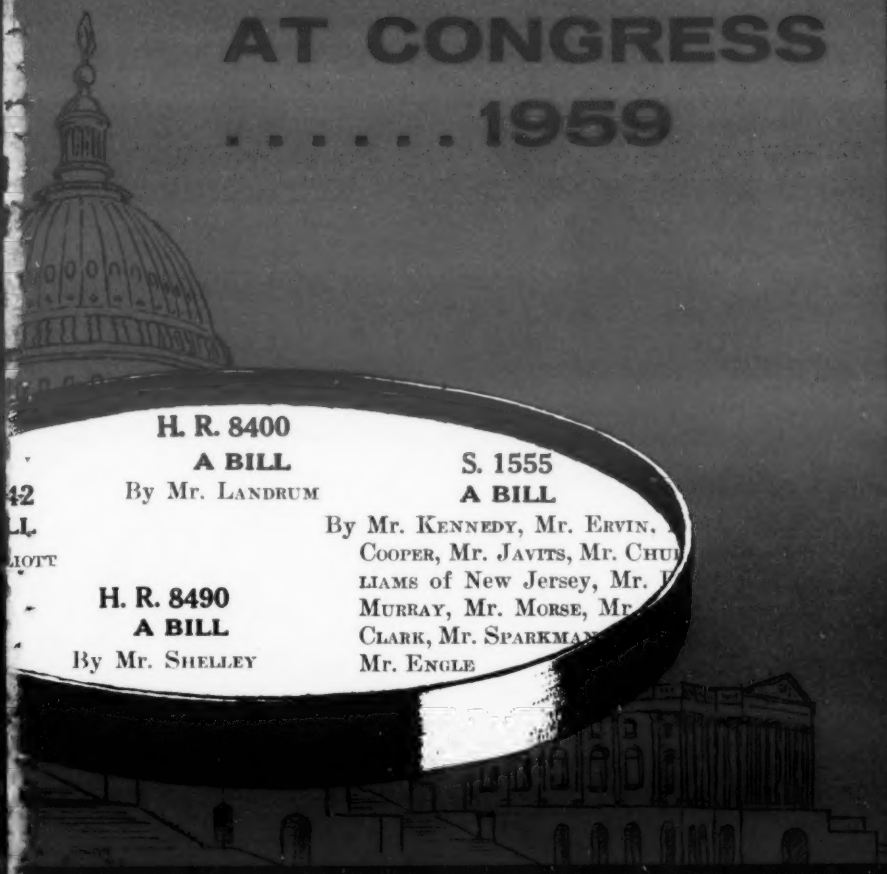
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AN AFL-CIO LEGISLATIVE REPORT

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PREFACE

The first session of the 86th Congress was the longest congressional session in recent years. It began on Jan. 7 and adjourned early in the morning of Sept. 14, 1959. Nearly 14,000 bills were introduced and more than 2,000 of these, mostly minor, were passed.

The failure of the Congress to pass more major legislation to meet the needs of the people and of the nation is cause for regret. These pages contain a summary of congressional action and inaction.

This pamphlet relates the highlights of the first session, emphasizing those things which, in the opinion of the AFL-CIO, have the greatest impact on the welfare and security of the people of the United States.

It also relates, in some detail, the unfortunate passage of anti-labor provisions in the labor-management reporting and disclosure act, provisions which harm not only the trade union movement and its members, but also the millions of unorganized workers who will find it more difficult to acquire for themselves the benefits of union organization.

The Congress labored under a difficult handicap in the more vigorous but also more conservative leadership of the President. Time and again the Congress failed to approve adequate programs to meet domestic needs because of the President's opposition; other times, the Congress was balked by presidential vetoes.

If it is to be effective, the Congress in its second session must meet the challenge of the President and adopt sound, progressive legislation.

The work of the AFL-CIO Legislative Department, its staff, the able and dedicated Washington representatives of affiliated unions and the representatives of state organizations is an essential factor in the success of the AFL-CIO legislative program.

But in the last analysis, the effectiveness of a legislative program falls on the shoulders of the 13.5 million members of the AFL-CIO. We urge them to keep themselves informed on the activities of Congress and to express their views to their elected representatives.

When the people fully and consistently inform their representatives and senators of their views, Congress can become truly responsive to their will.

Landrum-Griffin Act

Twelve years ago Congress shackled the American worker and his union with harsh anti-labor legislation. In 1947, the 80th Congress passed the Taft-Hartley Act over a presidential veto.

In the years following, pressures from conservatives in business and government for additional restrictive legislation seemed ineffective. The public conscience, it appeared, felt that Congress had gone too far with Taft-Hartley, and that if modifications were to be made they should be to correct the punitive provisions of the law.

But in 1959 the 86th Congress brought about a dramatic change in labor legislation. Once again Congress, this time at the public urging of the President, made it more difficult for trade unions to secure better wages and working conditions for millions of American workers.

Background

The new restrictions on traditional trade union activities were sold to the public under a fraudulent label: anti-corruption legislation. For several years labor, business, government and others had urged Congress to pass legislation which would help the trade union movement to rid itself of the handful of crooks and racketeers which had infiltrated a few unions. Labor asked also that legislation check corruptionists in management in the labor relations field.

The AFL-CIO had emphasized the need for clean unionism at its founding convention. The objective was stated in its Constitution: "To protect the labor movement from any and all corrupt influences and from the undermining efforts of Communist agencies and all others who are opposed to the basic principles of our democracy and free and democratic unionism."

Nor did the Constitution stop with a statement of principles. Also included was a specific authority for the AFL-CIO Executive Council to conduct investigations and hearings and to suspend unions found tainted with corruption. A permanent Committee on Ethical Practices was established.

During the first years of the existence of the AFL-CIO, the committee created a series of Codes of Ethical Practices dealing with trust funds,

racketeers, conflicts of interest of union officials, financial practices and democratic processes. The second AFL-CIO convention adopted these codes as guiding principles for affiliated unions.

These ethical principles have not been ignored. Acting on recommendations by the Ethical Practices Committee and the Executive Council, the 1957 convention expelled four unions from the AFL-CIO: the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, a union which then represented nearly one-tenth of AFL-CIO membership; the Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union, another sizable affiliate; and the smaller Laundry Workers International Union and Dye House Workers.

Five other unions have changed officers and procedures to comply with the codes.

The AFL-CIO did not stop with internal procedures—it actively sought positive assistance from the federal government.

At both its 1955 and 1957 Conventions, resolutions were unanimously adopted urging enactment of a law to require complete reporting and disclosure of the financial operations of health, welfare and pension benefit plans, with criminal penalties for misrepresentation and false filing. Such a law was finally passed in 1958.

The Kennedy-Ives Bill

It was apparent that passage of health and welfare disclosure legislation did not meet all problems of corruption. Once it had expelled an affiliate, for example, the AFL-CIO could do little to force a clean-up in that union. The 1957 convention, therefore, authorized the Executive Council to support such measures as it found necessary and appropriate to aid the labor movement in achieving its legitimate aspirations.

The AFL-CIO activity in keeping its own house clean was followed by congressional activity. In January 1957 the Senate established its Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor or Management Field, the so-called McClellan Committee.

Through a series of hearings extending over three years, the committee revealed instances of corruption in several unions, including those expelled by the AFL-CIO. The hearings were given full treatment by the press, radio and television, and public pressure began mounting for legislative action.



McClellan Committee investigations spurred demands for enactment of labor-management reform legislation.

Early in 1958 two responsible members of the Select Committee, Senator John F. Kennedy (D-Mass.) and Senator Irving M. Ives (R-N.Y.) introduced legislation requiring reporting and disclosure of union financial activities, reporting of conflicts of interest by union officers, and secret ballot elections. Certain modest amendments to the Taft-Hartley Act were also included.

Some members of the Select Committee, however, were more interested in pet anti-labor proposals having little or nothing to do with corruption. When the Kennedy-Ives bill came to the Senate floor in June 1958 Sen. William Knowland (R-Calif.) led these forces in repeated and unsuccessful attempts to amend the bill to include these proposals.

Altogether, 51 amendments were offered to the Kennedy-Ives bill, 32 of which were adopted. Although some of these were unnecessary and unworkable, the AFL-CIO urged the House of Representatives to pass the bill as helpful in the fight on racketeering.

But despite appeals by Senator Ives to his fellow Republicans not to turn the measure into a political issue, the House defeated the bill, with Republicans voting overwhelmingly against it. The stage was set for 1959.

Kennedy Carries the Committee

The elections of 1958 changed the political composition of the Congress substantially. In both Houses, the number of liberals was substantially increased. For labor, it appeared that chances for fair anti-corruption legislation had been improved. Events were to prove, however, that liberals had still not gained control of Congress.

The Senate Labor Subcommittee began new hearings Jan. 28, 1959. Before it were two major proposals: S 505, introduced by Senators Kennedy and Sam Ervin (D-N.C.), and S 748, written by the Eisenhower Administration and introduced by Senator Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.).

The Kennedy-Ervin bill closely paralleled the Kennedy-Ives bill of the previous year. Required were detailed reporting of union finances, conflict of interest reports by union officials, financial reports by employers and labor relations consultants, reports on trusteeships over local unions, and secret ballot elections at stated intervals. Five amendments to the Taft-Hartley Act were also embodied in the Kennedy-Ervin bill:

1—A direction to the National Labor Relations Board to assert its full jurisdiction over labor disputes.

2—A ban on picketing for purposes of "shakedown" or extortion.

3—Authorization for pre-hire union security agreements in the building and construction industry.

4—Elimination of a provision barring economic strikers from voting in representation elections.

5—Redefinition of the term "supervisor."

The Administration-Goldwater bill also included some anti-corruption provisions, but it was primarily an anti-labor bill. It would have given the NLRB unlimited discretion to decline to exercise its jurisdiction, thus restoring "government by injunction" in the 38 states which do not have a labor relations agency. It would have banned virtually all secondary boycotts and organizational picketing, thus frustrating and defeating union efforts to organize the unorganized. For all practical purposes it ignored employer malpractices.

About the Kennedy-Ervin bill the AFL-CIO said: "We are determined that there be legislation which will eliminate the opportunities for corrup-

tion and at the same time preserve the traditional and legitimate functions of trade unions. In our opinion . . . S 505 meets this test."

About the Administration-Goldwater bill the AFL-CIO said: "It is complicated, confusing and self-defeating. It is patently anti-labor and shows clear signs of having been drafted for political purposes rather than as a genuine attempt to cope with that corruption in the ranks of labor and management exposed by the McClellan Committee's investigations."

Hearings lasted 11 days. On March 25, the full Senate Labor Committee voted 13 to 2 to approve a modified version of the Kennedy-Ervin bill, S 1555.

McClellan Carries the Senate

Senate debate on the bill began April 15. The first conservative move was an amendment by Senator Ervin, the bill's nominal co-sponsor, to strike the Taft-Hartley amendments from the bill. This maneuver was easily defeated on a roll call vote, 67 to 27.

The second test, a motion by Senator Everett M. Dirksen (R-Ill.) to substitute the Administration's anti-labor Taft-Hartley amendments for those in the bill, also was easily defeated on a roll call, 67 to 24.

The ease with which these amendments were beaten reinforced the general view that the Senate would reject anti-labor proposals. One of the chief leaders of the anti-labor forces conceded in private that he had little chance of success. Such was not the case.

Those who wanted anti-labor legislation decided to rely on Senator McClellan to make the major fight. His prestige was high because of his chairmanship of the Select Committee. The New York Times reported that Senator Goldwater, ranking Republican on the Senate Labor Committee, had said that he was "going to let Senator McClellan carry the floor fight on the many issues on which their views coincided."

"The Arizonian," the Times went on, "said this was simply a recognition of the greater influence held by Senator McClellan as chairman of the Select Committee . . ."

On April 22, on the sixth day of debate, Senator McClellan offered an amendment, a "bill of rights" for union members.

The title was appealing enough, but the subtitles were even more desirable: equal rights, freedom of speech, freedom from arbitrary financial exactions, and so forth.

But the language concealed devices to weaken responsible unions. It required unions to admit all persons to membership, even racketeers, Communists and company spies. Under the guise of "freedom of speech," it could have impaired the right of unions to discipline members advocating wildcat strikes or urging that the union follow the Communist Party line. It put union officers under threat of $10,000 fine or two years imprisonment, or both, for throwing a drunk out of a union meeting.

There was no opportunity for sober reflection on the amendment. Senator McClellan held the Senate floor for more than two hours. He did not speak of the amendment's anti-labor character. Instead he appealed to a variety of passions: sympathy for the worker (". . . almost invariably the abuses, the compulsions, thievery, thuggery, skullduggery, and sometimes skull-splitting tactics are practices against workers . . ."); fear of rampant corruption ("No one knows how many thousands or even millions of workers are the victims of such exploitation or how many more workers may readily become victimized . . ."); desire to help honest unions (". . . the Meanys and others whom we respect and whom we feel repre-



AFL-CIO officers met with Speaker Rayburn to seek support for fair anti-corruption legislation

sent the best in unionism today will be supplanted by the Hoffas, the Brennans, the Dioguardias . . ."); and pity for McClellan ("Mr. President, I may never come back to the U.S. Senate").

His last effort, just before the vote, was a thinly veiled threat:

"I say that the union members have rights; and tonight we shall either protect them by legislative means, or senators will vote against every dues-paying union member in the country who tonight is being exploited and abused. Senators must take their choice; no other issue is now before us."

As McClellan talked, sometimes shouting and sometimes calm-voiced, the mood of the Senate changed. Whereas liberal forces had seemed to be in control before, this was no longer certain.

When the roll call was taken, McClellan was victorious; his "bill of rights" was adopted by a one-vote margin. He had been able to switch the votes of several Republicans and Democrats who had been counted as friends of labor.

On the roll call, Apr. 22, 1959, the Senate voted to adopt the McClellan "bill of rights" amendment.

Voting to hamper the functions of honest unions....47
(15 Democrats, 32 Republicans)

Voting against the amendment.....46
(44 Democrats, 2 Republicans)

Nixon Nails It Down

When the vote was announced, Senator Dirksen (who voted for the amendment) moved to reconsider, and Senator Goldwater moved to table the motion. Adoption of the motion to table would make it almost impossible to reverse the previous vote later.

When the roll call came on the motion to table, the result was a tie.

On the roll call, Apr. 22, 1959, the Senate rejected an attempt to reverse the vote on the "bill of rights."

Voting to retain the "bill of rights".....45
(13 Democrats, 32 Republicans)

Voting to reject the "bill of rights"..... 45
(43 Democrats, 2 Republicans)

With the vote tied, the liberals would have won. But Vice President Richard M. Nixon cast an anti-labor vote of his own; he voted for the motion to table, thereby keeping McClellan's amendment in the bill.

The Senate had failed to recognize that the Kennedy-Ervin bill, agreed upon after months of study in committee, was itself a well-considered bill of rights which protected the right to freedom from coercion and violence.

Subsequently, under the leadership of Senator Thomas Kuchel (R-Calif.) and others, another parliamentary maneuver took place which resulted in considerably softening the original language of the "bill of rights." Some of its objectionable features, however, were retained.

Anti-labor Forces Step Up Drive

With this victory under their belts, the conservatives and reactionaries realized that they had a chance. Although the Democratic majorities had been swelled in the last election, there was a real potential for anti-labor legislation.

Forty-eight more amendments were offered to the Kennedy-Ervin bill, many of them anti-labor. In all, 35 amendments were adopted.

The worst of these limited organizational and recognition picketing (86 to 4, after a harsher amendment was rejected, 59 to 30), defined fiduciary obligations of union officers (voice vote), granted state agencies greater authority over labor disputes (78 to 15, after rejecting a broader amendment, 52 to 39), and banned certain "hot cargo" clauses (unanimous consent).

Seventeen amendments were rejected. Among these was a McClellan amendment to permit the National Labor Relations Board to decide how much of the jurisdiction granted to it by law it would take. Whatever jurisdiction it declined to take could be exercised by state courts and agencies.

This solution to the "no-man's land" problem would have meant that in the 38 states without labor relations agencies, the state courts could exercise full jurisdicion over labor disputes which the Board declined.

Inevitably, these courts would make extensive use of the labor injunction. Among these 38 states are all of those in which the lowest wages and worst working conditions prevail.

On the roll call, Apr. 23, 1959, the Senate rejected the anti-labor McClellan "no-man's land" amendment.

Voting to hamper union activities in most states....39
(16 Democrats, 23 Republicans)

Voting to preserve federal protection.....52
(43 Democrats, 9 Republicans)

Another McClellan amendment sought to ban almost all kinds of secondary boycotts, a legitimate weapon used by trade unions to protect union conditions. The amendment would have prevented unions from asking one employer to refuse to do business with another or even, under certain conditions, to ask consumers not to buy the products of an unfair employer.

On the roll call, Apr. 24, 1959, the Senate rejected the McClellan secondary boycott amendment.

Voting to restrict legitimate union activities.....41
(16 Democrats, 25 Republicans)

Voting to preserve traditional weapons.....50
(43 Democrats, 7 Republicans)

Still another key McClellan amendment sought to ban organizational or recognition picketing in almost all cases, and impose criminal penalties for unlawful picketing. Organizational picketing, a valid exercise of free speech, has traditionally been used to urge employees to join the union.

On the roll call, Apr. 24, 1959, the Senate rejected the McClellan picketing amendment.

Voting to jail union members picketing to encourage others to organize.....30
(9 Democrats, 21 Republicans)

Voting to permit organizational picketing.....59
(48 Democrats, 11 Republicans)

On April 25 the Senate passed the bill, S 1555, by a vote of 90 to 1.

House Hearings

A joint subcommittee of the House Committee on Education and Labor held 36 days of hearings between March 4 and June 10. More than 75 witnesses were heard, including AFL-CIO President George Meany, who appeared three times.

Meany urged the subcommittee to report a bill similar to the Kennedy-Ervin bill before it was amended by the Senate. Business groups generally requested legislation even more anti-labor than the Administration proposals, demanding such things as a federal "right to work" law and application of the anti-trust laws to trade unions.

Complicating the House hearings was a dispute within the Administration over the "bill of rights" adopted by the Senate.

Ike and Secretary Disagree

Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell had told the House subcommittee earlier that there was no need for legislation dealing in detail with union members' rights, since these were already adequately protected by state courts. But in his April 29 press conference, President Eisenhower said he thought the McClellan bill of rights "was a very fine thing."



AFL-CIO President Meany urged House Labor committee to approve bill to curb racketeering.

Mitchell tried again. In a mid-May press conference, he said the bill of rights was "not necessary," and added that he "would rather see the bill without it."

But the President had the last word. At his June 3 press conference, he said the McClellan bill of rights "is one of the things that I approved of. I was sorry to see it watered down."

Committee Writes Its Own Bill

Following the end of the public hearings, the full House Labor Committee began writing its own bill in closed session.

Through the rest of June and most of July the committee, using the Senate-passed bill as a basis for discussion, scrutinized each section. Altogether, 102 amendments were adopted by the committee, changing the bill substantially.

Membership of the committee was composed of 20 Democrats and 10 Republicans. On most controversial issues, the committee split 12 to 18, with Chairman Graham Barden (D-N.C.) and Representative Phil Landrum (D-Ga.) voting with the Republicans.

Liberal Democrats on the committee fought against including anti-labor sections in the bill. However, the Democratic leadership of the House felt that if the committee reported a measure which did not include restrictions on organizational picketing and "hot cargo" clauses similar to those in the Senate-passed bill, much worse anti-labor sections would be added on the House floor.

Five liberal Democrats on the committee followed the leadership strategy, and picketing and "hot cargo" sections were added to the committee bill. They were almost identical to those in the Senate-passed bill.

This bill, H.R. 8342, was introduced by Representative Carl Elliott (D-Ala.), one of the five following the leadership.

Two events quickly followed the introduction of the committee bill. The first of these was the introduction of a new bill, H.R. 8400, by Representatives Landrum and Robert P. Griffin (R-Mich.). This was an extreme anti-labor measure designed to cripple legitimate union activities.

The second development was the introduction of H.R. 8490 by Representative John F. Shelley (D-Calif.). The Shelley bill omitted the anti-

labor provisions of both the committee bill and the Landrum-Griffin bill.

The AFL-CIO urged members of the House of Representatives to oppose both the committee bill and the Landrum-Griffin bill, and to support the Shelley bill, which "proves what we have long contended; anti-racketeering legislation that is not anti-labor can be drafted."

Bills Compared

Many sections—primarily the anti-corruption sections—of the three bills were identical. These included the contents of financial reports to be filed by unions, conflict of interest reports to be filed by union officials, criminal penalties for failure to file and false filing, reports on trusteeships over local unions, secret ballot elections, procedures for removal of officers, limitations on loans to union officials, and ban on communists and certain convicts holding union office or employment.

The Landrum-Griffin bill amendments to Taft-Hartley were almost word for word the amendments requested by the Administration.

The major differences in the bills were these:

Bill of Rights

The committee bill prescribed rights of union members generally the same as those contained in the Senate-passed bill. Exercise of these rights was made subject to the union's authority to adopt rules (1) assuring orderly conduct of meetings, (2) requiring members to observe their obligations to the union, and (3) restraining conduct interfering with the performance of legal or contractual obligations by the union. The Shelley bill was similar, but aso made it clear that the obligations imposed on unions were exclusive and not subject to conflicting state regulations.

The Landrum-Griffin bill also prescribed rights similar to the Senate-passed bill. While some limitations were placed on the exercise of these rights, the bill lacked any general provision preserving necessary union authority over its own internal affairs. Severe criminal penalties were provided for violence, and the bill imposed an unreasonable degree of formality on local union disciplinary proceedings.

Under the Landrum-Griffin bill, the several states are encouraged to adopt conflicting requirements, thus introducing unwarranted confusion in this field. In addition, formal requirements for "specific written charges," "fair and full hearing," and other elements of due process are probably inappropriate in cases in which a member's substantial rights are not an issue.

"No-man's Land"

The committee and Shelley bills provided that the National Labor Relations Board must handle all cases over which it has been granted jurisdiction under the law.

The Landrum-Griffin bill permitted the board to refuse to handle cases involving "any class or category" of employers. State courts and agencies could then handle such cases, without applying federal law.

The federal labor relations law was enacted to protect workers in their right to organize and bargain collectively, and to prevent employers from interfering with these rights. Most states do not have specialized agencies or procedures for dealing with labor disputes. In most cases, this means that labor disputes would be decided by the use of anti-labor injunctions by state courts, an unfair situation which both the Wagner and Taft-Hartley Acts sought to avoid.

"Hot Cargo" and Secondary Boycotts

The committee bill made "hot-cargo" contracts between unions and trucking companies an unfair labor practice, but permitted "unfair goods" clauses in other industries. The Shelley bill had no "hot cargo" provisions.

The Landrum-Griffin bill made a "hot cargo" contract with any employer an unfair labor practice. It also prohibited virtually all secondary boycotts. That is, it prohibited a union from inducing any individuals employed by any person to refuse to handle goods so as to force any person to cease doing business with another person.

The use of the secondary boycott had already been severely restricted by enactment of Taft-Hartley. The Landrum-Griffin went farther. It made it an unfair labor practice to ask a railroad employe to respect a picket

line, to ask an employer not to deal with a sweatshop employer, and to picket for the purpose of truthfully advising the public that a product distributed by Employer A is made by Employer B, whom the union is striking.

Organizational Picketing

The committee bill prohibited picketing for organizing or recognition purposes if (1) another union has been recognized by the employer, or (2) a valid representation election has been held within the preceding nine months and the picketing union was not chosen as bargaining representative by a majority of the employees. The Shelley bill had no restrictions on such picketing, but banned picketing for purposes of extortion.

The Landrum-Griffin bill prohibited organizational and recognition picketing if (1) the employer recognized another union, (2) a valid election was held in the preceding 12 months, (3) when the union cannot show the support of 30 percent of the workers, or (4) where picketing has continued for 30 days and no petition for an election is filed.

Ironically, the banning of picketing when the employer has recognized another union encourages the employer to make "sweetheart" agreements with racketeering unions. For example, during the House debate the following events occured in one of our larger industrial states: Union A, an honest union, had organized more than 50 percent of the workers in a manufacturing plant. When the employer heard of the progress Union A was making, he called in Union B, a union which had been expelled from the AFL-CIO and which did not have the support of the employes, and signed a substandard agreement. Although picketing would be permitted if the recognition were unlawful, as it was in this case, the delay in proving it unlawful would probably be fatal to the honest union's chances.

Picketing is sometimes an essential tool for organizing purposes, and for protecting hard-won union wage and working standards. For example, suppose that of five restaurants in a single city block four have good labor-management relations and union wage and working conditions. The fifth has sweatshop conditions, and avoids organization by replacing its employes rapidly. The four union restaurateurs are facing stiff competition, and demand cuts in the union scales. The most effective alternative

for the union is to picket the offending restaurant, attempting to organize the employes and to advertise the non-union conditions to the public.

The Landrum-Griffin provisions, therefore, not only hamper new organizing but threaten existing union conditions.

Small Union Exemption

Both the committee and Shelley bills exempted (subject to revocation) from the very detailed financial reporting requirements small unions having less than 200 members or gross annual receipts of less than $20,000.

The Landrum-Griffin bill required all unions to file detailed financial reports regardless of size or income.

Many thousands of local unions throughout the country have fewer than 200 members and gross annual receipts far below $20,000 a year. Typically, the officers of these unions work full time in the plant and serve the union without pay. To pay an accountant is a serious burden for such a local. Yet because of the severe criminal penalties relating to the financial reporting sections of the bill, a worker untrained in bookkeeping would be reluctant to take office unless he were assured of skilled assistance.

Pressure Groups

Immediately after Senate passage of the bill, pressure groups began to work with renewed energy on the House of Representatives. Slowly at first, then with steadily increasing activity, business and the Administration put on pressure for anti-labor legislation. Labor fought hard for anti-racketeering legislation, and against anti-labor legislation.

National magazines, such as Life and Readers' Digest, published articles building public opinion against the labor movement. Newspaper columnists and editorial writers took up the cry for a "tough" labor reform bill. A large corporation paid for a summer repeat of a TV dramatic program which helped to create emotional opposition to labor.

Finally, in the last weeks before House debate began, the battle reached almost unprecedented fury. Old-timers in the House said they could remember nothing so intense as the battle over the Shelley, the committee, and the Landrum-Griffin bills.

Two weeks before the vote, Senate Select Committee Counsel Robert F. Kennedy appeared on a popular late-evening television show. He asked for a "strong" labor reform bill. As a result, hundreds of thousands of letters and postcards began arriving on congressional desks, urging enactment of "strong" labor reform legislation. Although the anti-racketeering sections of all three bills were similar, too many congressmen assumed this flood of mail was in support of the Landrum-Griffin bill. A later letter from Counsel Kennedy in which he said that the committee bill would "carry out all the recommendations of the McClellan Committee" failed to counteract this impression.

Unfortunately, labor's position was not aided by Teamster lobbyists. Representatives of that union, whose improper activities had helped to arouse public demand for legislation, angered congressmen by a succession of threats, early morning phone calls and high-pressure tactics. These ill-advised activities made AFL-CIO efforts more difficult.

In the meantime, the National Association of Manufacturers, the Chamber of Commerce and especially the American Retail Federation were working hard on people back home. In key congressional districts, teams were sent into every city, town and village. These teams visited nearly every businessman, urging him to write or wire his congressman in support of the Landrum-Griffin bill. This campaign was highly effective, producing a large volume of communications demanding a vote for the Landrum-Griffin bill.

Although labor was active in support of the Shelley bill, the volume of mail from workers failed to reach the proportions of the pro-Landrum-Griffin mail.

Much was written in the last days before the vote about the large number of trade unionists "swarming" over Capitol Hill, but the number of businessmen lobbying their congressmen easily outnumbered the union members.

Telephone calls and visits from lobbyists and constituents became so numerous that most representatives stayed on the House floor. As the Washington Evening Star commented, "The House floor was, in fact, an island of relative calm, and about the only place where harried members could get away from it all."

Senate voices aided the contending parties. Said Senator Kennedy:

"The hodgepodge (Landrum-Griffin) substitute bill . . . goes far beyond the recommendations of the McClellan Committee—threatening to restrict the anti-racketeering efforts of honest unions, to bog down small unions and the bill's administration in a welter of red tape, and to weaken labor's legitimate rights at the bargaining table. Far more than that, it strengthens the grip of racketeers."

Said Senator McClellan, in a letter to Representative Barden: "I have repeatedly stated, and am glad to say again, that there can be no question but what the provisions of the Landrum-Griffin bill are stronger and will be far more effective in eliminating and correcting the abuses and other improper practices about which you inquire."

Eisenhower: No. 1 Lobbyist

The most important lobbyist, however, was the President of the United States, assisted by his Cabinet, his staff, and the Vice-President.

The President made no public effort to help the hundreds of thousands of people living on the edge of poverty in depressed areas. He made no public effort to help the millions of school children in overcrowded classrooms and substandard buildings. He made no public effort to raise minimum wages for family breadwinners earning less than $2,000 a year. But to prevent the benefits of collective bargaining being extended to millions who labor for substandard wages, he entered the fray enthusiastically and effectively.

A week before the key House vote was taken, Mr. Eisenhower took to the air. Nationwide television and radio hookups carried his broadcast; the President's major lobbying effort for a piece of domestic legislation.

"The Landrum-Griffin bill," the President said, "is a good start toward a real labor reform bill, containing many of the corrective provisions I have urged."

Again the mail poured in.

Attempts by opponents of Landrum-Griffin, including Speaker Sam Rayburn (D-Tex.), who advocated the committee bill, and Representative Shelley, to gain equal time from the same radio and TV networks to answer the President were rejected. Speaker Rayburn was heard on one radio network, and Representative Shelley on another. AFL-CIO Presi-

dent George Meany, on a third radio network, sought support for the Shelley bill in a speech recorded for broadcast before the President spoke.

The President's speech was not the only Administration effort. Working to keep Republican members of the House of Representatives in line, Attorney General William P. Rogers and Postmaster General Arthur E. Summerfield met with Republicans who had not promised support to Landrum-Griffin. Vice President Nixon breakfasted with groups of House Republicans on two mornings prior to the key vote.

Rumors ran through the House of threats to withhold new post offices, dams, and other public works from the congressional districts of Republicans who failed to back the Administration position. In an almost heroic display of independence, 17 Republicans resisted all such pressure and voted against Landrum-Griffin on the key vote.

Finally, on Wednesday, Aug. 12, voting began. Considering the bill in the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, where roll calls cannot be taken, the Shelley bill was brought to a vote. It was rejected, 245 to 132.

On Thursday, debate on the Landrum-Griffin bill, which had been offered as a substitute for the committee bill, became heated. The Republican-Dixiecrat leadership moved successfully to strike from the bill a civil rights provision which threatened to alienate Southerners.

Prior to the vote, the AFL-CIO told House members that the vote to substitute Landrum-Griffin was the key vote, and any vote for substitution would be considered an anti-labor vote.

The galleries were packed throughout the day. Visitors joined a long line on the floor below waiting hopefully for a seat.

In mid-afternoon the key vote came—this time on a roll call. The House voted to substitute the Landrum-Griffin bill for the committee version, 229 to 201.

The vote was the largest ever taken in the House. Only five members failed to vote; 229 voted for an anti-labor bill.

On the roll call, on Aug. 13, 1959, the House approved the anti-labor Landrum-Griffin bill.

Voting to cripple union organizing efforts.....229
(95 Democrats, 134 Republicans)

Voting for true anti-racketeering legislation.....201
(184 Democrats, 17 Republicans)

Business groups, aided by President Eisenhower, Vice President Nixon, and other members of the Republican Administration, had scored a solid victory in their efforts to secure legislation to hamper collective bargaining and union organizing drives.

On the following day, the House formalized the result. It rejected a motion to recommit and passed the bill by pro forma votes of 280 to 148 and 303 to 125. Many members who had voted against Landrum-Griffin, knowing that their votes could not defeat the bill anyway, voted for the bill on final passage to indicate their approval of the principle of labor reform legislation.

Bills in Conference

Because the House and Senate versions differed, the next step was to appoint a conference committee to draft a compromise. On the House side, five of the seven conferees had voted for Landrum-Griffin. On the Senate side, a serious move to adopt the House-passed bill without going to conference was averted; of the seven Senate conferees, four had consistently opposed anti-labor amendments during Senate debate.

The conferees labored for nearly three weeks. Senator Kennedy, with the support of other liberals on the conference committee (Sens. McNamara, Morse and Randolph, and Reps. Perkins and Thompson), managed to secure several important concessions from the confident House conferees.

The major concessions were:

- Language preventing the National Labor Relations Board from declining to handle labor disputes which it would have handled prior to Aug. 1, 1959.

- Language clarifying the right of workers to strike against and picket their own employer even though employes of other employers refused to cross the picket line.

- Language guaranteeing the right to appeal to consumers by methods other than picketing (for example, leaflet distribution) asking the public

to refrain from buying goods made by nonunion labor and to refrain from trading with a retailer who sells such goods.

- Language clarifying the right of a union to sign an agreement with an employer in the construction industry requiring, in effect, that subcontracted work be done by union members.
- Language clarifying the right of unions in the clothing industry to require that subcontractors use union labor.
- Language permitting an employer in the construction industry to sign pre-hire contracts with unions.

The conference report was approved in the Senate, 90 to 2, and in the House, 352 to 52. Although Senator Kennedy and other liberal conferees had done much to improve the final version, it was still a bill containing sections to hamstring and hamper unions.

President Eisenhower signed the bill on Sept. 14; it became Public Law 86-257.

Of it the AFL-CIO convention said:

"This measure was designed to destroy organized labor, but we will not be destroyed. It was intended to prevent us from growing in size and in strength, but we will not be halted. Our cause is just and we will continue to move forward, organizing the unorganized workers, improving the wages, hours and conditions of all workers, and working to broaden the democratic basis of our society."

Other Labor Legislation

Legislative action in the labor field was dominated during the first session by the battle over labor-management reform. The most obvious need, minimum wage improvements, was side-tracked, but Congress did take a positive step in approving a health insurance plan for federal employes.

Minimum Wage

For several years congressional liberals have sought to extend the protection of the Fair Labor Standards Act to some of the 20 million workers not now covered, and to increase the minimum wage from $1.00 to $1.25 an hour.

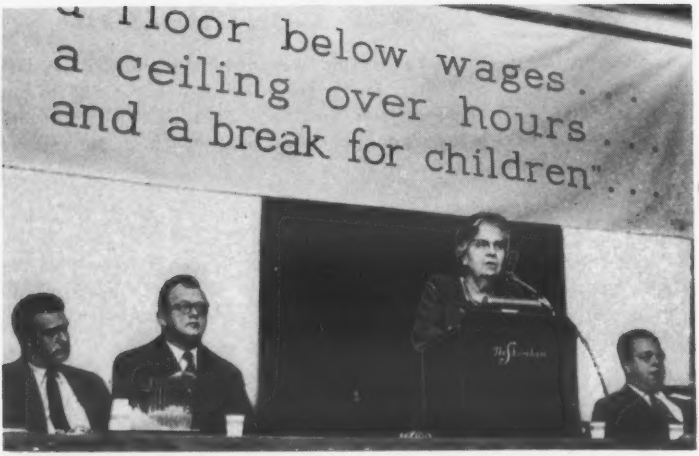
Extensive hearings had been held by the appropriate committees in both Houses of Congress during the 85th Congress, but no action resulted. This year, a new series of hearings was held by the Senate Labor Subcommittee.

President Meany, testifying before this subcommittee, urged approval of the Kennedy-Morse-Roosevelt bills, which would extend coverage of the act to 7.8 million workers now unprotected and would raise the outmoded minimum to $1.25.

The Administration, however, sought to prevent necessary improvement. It proposed a token measure which would extend coverage only to about 2.5 million workers not now covered, most of whom already earn the $1.00 minimum. Under the Administration proposal, the minimum would be unchanged, and even the workers newly covered would continue to be excluded from the overtime provisions of the act.

Thus, the Administration chose virtually to ignore the plight of millions of wage earners who have annual incomes of less than $2,000 and cannot provide a decent living for themselves and their families.

Said President Meany: "The failure of Congress to take imaginative and courageous action on this matter has prepetuated the misery of substandard living conditions for millions of our fellow Americans. It has weakened our domestic economy and damaged our prestige—and the prestige of democracy itself—throughout the world."



AFL-CIO joined with other groups to seek improvements in minimum wage legislation.

Late in the first session, the Senate Labor Subcommittee reported an amended Kennedy-Morse-Roosevelt bill to the full committee. This bill provides for an increase in the minimum wage to $1.25 an hour in the second year after enactment for those presently covered. It would also cover some 10 million workers not now protected in retail trade, hotels, restaurants, theaters, communications, building construction and other industries. Employes in larger newly-covered establishments would be paid $1.25 an hour after four years, and the maximum hours would be reduced to 40 over the same period.

President Eisenhower termed this bill "inflationary."

No further action was taken during the first session.

Federal Employe Health Insurance

Congress approved, and the President signed, a bill providing a health and hospitalization insurance program for federal employes. The program, long sought by government unions and by the AFL-CIO, permits

free choice of plan by individual employes, with 50 percent of the cost to be borne by the government.

Enactment of this measure represents a substantial step forward in supplying fringe benefits to federal employes similar to those enjoyed by workers in private industry.

Davis-Bacon

During the first session the AFL-CIO supported enactment of the Humphrey-Fogarty bill to improve and extend the application of the Davis-Bacon Act. The act requires the payment of the prevailing wage to workers on government construction contracts.

The bill would extend the act to apply to all projects paid for wholly or in part by the federal government or covered by federal insurance or other guarantees, and to provide for the payment of fringe benefits as part of prevailing standards.

No action was taken on the bill.

General Welfare Legislation

The positive accomplishments of the 86th Congress in the general welfare field in its first session amounted to very little. Only the passage of a housing bill—even this was a third-round compromise—and improvements in railroad retirement and unemployment benefits stood to its credit. Adjournment found needs in the fields of education, social security and depressed areas still unmet.

Social Security

Again this year the AFL-CIO vigorously supported prompt action on legislation to provide insurance for hospital and nursing home care for those eligible for old-age, survivors and disability insurance benefits. The bill establishing the program was introduced by Representative Aime J. Forand (D-R.I.).



AFL-CIO worked hard to secure health care program for social security beneficiaries.

The purpose of the Forand bill is to assure adequate health care to millions of social security beneficiaries, especially the aged, who cannot afford it. At the time in their lives when medical costs are higher than normal, no satisfactory method of insuring against these costs is presently available for most of the aged.

In the past, and again this year, the Forand bill has had the strong opposition of the American Medical Association and various business groups.

Hearings on this measure were held by the House Ways and Means Committee late in the first session. An impressive series of witnesses, some of them distinguished physicians, supported federal health benefits for OASDI beneficiaries.

After the committee hearings were concluded, no further action was taken. Enactment of legislation providing health care insurance for the aged remains a high priority challenge for the 86th Congress.

Area Redevelopment

Some progress was made during the first session on legislation to provide a federal program to aid areas of chronic unemployment, the so-called depressed areas.

In the previous Congress, a measure sponsored by Senator Paul H. Douglas (D-Ill.) and former Senator Frederick G. Payne (R-Me.) was passed by Congress, only to be vetoed by President Eisenhower.

This year, a new measure sponsored by Douglas and Senator John Sherman Cooper (R-Ky.) was passed by the Senate. The Douglas-Cooper bill authorized a $390 million loan and grant program for technical assistance, vocational retraining, public facility construction and other necessary construction and planning to assist in restoration of economic self-sufficiency. Eligible would be those areas, both urban and rural, where high levels of unemployment have become chronic.

Such unemployment generally reflects the loss of a once-dominant industry in the afflicted area, an industry which has suffered from competition or which has simply picked up and moved to seek cheap labor, tax advantages or low-cost factors.

The result is an area which is economically dying, where men, women and children suffer from lack of adequate food, clothing and shelter, and where even the public services, such as schools, become progressively poorer.

The Douglas-Cooper bill passed the Senate early in the year. Included was a provision barring aid to a runaway employer.

***On the roll call,* on Mar. 23, 1959, the Senate voted to establish a federal program of aid to economically distressed areas.**

Voting to establish a depressed areas program....49
(45 Democrats, 4 Republicans)

Voting to refuse federal action.....46
(16 Democrats, 30 Republicans)

Senate passage was followed by quick action by the House Banking and Currency Committee, which favorably reported a similar measure.

As the session adjourned, however, the measure was stalled in the graveyard of liberal legislation, the House Rules Committee.

Federal Aid to Education

For the fifth successive year federal aid to education has been a major issue in Congress and a major issue between the Congress and the Eisenhower Administration.

The reason is simple: the states and localities have not been able to raise a sufficient revenue to prevent overcrowding and double shifts, nor to build enough schools or pay high enough salaries to be able to keep an adequate number of qualified teachers in the classrooms.

The future effects on our children and on the nation, in the face of ever-increasing need for all kinds of skills, have prompted a growing demand for federal aid.

The issue has twice come to a vote in the House of Representatives in recent years. Each time federal aid for education was rejected through cynical parliamentary maneuvering aided by the Eisenhower Administration.

With the need undiminished, liberal Democrats again moved this year for a substantial program of federal grants. The AFL-CIO backed the Murray-Metcalf bill, a measure which would eventually have authorized federal grants totaling $4.7 billion annually for school construction and teachers' salaries.

The Administration countered with a wholly inadequate proposal designed only to help the already impoverished states and localities borrow money for school construction.

The Administration views were rejected by committees in both Houses. The House Education Committee reported a modified Metcalf bill authorizing $1.1 billion in grants for each of four years. A Senate Education Subcommittee approved a bill by Senator McNamara authorizing $1 billion over two years in grants for school construction only. The House bill was stalled in the House Rules Committee, and no further action was taken in either house.

Housing

With residential housing construction lagging far behind actual need ever since World War II, coupled with an increasing need for low-cost public housing, housing presented a major challenge to the 86th Congress.

Early in the year, the Senate Banking and Currency Committee approved a moderate but forward-looking housing bill which was strongly supported by the AFL-CIO. The bill would have extended the urban renewal, public housing and college housing programs, established a new program of housing for the elderly, provided financial assistance and authorized improvements in the cooperative housing program and restored depleted authority to insure home mortgages under the FHA program.

The bill, however, was opposed by the Eisenhower Administration, which objected to a number of provisions, including college housing, housing for the elderly, and certain features of the urban renewal and public housing provisions.

Attempts were made on the Senate floor to eliminate the sections opposed by the Administration. One of these was an amendment offered



President Eisenhower forced reductions in needed housing programs by vetoing two bills.

by Senator Capehart (R-Ind.) to cut authorizations for 35,000 public housing units.

On the roll call, on February 4, 1959, the Senate rejected the Capehart amendment to cut authorization for 35,000 public housing units.

Voting to cut 35,000 public housing units.....37
(13 Democrats, 24 Republicans)

Voting to retain the needed public housing.....50
(43 Democrats, 7 Republicans)

Thus the Senate rejected cuts in the public housing authorization. It also rejected, 34 to 58, another Capehart amendment which would have cut authorization for urban renewal. The bill then passed, 60 to 28.

In the House, a renewed attempt was made to cripple the bill. On the floor, a motion was made to recommit the bill with instructions to substitute the wholly inadequate Herlong (D-Fla.) bill.

On the roll call, on May 21, 1959 the House rejected a motion to recommit the housing bill to substitute the weak Herlong bill.

Voting to scuttle federal housing programs.....189
(60 Democrats, 129 Republicans)

Voting to provide adequate housing programs....234
(215 Democrats, 19 Republicans)

The House then passed the bill, 261 to 160.

But the President, citing only the cost of the bill and ignoring increasing housing needs, vetoed it. An attempt was made in the Senate to override the veto.

On the roll call, on August 13, 1959, the Senate failed to muster the necessary two-thirds vote to override the President's veto.

Voting for adequate housing legislation.....55
(53 Democrats, 2 Republicans)

Voting to sustain the President's veto.....40
(10 Democrats, 30 Republicans)

The Senate promptly considered a new bill, modifying some of the features which the President had opposed. The Senate passed this bill by a vote of 71 to 24, and the House by a vote of 284 to 105. But again the President vetoed the measure, and again the Senate upheld the veto, this time by a vote of 58 to 36.

The Senate then passed, 86 to 7, a third housing bill, one which eliminated provisions for college housing and time limitations on urban renewal grants and FHA authorizations. The House approved this bill by a voice vote, and the President signed it.

Although the bill retained many worthwhile provisions, the President had forced reductions in urgently needed programs.

Unemployment Compensation

Improvements in unemployment compensation is another of the needed pieces of social legislation for which liberals in the Congress have fought, unsuccessfully, for years.

Again this year the AFL-CIO supported establishment of federal standards guaranteeing each eligible worker unemployment benefits for up

to 39 weeks, and increasing the benefits to 50 percent of the worker's average weekly wage up to a maximum of two-thirds of the state's average weekly wage. These standards were embodied in a bill offered by Representatives Karsten (D-Mo.) and Machrowicz (D-Mich.), in the House, and Senators Kennedy, Case (R-N.J.) and McCarthy (D-Minn.) in the Senate.

The need for improved unemployment benefits has been highlighted by recent recessions, which have made it clear that the states have generally failed to modernize their statutes. Previous attempts to adopt federal standards legislation have failed. One reason has been the consistent opposition of the Administration.

This year, hearings were held by the House Ways and Means Committee. However, no bill has yet been reported.



Measure to establish federal standards improving unemployment compensation systems had AFL-CIO support.

Railway Pension & Unemployment Benefits

Congress approved substantial but long overdue improvements in the Railway Retirement and Unemployment Insurance Acts, but only after

attempts by the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee to scuttle the bill.

The measure passed both House and Senate by voice votes, and was reluctantly signed by the President when it became apparent a veto could not be sustained.

Surplus Food

Hundreds of thousands of U.S. workers, whose unemployment benefits have run out or are otherwise unavailable, and who cannot qualify for public assistance, have been subsisting with the aid of surplus food distributed through state agencies by the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

These surplus foods, however, consisting largely of corn meal, dried skim milk and flour, do not provide a balanced diet sufficient to avoid malnutrition.

The AFL-CIO therefore urged the Congress to enact legislation to expand the kinds of food distributed and to assist local communities on the cost of distribution. Hearings were held before a Senate Agriculture Subcommittee, but the full committee failed to endorse the AFL-CIO supported bill, S. 1884.

A food stamp plan, optional with the Secretary of Agriculture, was offered by Representative Sullivan (D-Mo.) and approved by the House. In the Senate, a plan to require the Secretary to set up a pilot program for the distribution of foods constituting a balanced diet was passed. However, the final bill, providing for the Senate's pilot program, made it optional with the Secretary. Secretary Benson has since announced that such a program is unnecessary and that he would not put it into operation.

Meanwhile, hundreds of thousands of workers, and their wives and children, subsist on corn meal, dried skim milk and flour.

Taxes

Despite the need to restore equity to the federal tax structure by closing tax loopholes, no progress was made during the first session. Among those loopholes are the split income provision, failure to withhold taxes on dividend and interest income at the source, low capital gains

taxes, depletion allowances and preferential treatment of dividend income.

Efforts were made in the Senate, however, to close some of these loopholes. When a House-passed extension of excise and corporate tax rates reached the Senate, Senator Douglas (D-Ill.) moved to cut depletion allowances on oil and gas wells. The amendment failed, 54 to 21.

Senator McCarthy (D-Minn.) offered an amendment to repeal the tax credit on dividend income.

On the roll call, on June 25, 1959, the Senate adopted the McCarthy amendment repealing the dividend income tax credit.

Voting to close an unfair tax loophole 47
(44 Democrats, 3 Republicans)

Voting to continue special privilege for stockholders 31
(7 Democrats, 24 Republicans)

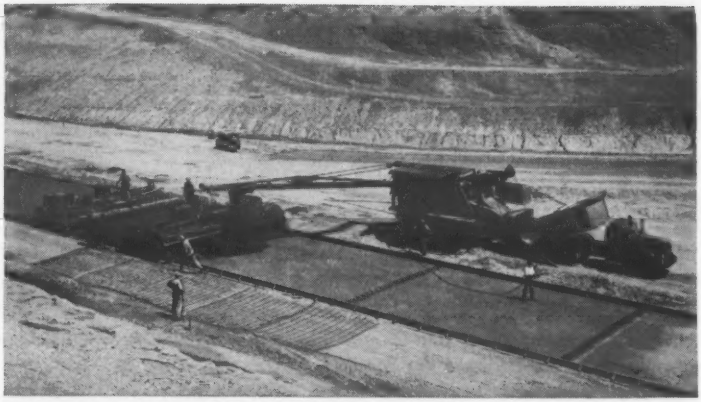
Despite the adoption of the McCarthy amendment by the Senate, it was eliminated from the bill by the House-Senate conference committee. The bill did, however, make cuts in regressive excise taxes on passenger travel and local telephone calls.

Later in the session, the House passed a bill reducing the so-called "cabaret tax," actually a tax on food served in the presence of live entertainment. The tax effectively prevents the employment of musicians. No further action was taken.

In addition, the Congress increased the federal tax on gasoline by 1 cent per gallon in order to replenish funds for construction of the interstate highway system. The AFL-CIO had proposed that the needed funds be transferred from general revenues, rather than increasing the regressive tax on gasoline.

Public Works

One of the obvious needs in the federal government's arsenal of weapons against unemployment is a planned shelf of public works which can quickly be put into the construction stage when unemployment increases. Legislation which would have provided such a reserve, as well



Although interstate highway construction program will continue, other public works legislation failed to pass.

as loans to communities for current construction, was killed in the last Congress. No further action was taken this session.

Congress did, however, pass a much-watered down airport construction bill. Originally planned as a more than $500 million measure, funds authorized were seriously cut before passage because of the President's opposition.

Extending Democracy

Despite continuing needs in the civil rights and immigration fields, little was done by the first session of the 86th Congress to provide effective civil rights enforcement. The long-fought battle to bring full citizenship to Hawaiians was, however, successful.

Senate Filibusters

For the third time in the present decade, Senate civil rights advocates sought major modification of the Senate's Rule 22, the rule which permits virtually unlimited debate on every issue.

In previous Congresses, Rule 22 permitted a forced closing of debate, but only when two-thirds of the Senate's membership voted to do so.

As a practical matter, the rule permitted a minority of senators to kill legislation which they opposed by "filibustering," or talking it to death. Most often it has been used by Southerners to kill civil rights legisation.

This year, as the session opened, several days were consumed with complicated, sometimes bitter debate. Then Senator Lyndon Johnson (D-Tex.) moved to table (kill) a motion by Senator Clinton D. Anderson (D-N. Mex.) to proceed to the consideration of the rules. Senator Anderson's motion was intended to permit the Senate to adopt new rules without the danger of the rules change itself being subject to a filibuster.

On the roll call, on January 9, 1959 the Senate voted to kill chances for a meaningful revision of the filibuster rule.

Voting against meaningful changes in Rule 22....60
(40 Democrats, 20 Republicans)

Voting to make real limits on filibusters possible..36
(22 Democrats, 14 Republicans)

Following this vote, Senator Johnson and Senator Dirksen (R-Ill.) moved to change Rule 22 to permit two-thirds of those voting, instead of two-thirds of the whole Senate, to close debate. The change, though in the right direction, was minor.

Civil Rights

The session opened with bright hopes for a determined drive for civil rights legislation. The major needs are for federal help in school desegregation, authority for the attorney general to institute lawsuits to enforce civil rights, and aid to the states in curbing hate bombings.

The Douglas (D-Ill.)-Celler (D-N.Y.) bill stated the support of Congress for the Supreme Court in school desegregation decisions, and would grant aid for school facilities and operations to ease desegregation, authorize the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to develop desegregation plans where other methods fail, and authorize the Attorney General to institute law-suits to enforce civil rights. This measure was supported by the AFL-CIO.

The Administration bill would make force or threats to obstruct court desegregation orders a federal crime, make interstate flight in bombing cases a federal crime, and provide moderate assistance to states for professional and technical services in desegregation cases.

The Johnson (D-Tex.) bill would extend the life of the Civil Rights Commission, provide federal powers in bombing cases, and establish a federal service to improve communications between groups in civil rights cases.

By comparison with the Douglas-Celler bill, the others were weak, lacking increased authority for the attorney general. Following hearings, a weak bill was reported by the House Judiciary Committee, but even this was bottled up in the Rules Committee. Obstructionist tactics prevented action by the Senate Judiciary Committee.

The only action by the first session was extension of the life of the Civil Rights Commission, but both the Majority and Minority Leaders in the Senate promised an opportunity for major civil rights action early in 1960.

H R 3

Following its rejection by the 85th Congress, Rep. Howard Smith (D-Va.) reintroduced his states rights bill, HR 3.

The aim of the bill is to prevent the Supreme Court from voiding

state law in conflict with federal law unless the conflict is patent and unmistakable. It would also prevent the court from applying the doctrine of federal "preemption," under which federal law supersedes state laws in areas where Congress has acted, unless Congress has expressly stated in the act that the doctrine should apply. Both provisions would be applied retroactively.

The result would be to permit a confusing and contradictory mass of state regulations in areas such as transportation and labor-management relations.

Despite the opposition of the Administration, the AFL-CIO and other groups, the bill was reported by the House Judiciary Committee, and came to the floor.

On the roll call, on June 24, 1959 the House voted against a motion to kill H.R. 3, the states rights bill.

Voting to uphold the power of Supreme Court....191
(161 Democrats, 30 Republicans)

Voting to restrict the Court.....227
(112 Democrats, 115 Republicans)

The bill subsequently passed, 225 to 192.

Although hearings were held in the Senate, no further action was taken.

50th State

Climaxing a long struggle, the Congress this year passed legislation authorizing the admission of Hawaii as the fiftieth state of the United States. After a referendum in which Hawaiian voters approved statehood by an overwhelming majority, the President admitted the state by proclamation in August.

District of Columbia

Congress exercises complete legislative powers over the nation's capital, the District of Columbia. The residents, who pay the taxes, feel that they should have some voice in local government. Consequently, home rule for the District has been an issue for years.

This year, the Senate passed and sent to the House a bill granting home rule to the District, as it has done in previous Congresses. But the House District Committee, also as usual, failed to act.

Pending at the adjournment of the first session was a discharge petition designed to force the bill out of the Committee.

The AFL-CIO has supported home rule since its first convention.

Power and Natural Resources

The first session was devoid of any attempt to pass broad legislation to meet the nation's needs in power development and natural resource conservation. No new programs to harness the atom for peacetime use or to develop the resources of great river valleys were authorized. Some progress was made, however, in improving existing programs.

Atomic Energy

An important issue in atomic research and development has been the question of patents. In this fast developing industry, so vital to the nation, should private companies be empowered to prevent widespread use of new processes through patent rights?

Five years ago, Congress answered "no" to this question by authorizing the Atomic Energy Commission to compel licensing of privately owned atomic energy patents with reasonable compensation to the owner. This is one method by which monopoly in the atomic industry has been avoided.

This year, the AEC authority ran out. Congress, however, renewed the AEC authority over patents for another five years.

Congress failed, however, to adopt adequate standards to control radiation hazards affecting workers in atomic installations. Legislation was passed vesting partial responsibility in the states for such control. The AFL-CIO supports a federal system of control of radiation hazards.

TVA Self-Financing

For some years the Administration has not requested, and Congress has not supplied, funds for additional power generating facilities within the Tennessee Valley Authority service area. This failure has posed a grave problem: unless new plants were built, TVA could not supply adequate power for the growing industrial and public needs in the areas which it now serves.

One result of a power shortage could have meant the ultimate destruction of TVA, since private utilities would have supplied the needed power if TVA could not.



Future of TVA was assured by approval of legislation authorizing financing for needed generating facilities.

One solution to the problem was to permit the TVA to sell bonds itself, and to use the money thus raised to build new facilities.

Attempts to pass such legislation in previous years had failed. This year, however, a satisfactory measure was passed and signed by the President.

160 Acre Limitation

Historically, federal reclamation policy has required that no individual may farm more than 160 acres of reclaimed land watered by a federal reclamation project. The purpose of this restriction is to protect the family-sized farm and to prevent monopolization and speculation on federal reclamation projects.

However, the federal government and the state of California are planning to cooperate on the 900,000 acre San Luis project in that state, and the Senate committee voted to exempt the project from the 160-acre limitation.

This would have been of primary benefit to a handful of corporations which own 400,000 acres in the San Luis project. It has been estimated that, if the 160-acre limitation were lifted, these corporations would receive, in effect, a $400 million subsidy.

The public interest was victorious when the Senate agreed to a motion by Sen. Douglas to remove the giveaway section from the bill, retaining the 160-acre limitation.

The issue is not settled. Although the House has not yet acted, a bill reported by the House Interior Committee includes the objectionable language.

Water Pollution

The growing water needs of the nation threaten to make new water shortages in many areas. One method of delaying the day when these shortages become real is to make certain that available water is used again and again before it reaches the sea.

But such water cannot be so used if it is polluted. At the same time, local communities, suffering from a general dearth of funds, have been unable to provide adequate sewage disposal facilities which help to prevent water pollution.

In 1956, the Congress enacted the Water Pollution Control Act, authorizing $50 million in annual grants to local communities for construction of sewage disposal facilities. With the need rising, Rep. John Blatnik (D-Minn.) introduced a bill increasing the funds authorization to $100 million annually.

President Eisenhower, however, asked that the program be cut and eventually be eliminated, on the grounds that the problem is one for the states to handle.

On the House floor, Rep. Cramer (R-Fla.) moved to recommit the bill with instructions to require state participation, a move intended to cripple the program.

On the roll call, on June 9, 1959 the House rejected a motion to recommit the water pollution bill intended to cripple the program.

Voting to cripple federal water pollution control...156
(29 Democrats, 127 Republicans)

Voting to retain and expand the program.....240
(227 Democrats, 13 Republicans)

The bill then passed, 254 to 142. The Senate subsequently passed a similar bill, 61 to 27. Davis-Bacon prevailing wage provisions were included in both bills.

Although both Houses had passed the legislation, further action was delayed until 1960, because proponents feared the President would veto the measure after Congress adjourned.

The Next Congress

The AFL-CIO's views on the first session of the 86th Congress, an analysis of its actions and a program for the second session were expressed in a resolution adopted at the federation's third constitutional convention in San Francisco, Calif., Sept. 17-23.

The 86th Congress

There is little to cheer about in the record of the 86th Congress to date. If it is to go down in history as the progressive, enlightened, public-interest body that the elections of 1958 seemed to promise, then the 86th Congress must earn its reputation in 1960.

There are three fundamental reasons for the failure of the 86th Congress to live up to the hopes that were entertained for it. Each of these has serious implications for the future.

1. Southern-Republican Coalition: Despite the impressive liberal gains in 1958, neither House in Congress has a clear majority of members committed to a forward-looking program. The top-heavy Democratic majorities do not by themselves guarantee liberal actions in view of the fact that roughly a third of the Democratic members, almost all of these from the Southern States, think and act more like the reactionary wing of Republicans. There are not enough liberal Republicans to make up for these Democratic defections. Only the 1960 elections can change the political arithmetic of the 86th Congress.

2. Rules of the Congress: Even before the 86th Congress convened, the President of the AFL-CIO warned that the record of that Congress will depend upon success in changing the obsolete rules of the Congress. He warned that "the vote on Rule 22 in the Senate and the vote on curbing the powers of the Rules Committee in the House will be as important as any vote cast in the next two years." Unfortunately, majority rule was not established in the Senate, and the House Rules were not changed at all. As a result, many important items of legislation never reached the floors of Congress. Threat of filibuster in the Senate and roadblocks in the House Rules Committee continue to be major obstacles to enactment of needed legislation.

3. Government by veto: On many vital issues, the 86th Congress—even with its reactionary majority and its outmoded rules—was prepared to make some progress, only to be thwarted by Presidential veto. The use of the veto, and frequently the mere threat of the veto, has led to retreat after retreat. There has been too much "accommodation" to the President's wishes and too little concern for the public welfare.

Because of these difficulties, the first session of the 86th Congress has failed to act decisively in the public interest in many vital areas of legislation.

In the most significant action of the first session that it did take, moreover, the Congress acted contrary to the public interest. As discussed in detail in another resolution, the Landrum-Griffin Act went way beyond the issue of corruption and foisted upon the decent trade unions of this country a law that makes Taft-Hartley worse than before. The public itself will suffer as trade unions are not able to function effectively in raising the living standards of their members and in furthering the general welfare of all Americans.

Outside of granting statehood to Hawaii, passing appropriations bills and the overdue amendments to the railroad retirement act, and continuing several programs, the 86th Congress is significant so far for what it has left for the second session. That session, which must be a short one in light of the national political conventions that are scheduled, has much to accomplish if it is not to match the record of the infamous "Do-Nothing" 80th Congress.

In other statements adopted by this Convention, the AFL-CIO has detailed the many legislative objectives which it seeks from Congress. Certainly, the 86th Congress will have failed to serve the American people if it fails to act favorably on at least these major issues:

1. Revise the Fair Labor Standards Act by raising the minimum wage to at least $1.25 an hour and extending coverage to millions of workers now deprived of federal minimum wage protection.

2. Implement the Employment Act by passage of an effective depressed areas bill to assist the many communities that suffer from chronic depression, and by a program of public works loans to communities.

3. Provide federal aid to education along the lines of the Murray-

Metcalf bill so that our ever-worsening situation may at least be alleviated.

4. Provide overdue protection for American workers unemployed through no fault of their own by establishing federal standards for unemployment compensation payments and duration of benefits, which are in keeping with the needs of today.

5. Bring our social security system up-to-date by passage of the Forand Bill to provide hospitalization and related insurance for our older citizens and by broadening the public assistance program to include the general needy.

6. Complete the legislation needed to assure an adequate level of housing at prices the American people can afford to pay, including appropriate levels of public housing, middle income housing, and housing for the elderly.

7. Provide for the proper development of our natural resources, including multi-river projects for our great river basins and a more vigorous development of atomic energy for peaceful uses.

8. Overhaul the present inequitable tax structure by eliminating the unconscionable loopholes enjoyed by business and the wealthy, increasing the exemptions, and eliminating excise taxes.

9. Provide for the reorganization of the Federal Reserve Board and for greater coordination of monetary with other economic policies to achieve a higher rate of economic growth.

10. Modernize the Davis-Bacon and Walsh-Healy Acts so that Federal moneys will not be used to undermine the hard-won gains of organized labor in wages and related benefits.

11. Enact meaningful civil rights legislation to assure equal treatment before the law of all Americans without regard to race, color, or national origin.

12. Humanize our immigration laws so that they more adequately reflect America's traditional role of humanitarianism and democracy, with special attention given to relieving the plight of refugees in many lands.

13. Enact farm legislation to provide working farm families their full equity in the American economy.

These legislative goals, and the many others which AFL-CIO will support in 1960, do not constitute a narrow, selfish program. They are not "labor" issues. They constitute a program for the welfare of America. Along with other segments of American life, labor will appraise the total record of the 86th Congress from one standpoint, and one only: Has the record served the American people?

The AFL-CIO will work hard next year to achieve this kind of program, because what is good for America is good for labor. It will let its members know how each of the members of Congress has served the public interest. This is our responsibility. We accept it. We will discharge it.

American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

815 16th St. N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

GEORGE MEANY, *President*

WM. F. SCHNITZLER, *Secretary-Treasurer*

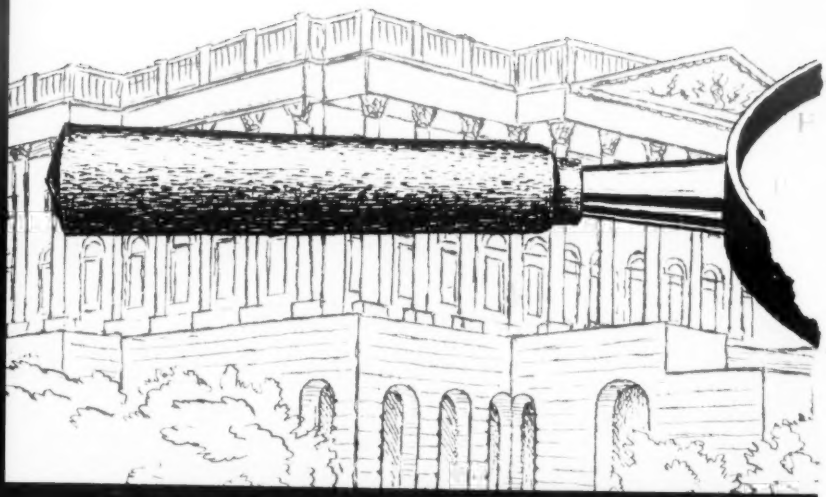
Prepared by the AFL-CIO Legislative Dept.

ANDREW J. BIEMILLER, *Director*

Publication No. 77-A

October, 1959





RECORD OF THE 86th CONGRESS
1st SESSION

Fluoridation



AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND
CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

Good News

Is it possible to make a really good thing better?

The answer to this question is "yes" when it comes to improving one of nature's greatest gifts—water.

Most American communities are justifiably proud of their safe, abundant water supply. However, in recent years a growing number of cities have found that fluoridation of water, while not affecting its taste, is an effective, practical and harmless way of reducing tooth decay.

Let's take a case in point.

Philadelphia, the first city of more than two million population to fluoridate its water, showed a reduction of 43 percent in tooth extractions and a 50 percent reduction in dental cavities during the first four years of water fluoridation. It is estimated that this finding, based on a study of 17,617 six-year-olds will practically cut dental bills in half.

What Is Fluoridation?

In 1931 scientists discovered a natural substance called fluoride, traces of which are found in the human body. Further research revealed that when fluoride is concentrated in the enamel or hard outer coat of the teeth it helps prevent decay. Other exhaustive tests indicate that children who drink fluoridated water from birth on receive the greatest benefit because the enamel of most human teeth forms during the first eight years of life. Older individuals who drink fluoridated water also enjoy protection against dental decay, although not as much as children.

The proper amount of fluoride required to insure protection against decay was arrived at by chemists and dental researchers through careful analysis of community water supplies in various sections of the United States. It was discovered that where the fluoride level is about one part per million parts of water, teeth were much less subject to decay.

s It Safe?

On December 5, 1957, after a year-long study, the House of Delegates of the American Medical Association voted that fluoridation of public water supplies was "not harmful to the general health of the population."

Other national health organizations that have endorsed or recommended fluoridation include the American Dental Association, the American Public Health Association, the American Hospital Association, the U. S. Public Health Service, and the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

What Does It Cost?

Compared to the costs of repairing decayed and neglected teeth, fluoridation would be cheap at almost any price. Actually, fluoridation is inexpensive. While costs vary from community to community, the average expense would be about 10 cents a year per person.

AFL-CIO Supports Fluoridation

At its founding convention the AFL-CIO supported fluoridation by a unanimously adopted resolution. This support of fluoridation is based

on labor's belief that prevention and protection of health is better than the best cure. AFL-CIO believes that prompt action on fluoridation will cut dental bills, prevent needless pain, and help assure better health for the American people.

Action for Fluoridation

If your city is not one of the 1,500 communities with fluoridation you can take action through the community services program of your local union and local central labor body.

Help initiate action along with other community groups and organizations in sponsoring an educational campaign, enlisting medical and dental support, circulating petitions and pressing for public hearings.

Further information on fluoridation may be obtained by writing the national office of AFL-CIO Community Service Activities.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

George Meany, *President*
Wm. F. Schnitzler, *Secretary-Treasurer*

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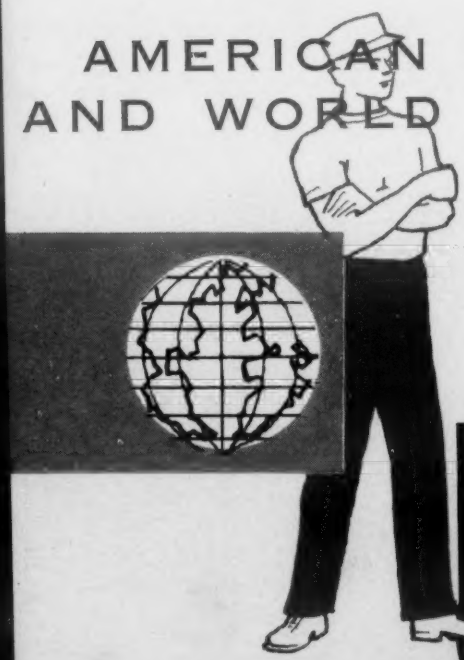
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AFL-CIO Publication No. 83

uestions and

Answers on

AMERICAN LABOR AND WORLD AFFAIRS



INTRODUCTION

This volume is a handbook of valuable information and guidance for all workingmen and women, for all public-spirited citizens devoted to the welfare and future of our nation, for all who are interested in the American and international labor movements and in the struggle for liberty and world peace.

It presents, in question and answer form, the evaluation and policies dealing with international affairs as adopted by the First and Second Constitutional Conventions of the AFL-CIO, its Executive Council, Executive Committee, and International Affairs Committee from December 1955 to December 1958.

In this critical period, American labor has endeavored to do its part in enabling our country to develop an effective democratic foreign policy and in strengthening the international free trade union movement, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, as a vital factor for promoting human dignity and well-being, free world security and harmony among the nations.

Students of American labor at home and abroad will find in this handbook striking confirmation of the growing breadth of vision and social responsibility of the AFL-CIO and the variety and scope of its international undertakings.

I hope this publication will serve to enhance American labor's understanding of its own role and that of the international free trade union movement in the present grave world crisis. Such increased understanding will improve our effectiveness in helping our country pursue vigorously an international policy which will speed the day when all mankind will enjoy the blessings of human freedom, peace, and prosperity.

GEORGE MEANY
President

Washington, D. C.
January 1959

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OUR NATION'S FOREIGN POLICY— AND ITS AIMS

What are the principal areas of American labor's efforts "to help our country meet its heavy responsibilities as a powerful force for the attainment of lasting world peace, freedom, and human well-being?"

We of the united American labor movement—the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations—have three main areas of activities in our efforts to aid our country in the fulfillment of its new historic role. These are: (1) Through our trade union strength and political actions, help build an ever better and stronger America, a prosperous and progressive land free from economic and social inequity and all racial and every other form of discrimination. (2) Through democratic processes, help our nation evolve and execute an effective democratic foreign policy. (3) Through cooperation with and assistance to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, to aid free labor everywhere in becoming a most powerful force for furthering social justice, national and human freedom, economic well-being and world peace.

(AFL-CIO Resolutions on Foreign Policy. Adopted by First Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, December 1955.)

From labor's viewpoint, what should be the main objectives of American foreign policy?

The main objectives of sound American foreign policy are: (1) to foster good relations with other nations in order to preserve and promote enduring peace and freedom and (2) to encourage mutually advantageous trade and other relations with other nations—in order to advance their common economic stability and social well-being. Effective foreign policy cannot be improvised and piecemeal. It must have a clear and definite orientation and be consistent, sustained and vigorous in its application. Its motivating and paramount aims must be the mobilization of all our moral and material resources for developing a system of international relationships to

maintain peace, protect freedom and national security, and enable a growing population to enjoy a rising standard of living.

(AFL-CIO Resolutions on Foreign Policy. Adopted by First Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, December 1955.)

Is there any connection between foreign and domestic policy?

In every country, there is a close inter-relationship between foreign and domestic policy. Neither our government, nor any other government, can consistently pursue a genuinely democratic foreign policy, if it pursues a reactionary domestic policy. No government which wages war against its own people at home—by denying them their rights and liberties and by depressing their standards of life and labor—can be truly peaceful towards the peoples abroad and be worthy of their trust. A government guilty of aggression against its own people tends to be aggressive against its neighboring and other countries.

Integration of our foreign political and economic policies is essential, if the great technical resources and mighty industrial potential of the United States are to be geared to increasing the productivity, raising the purchasing power, and improving the living standards especially of those economically underdeveloped countries which are devoted to human liberty and peace.

(AFL-CIO Resolutions on Foreign Policy. Adopted by First Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, December 1955.)

Where does American labor stand on the idea of imposing our form of government or economic system on other nations?

Categoric rejection of any idea of imposing our form of government or economic system on any other nation and relentless opposition to the efforts of any power to impose its political or economic system on our country. Support for free peoples who resist attempted

subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures on their free institutions is vital.

(AFL-CIO Resolutions on Foreign Policy. Adopted by First Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, December 1955.)

What is American labor's attitude towards U. S. alliances with other nations?

Welcome as our allies self-reliant, independent nations held together by binding principles and cooperating for peace, freedom, and human well-being. Satellites or vassals herded together by fraud and force cannot serve peace and freedom. A common purpose, sense of urgency, and machinery for permanent cooperation are indispensable to the collective security of the allied free peoples. The struggle for peace and freedom demands not only military strength sufficient to deter and defeat aggression, but the development of the alliance into an association of free peoples for positive political and economic cooperation and mutual assistance.

(AFL-CIO Resolutions on Foreign Policy. Adopted by First Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, December 1955.)

What is the AFL-CIO position in regard to labor's role in the struggle for world peace?

Above all, we must unceasingly and untiringly advocate that the United States, both through the United Nations and in direct relations with other governments and peoples, pursue every honorable means of achieving peace without compromising the basic principles that characterize the free world.

The pursuit of peace through every honorable means is not a mere pious aspiration but a prime condition of survival. Members of the labor movement, and we hope all other citizens, are aware that foreign policy is no longer a matter of a treaty signed or a conference held.

The H-bomb, the intercontinental ballistic missile, and the space rocket and satellites have brought the issues and events of foreign

policy into every household. The stakes are as high as our physical existence and the existence and further flowering of the free way of life.

The labor movement rededicates itself to the preservation of peace and freedom throughout the world.

(Resolutions on International Affairs. Adopted by Second Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, December 1957.)

AMERICAN LABOR AND THE WORLD CRISIS

What is American labor's attitude to the present world crisis?

Unlike preceding international crises, the present struggle between the Communist dictatorships and the free world is not a collision between two power blocs, in the old nineteenth century sense, but between two conflicting ways of life—democracy (despite all its imperfections), and Communist totalitarianism with its all-embracing program of world conquest and transformation. Soviet imperialism seeks to subvert and conquer the free world and remold all society in line with its Communist preconceptions of a new social order. This vital difference between the old imperialisms and the new Soviet imperialism accounts for the continuous character of the present crisis as distinct from preceding ones.

(AFL-CIO Resolutions on Foreign Policy. Adopted by First Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, December 1955.)

The intensity of the basic conflict between the free nations and Communist expansionism increases as the Soviet dictators, using the launching of the first satellite as a blackmail weapon abroad, step up military threats, diplomatic pressure and economic penetration in the Middle East, Africa, and Asia.

(Resolutions on International Affairs. Adopted by Second Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, December 1957.)

Against what perilous pitfalls must the free world guard itself in the present world crisis?

In this situation, the free world must guard against perilous pitfalls and the continuation of errors in policy, such as: (a) lack of unity, passivity and inadequate military strength; (b) timidity of policy in the face of Soviet threats and appeasement measures which can only help bail Moscow and its satellites out of their serious difficulties; (c) hesitation and refusal to break with colonialism (Algeria, Cy-

prus); (d) failure to assist adequately the promotion of economic development and improved living standards in the industrially underdeveloped countries committed to the building of democracy; (e) slowness in eliminating shortcomings in the social, economic and political fabric and institutions of the free nations.

(Statement by AFL-CIO Executive Council, February 2, 1957.)

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE COMMUNIST MENACE

What is American labor's attitude to the totalitarian threat?

While Communism is currently the main totalitarian threat to freedom and peace, we must be equally opposed to every other brand of dictatorship (Falangist, Fascist, Nazi, Peronist, Titoist) as reprehensible foes of human dignity, decency and liberty.

(AFL-CIO Resolutions on Foreign Policy. Adopted by First Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, December 1955.)

What is American labor's attitude towards the U. S. government negotiating with the Soviet dictatorship?

While never shutting the door to negotiations with Moscow, our country and its allies must build up their political unity, economic power, and adequate military strength. Readiness to negotiate is not appeasement. It takes courage to meet aggression. It also takes courage to seek patiently and persistently for peaceful and acceptable settlements. Appeasement of the demands of any expansionist power, however, only encourages and invites aggression. Hence, our government should never assume as settled and final any conquests the Kremlin or any other totalitarian regime made through direct military aggression, threat of armed intervention, Communist subversion, aggression by proxy, or any combination of these methods.

(AFL-CIO Resolutions on Foreign Policy. Adopted by First Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, December 1955.)

How does American labor look upon Moscow's drive for "removing the barriers to communications" between the free world and the Iron Curtain Empire?

Despite its "Big Smile" and big talk about removing the barriers to communications, Moscow is as unrelenting as ever in its opposition to

any arrangement for free travel of individuals between the Soviet orbit and the free world. It is no less hostile to the reciprocal distribution of foreign books, newspapers, periodicals, and radio programs in the Soviet Union. This Soviet talk has been fully exposed at Geneva as having but one aim: The elimination of all barriers to the Moscow-Peiping Axis securing from the western democracies the latest technical knowledge, strategic materials, and up-to-date machinery it so sorely lacks. The Communist bloc desperately needs such vital assistance in order to ease the terrible armament burdens behind the Iron Curtain and to facilitate its building of a most modern and even more massive war machine for aggression.

(AFL-CIO Resolutions on Foreign Policy. Adopted by First Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, December 1955.)

What is the attitude of the AFL-CIO towards cultural relations with the peoples behind the Iron Curtain?

In accordance with our traditional stand, we favor cultural relations with the peoples behind the Iron Curtain—a curtain which we have always sought to lift and the maintenance of which the Kremlin continues to enforce. We are firmly convinced that if it were possible to have such an exchange of ideas and information among the peoples of both sides of the Iron Curtain, it would always work to the advantage of the democracies. It is not we but the totalitarian regimes who have every reason to fear any contrast between the free world and the plight of the peoples under dictatorships.

(AFL-CIO Resolutions on Foreign Policy. Adopted by First Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, December 1955.)

How does the AFL-CIO view the Soviet campaign for "co-existence and cultural relations?"

Having weathered the most serious crisis yet faced by the Soviet empire, the Kremlin rulers are now again turning to their so-called peaceful co-existence strategy for furthering their basic aims through

encouraging the spread of neutralism, the relaxation of vigilance in the West, and the Communist infiltration of the free labor organizations.

The latest phase of Soviet foreign policy seeks to overcome the moral ostracism and isolation to which the Kremlin has been subjected in consequence of its criminal aggression against the brave Hungarian people. Moscow is again seeking to secure Western acceptance of the Soviet system of satellite regimes and captive peoples as permanent. Through these moves, the Communist dictators strive to check the rising desire for freedom among the Russian people themselves. In line with this strategy, Moscow has resumed its so-called cultural exchange campaign. It wants to restore and enhance Communist influence among the artists, scientists, business groups, and the trade unions of the free world. Through greater utilization of the scientific, technical, and industrial superiority of the Western democracies, and through securing goods and credits from them, the Kremlin seeks to overcome the economic difficulties caused by Communist policies and aggravated by the revolt in the satellites.

(Statement Adopted by AFL-CIO Executive Council, May 22, 1957.)

What position does the AFL-CIO take towards sending trade union delegations to countries behind the Iron Curtain?

The AFL-CIO rejects, as a matter of principle, the idea of free labor sending delegations to any country which prohibits free trade unions, outlaws all free trade union activities, and penalizes workers for advocating free trade unionism—whether such country be Communist or Fascist or any other totalitarian hue. We oppose the Moscow-Peiping Axis maneuver to have free trade union delegations visit the Soviet slave orbit as a vital phase of the sinister Big Smile strategy calculated to confuse and divide the democratic camp. Moscow wants free trade union delegation visits to lend moral respectability and legitimacy to its regime which has robbed its people of every fundamental human right, keeps millions of its subjects in slave labor camps, and denies the workers the right of freedom of association

and organization, the right of genuine collective bargaining, and the right to strike.

(AFL-CIO Resolutions on Foreign Policy. Adopted by First Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, December 1955.)

How does the AFL-CIO view the Kremlin economic challenge?

For more than three years, and especially since the Twentieth Bolshevik Party Congress, the Kremlin has laid marked emphasis on economic and political means for furthering world Communism. Realizing that the intensified Soviet economic penetration of underdeveloped countries aims to bring these areas into the Soviet imperialist orbit rather than to promote human well-being and freedom, our Constituent Convention correctly stressed the urgency of American initiative in defeating this sinister Soviet strategy.

(Statement Adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, June 7, 1956.)

What is the AFL-CIO attitude towards the Post-Stalin Soviet "New Look" in its foreign policy?

The more flexible Soviet foreign policy under Khrushchev has not provided the slightest indication of Kremlin readiness to restore to the Baltic, Balkan, Central European and Asian countries the national independence and human rights taken away from them by the use or threat of Soviet military force.

(Statement Adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, August 15, 1957.)

How does the AFL-CIO evaluate the Khrushchev course and its purges?

It would be fatal for the free world and the Soviet peoples to have any illusions about the Khrushchev course. Its fundamental aims are: (1) to prepare and strengthen the Communist Party machine for the next stage in its drive to destroy all its critics and concen-

trate all power in the hands of its First Secretary. (2) To prepare and strengthen the Soviet regime for more effective pursuit and speedier realization of its basic foreign policy aims—domination of the world and its remolding in the pattern of Soviet despotism.

The latest Soviet purge is an inevitable phase of the struggle within the Communist Party ruling clique over succession to Stalin.
In the 40 years of Communist dictatorship, there was not a single purge—no matter how much its real nature has been camouflaged with liberal premises and generous promises—which did not aim to strengthen the one-party system and to concentrate all power in the hands of the Communist Party boss.

Khrushchev has learned from Stalin how to camouflage and combine his purges with a seemingly relaxation of Soviet domestic and foreign policies.

In the mid-Thirties, Stalin combined his ruthless purges and drive to strengthen his totalitarian control with such "liberal" measures as abolition of bread-rationing, adoption of the new "liberal" Soviet Constitution, popular front tactics, and Soviet participation in the League of Nations. In the mid-Fifties, Khrushchev is driving to strengthen his control of the Communist Party and its totalitarian power over every walk of life—under cover of economic concessions to the peasants, generous promises to the workers, and expanded efforts for so-called co-existence.

(Statement Adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, August 15, 1957.)

What is the AFL-CIO attitude towards the Red Army as a force for "liberalization" in a Communist totalitarian state?

The promotion of Marshal Zhukov to full membership in the Presidium cannot be viewed as encouraging from the viewpoint of the free world. The Red Army is no force for liberalization. The percentage of Communist Party members in the armed forces is higher than in any other segment of Soviet society. Its leaders are fanatical Communists. Significantly, the United Nations Report on Hungary

emphasizes that the high command of the Soviet army was even more determined than the Russian civilian authorities to crush the Hungarian democratic revolution.

Clearly, the alignment of the Soviet military chieftains with Khrushchev offers no hope for greater freedom for the Soviet peoples and the captive nations or for a more peaceful Soviet foreign policy.

(Statement Adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, August 15, 1957.)

How does the AFL-CIO view Khrushchev's "economic councils" in the USSR?

The new economic councils, established in the various Union Republics, are to be controlled by the respective Communist Party machines dominated by Khrushchev. Thus, the much-heralded struggle against bureaucracy actually aims to strengthen Communist Party control over the expanded Soviet economy. This reorganization is, therefore, not a step towards liberalism.

(Statement Adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, August 15, 1957.)

What does the AFL-CIO consider as the test of democratization behind the Iron Curtain?

The test of any move towards democratization under a system of one party dictatorship is the extent to which such a move reduces party control and domination. By this test, the new Khrushchev course, which aims at extending and tightening the hold of the Communist Party on every walk of life, is away from liberalization and democratization. It is rather a move towards darker reaction.

(Statement Adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, August 15, 1957.)

What overall policy does the AFL-CIO propose for defeating the Communist challenge and preserving world peace?

To preserve world peace, extend freedom, and defeat the Communist challenge, the democratic world must do more than build adequate military strength. The democratic nations should also seek closer political ties and scientific cooperation; improved economic conditions and expanded economic relations; improvement of the democratic way of life so as to make it more attractive to the peoples of the so-called un-committed countries; expanded and coordinated economic and technical assistance to the industrially underdeveloped countries in their efforts to raise their productive capacities and living standards and to strengthen their democratic institutions; elimination of colonialism; and promotion of friendship with the Soviet peoples as distinct from their oppressive Communist rulers.

(Statement Adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, February 11, 1958.)

How does the AFL-CIO view the Kremlin proposal for setting up a belt of neutral countries in Europe?

Moscow has been driving to prevent the further development of NATO as an effective force for deterring aggression, preserving world peace and promoting freedom. With this in mind, the Soviet rulers have been conducting a strong diplomatic offensive against the free European nations securing atomic weapons and missiles, having American missile bases or even permitting the continued stationing of U. S. armed forces in their countries. This is the strategy behind the Kremlin proposals for setting up a belt of neutral countries extending from Norway to Italy and a so-called atom-free zone in Central Europe.

(Statement Adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, February 11, 1958.)

What is the AFL-CIO position towards the withdrawal of American forces from Europe?

World tension would not be reduced and the prospects for world peace would not be improved by an Anglo-American withdrawal from the continent accompanied by a Russian pull-back from its present military line in Central Europe.

A British withdrawal across the Channel and an American withdrawal across the Atlantic—even if combined with a Red Army pull-back of a few hundred miles to the East—would actually strengthen the Soviet military position on the Continent. The free peoples of Europe would then be less protected and more exposed to the danger of Soviet aggression.

All of these Moscow moves reveal the continued Soviet determination to separate our allies from our country and to prevent cooperation by the democracies in the defense of peace and freedom. These moves likewise emphasize that only adequate collective strength of the democracies can deter Soviet aggression against nations which, individually, are too weak to resist Russian aggrandizement.

In view of these developments, the peoples of the free world must speed the build-up of their military, economic, political, and scientific unity and strength to deter aggression and protect peace and freedom. In this spirit, the Executive Council warmly welcomes the first American earth satellite and greets the NATO powers' efforts to enhance their unity and effectiveness in providing the free nations security against Soviet aggression. . . .

Our government and its allies should insist on Soviet compliance with the Yalta Agreement for free elections in the captive countries and on the re-unification of Germany through all-German free elections. Unless these issues are solved and an adequate system of controlled universal disarmament is established, the withdrawal of American forces from Europe or the dissolution of NATO would only appease and encourage Soviet aggrandizement and intensify the danger of Communist world conquest.

(Statement Adopted by AFL-CIO Executive Council, February 11, 1958.)

What is the AFL-CIO attitude towards the Soviet campaign for "banning" the manufacture and tests of nuclear weapons?

The Soviet rulers are supplementing their efforts to destroy NATO with a large-scale drive to end Western superiority in the nuclear field. While frantically speeding up the Soviet development and production of atomic and hydrogen weapons, the Communist dictators are propagandizing a ban on the manufacture and tests of hydrogen bombs.

While thus seeking to exploit for their own sinister aims the widespread and justified fear of an atomic war, the Soviet rulers are adamant in their opposition to the establishment of an effective worldwide system of inspection, control, and enforcement which alone could insure the discontinuance of further nuclear tests and an atomic war.

The fraudulent character of this Soviet maneuver and propaganda has been further exposed by Moscow's unequivocal rejection of Britain's latest modest but indispensible steps toward ending nuclear explosions. That the Soviet rulers are not animated by an earnest desire to relax international tension and seek only to weaken the democratic West is also confirmed by their latest response to President Eisenhower's proposal for aerial inspection. Moscow would have all of Western Europe and the Western half of the United States—but not the strategically important regions of the USSR—subject to aerial inspection.

In view of the above-mentioned developments, the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO urges our government to work uncompromisingly and energetically for the establishment of a foolproof system of international inspection and control of nuclear and all other weapons of mass destruction in the air, on and under the ground, and on and under the sea in order to achieve progressively universal disarmament.

(Statement Adopted by AFL-CIO Executive Council, May 22, 1957.)

We reaffirm the Resolution on Peace and Disarmament, adopted unanimously by the Tunis Congress of the ICFTU, which states:
"To date, the Soviet Government has vigorously opposed a system of control, inspection and supervision, without which any agreement on

disarmament would entail the gravest dangers for the security of the free world. . . .

"While democratic nations must continue their vigilance and reject any disarmament proposals which would imperil the security of the free world, we support them in every effort to obtain the conclusion of an international disarmament agreement free of this danger.

"To be really effective, disarmament agreements should be paralleled by settlements of the most urgent problems affecting the peace of the world, such as the reunification of Germany, in accordance with the freely-determined will of its people, and the establishment of genuine peace in the Middle East and in all other areas of tension, through direct negotiations on the basis of mutual recognition of territorial integrity and national independence."

(Statement Adopted by AFL-CIO Executive Council, May 1, 1958.)

How does the AFL-CIO view the problem of banning nuclear tests and stopping the production of such weapons?

Our government and its allies should intensify and popularize their efforts to establish international machinery for effective inspection, supervision, and control to assure the universal banning of military nuclear tests, the cessation of production of nuclear weapons, ballistic missiles, and the transfer of existing nuclear stockpiles to peaceful uses.

(Statement Adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, February 11, 1958.)

How does the AFL-CIO propose that the free world should meet the Soviet campaign for uninspected suspension of nuclear tests?

We believe that it is not enough to brand Moscow's recent announcement of provisional un-inspected suspension of nuclear tests as propaganda. Our government should take positive action in furtherance of genuine worldwide nuclear disarmament by arranging with as many powers as possible, through the U. N. Disarmament Commis-

sion, to reaffirm and carry out the unanimously adopted Resolution 1 (I) of the First U. N. General Assembly which provides for international inspection to assure "the control of atomic energy . . . to insure its use only for peaceful purposes . . . the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons and all other major weapons adaptable to mass destruction . . ." and "effective safeguards by way of inspection and other means to protect complying states against the hazards of violations and evasions."

Until this is achieved, we further urge that our government should reinforce both the conventional and nuclear elements in the basic NATO defense system and continue its policy of acquiring missile bases abroad, and strengthen the Strategic Air Command in order to maintain a strong deterrent against aggression and to preserve peace.

(Statement Adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, May 1, 1958.)

What significance does the AFL-CIO attach to the Soviet launching of the Sputniks?

Again and again, the Soviet adventurers have acted and the free world has reacted; again and again the U.S.A., although the strongest nation in the free world, has been too late with too little in military defense, in international economic aid and in other phases of the continuing total cold war.

The orbiting of the sputniks and our inability thus far to duplicate that feat has revealed obvious deficiencies in our defense organization, our educational system and our scientific research and development work. This is not cause for panic but for calm reevaluation and sound action to replace weakness with strength wherever weakness is found.

(Resolutions on International Affairs. Adopted by Second Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, December 1957.)

What does the AFL-CIO propose that our country and the other free nations do about meeting the challenge of the Sputniks?

The sputniks represent for us a bloodless Pearl Harbor. If we respond by mobilizing all moral, material and technological resources, as we did after December 7, 1941, and if we coordinate our efforts closely with those of other free nations, we can move ahead with calm confidence in the ultimate outcome of the world struggle between freedom and tyranny.

But we must recognize that hot wars are not prevented and cold wars are not won by arms alone, vital as these are. In this light, the forthcoming top-level NATO Conference is an opportunity to strengthen the foundations for free world unity in aspiration and action. It can do so by uniting the western democracies in the economic, social, educational, scientific and technological fields, as well as in the military sphere.

The preservation of world peace and the promotion of freedom require the marshalling and pooling of resources on all fronts. The common danger demands that every free nation greatly enlarge and speed up its contribution to the common pool of strength for peace and freedom. The increased strength must be military; it must be scientific; it must be technological; it must be at full production levels. Above all, it must go beyond the defensive fight for survival to take the initiative as quickly as possible in a massive global offensive against the poverty, hunger, disease, ignorance, exploitation, fear and hatred on which communism feeds, breeds, and grows to power.

(Resolutions on International Affairs. Adopted by Second Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, December 1957.)

We refuse to allow our apprehensions of the total destructive character of modern weapons of war to blind us to the reality our nation faces. Many wishful suggestions for relieving world tensions are currently receiving wide discussion, but we must point out the major responsibility for the acute tensions rests on the continued drive of Soviet Communism for world domination and its opposition to all proposals designed effectively to prohibit the use of nuclear weapons and to reduce conventional military forces and armaments.

The Executive Council, therefore, feels that our defense and the safety of the free world require the reaffirmation of our belief that:
(a) There is no evidence that any change has taken place in the objectives and methods of world Communism; on the contrary, there has been a return to a one-man dictatorship and a tightening of the Soviet grip over its satellites.
(b) No considerations of truth, consistency or honor govern the behavior of the Soviet Government representatives in their so-called peace offensive and in any negotiations which may take place.

(Statement Adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, May 1, 1958.)

How does the AFL-CIO view Moscow's campaign for a "Summit Conference?"

Taking advantage of the universal desire of all peoples for a peaceful world, Moscow has been urging a Summit Conference at which it hopes to secure an agreement by the Western democracies to consider as settled and final the Soviet annexation of the Baltic countries, eastern Poland, parts of Germany, Romania, and Czechoslovakia; Russian control of the captive countries; and recognition of the East German puppet regime as co-equal with the Federal German Republic in speaking for the German nation. . . .
The Executive Council favors diplomatic negotiations at the summit or any level—provided our country and its allies are united in policy and well prepared in advance. Such negotiations can serve to lessen world tension if they lead to settlement of the vital political issues.

(Statement Adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, February 11, 1958.)

We endorse the resolution on the Summit Conference, adopted by the ICFTU Subcommittee on March 18, 1958, which stated:
"Our Fifth World Congress clearly stated the responsibility for the tension and emphasized that disarmament agreements, to be really effective, should be paralleled by settlements of the most urgent problems affecting the peace of the world.
"This view still holds good; but the immediate dangers for the future

of mankind resulting from the armament race have become so great that no efforts should be spared to bring about serious conversations, at least on certain limited agreements, especially in the field of nuclear weapons, which, while safeguarding the security of the democratic countries, would bring relief in the atomic armament race.

"The fact should not be lost sight of that last year the Canadian, French, United Kingdom and United States Governments submitted concrete disarmament proposals to the United Nations Disarmament Sub-Commission and that by rejecting them the Soviet Government has paralyzed the work of the United Nations Disarmament Commission. If the Soviet Government means its declaration in favor of a summit conference seriously, there should be sufficient scope to resume negotiations in the light of last year's disarmament proposals of the democratic governments."

(Statement Adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, May 1, 1958.)

NATIONAL DEFENSE, WORLD DISARMAMENT, AND PEACE

Where does American labor stand on the question of national defense?

Until such time as an adequate system of world disarmament has been attained, the security and freedom of our country call for the build-up of sufficient actual and immediately available military strength to deter and, if need be, defeat aggression. The defense efforts should be meshed with non-military economic efforts into a common program for assuring social as well as national security. Only a prosperous and progressive, as well as powerful, America can make effective and sufficient contributions to world peace, freedom and human well-being.

(AFL-CIO Resolutions on Foreign Policy. Adopted by First Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, December 1955.)

The AFL-CIO favors a vigorous program of preparedness consistent with the values of our democratic heritage, including the following recommendations:

An all-out effort must be made to regain any military advantage that has been lost to the Soviet Union. While the whole nation prays and works for peaceful solution to international differences, we must face the grim fact that the failure to be militarily prepared can only provide the Soviets with the opportunity to win quick military victory. The country will support and can well afford to pay the sums needed to improve the nation's military posture.

(Resolutions on International Affairs. Adopted by Second Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, December 1957.)

What is American labor's position on the question of disarmament?

Maximum efforts to seek gradual effective disarmament through adequate international inspection, control and supervision, backed

by provisions for strong non-vetoable sanctions against all violators —with a view of ultimately assuring abolition of the atomic and all other weapons of mass destruction.

(AFL-CIO Resolutions on Foreign Policy. Adopted by First Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, December 1955.)

What is the AFL-CIO position towards Moscow's "disengagement" strategy?

This Soviet scheme provides for the continued partition of Germany and the maintenance of satellite Communist regimes in Eastern Europe. With its gigantic military machine remaining intact, Moscow could easily keep its East European puppet regimes in power. The Kremlin knows that the moment NATO ceases to exist and the American armed forces are no longer in Europe, the much-weakened free European countries would be at the mercy of totalitarian Russia. Through pressure, blackmail, threats, ultimatums, Communist subversion and coup d'etat, the Kremlin could overawe and dictate to the free countries of Europe.

Following the 1936-39 Hitler pattern of conquest, Moscow could overwhelm and control these free countries one by one. With the elimination of NATO and American military power as an immediately available force capable of deterring and defeating Soviet aggression and coup d' etat, the Kremlin could overawe and dictate to the War III. For these reasons, the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO strongly urges our government and its NATO allies to reject this latest Soviet maneuver as detrimental to freedom and world peace.

(Statement Adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, May 22, 1957.)

NATO

What is the AFL-CIO attitude towards NATO?

Today the strongest barrier to Soviet world conquest is NATO and the industrial and military strength of the United States. The Kremlin dictators have come to realize that they cannot attain further imperialist expansion through armed aggression or even intimidation as long as the West is united in a strong collective defense system and as long as the United States maintains its lead in the nuclear field.

The Soviet dictatorship is, therefore, maneuvering to undermine and overcome this barrier. It is proposing to dissolve NATO, to dismantle United States bases in Europe, and to have all American military forces returned to the United States. In return, Moscow would be ready to terminate the Warsaw Pact with its satellites, withdraw the Red Army behind the present Soviet borders, and conclude a so-called European Security Pact guaranteed by the USSR and the United States.

In view of the above-mentioned development, the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO urges our government to give categoric assurance to the U. N. and the entire world that it will not enter into any bilateral arrangement or a deal with the USSR for maintaining the international status quo—even under the guise of thus assuring world peace.

(Statement Adopted by AFL-CIO Executive Council, May 22, 1957.)

UNITED NATIONS

What is the position of the AFL-CIO towards the U. N.?

Strengthen and extend the influence and effectiveness of the United Nations as a force for peace and human progress in the world.

(Resolutions on International Affairs. Adopted by Second Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, December 1957.)

What is the position of the AFL-CIO towards the U. N. Specialized Agencies?

American labor supports the U. N. and its Specialized Agencies and believes that efforts to build the U. N. into a more authoritative and effective instrument for maintaining world peace and promoting the fundamental human rights proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations should be redoubled. It is our firm belief that the specialized agencies of the U. N. have aided the peoples of the underdeveloped countries by bringing to them the benefits of health, sanitation, and technical knowledge. These agencies have proven their worth to the cause of freedom and peace. We of the American labor movement pledge our continued support to ILO, WHO, UNESCO and other specialized agencies of the United Nations.

(AFL-CIO Resolutions on Foreign Policy. Adopted by First Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, December 1955.)

What is the AFL-CIO's position on admission to membership in the U. N.?

Our government should firmly adhere to the policy of prohibiting the admission into the U. N. of any regime which (a) has been imposed on any nation by a foreign power, (b) which exercises effective control of the country only through denying its people the fundamental human rights specified in the U. N. Charter and (c) which is engaged in war or has been found guilty of aggression against the U. N.

(AFL-CIO Resolutions on Foreign Policy. Adopted by First Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, December 1955.)

ATOMIC ENERGY AND OUTER SPACE

What is American labor's viewpoint towards the question of "peaceful utilization of atomic energy?"

Invigorated efforts to promote international cooperation for enabling all mankind to share the benefits of the peaceful utilization of atomic energy and technique. To assure the people's sharing equitably in the benefits of the atoms for peace program, the free trade unions should be represented in the planning and setting up of such projects.

(AFL-CIO Resolutions on Foreign Policy. Adopted by First Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, December 1955.)

Our government should seek the establishment of machinery for closer cooperation and exchange of information in promoting the utilization of atomic energy for peaceful purposes by the free nations.

(Statement Adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, February 11, 1958.)

What is the AFL-CIO position towards the control of outer space?

Our government should seek a special session of the U.N. Twelfth General Assembly to prepare a plan for international control of outer space for peaceful purposes.

(Statement Adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, February 11, 1958.)

CAPTIVE NATIONS

What is the AFL-CIO attitude towards the captive countries?

In the interest of peace and freedom, we urge our government to: (1) Reassure the captive countries that America will: (a) oppose all policies for an agreement with Moscow based on delineated spheres of control (mutual acceptance of old and new colonialism) and will not accept as final their present status; (b) not allow these lands to serve as spheres of exploitation or areas from which to launch invasions of other countries; (c) repudiate all efforts and elements seeking to replace the present despotic regimes with other reactionary governments or to impose on them any particular economic, political or social system; (d) seek U.N.-supervised free elections to enable them to establish democratic governments fully sovereign in their foreign as well as domestic relations.

(2) Place the problem of the captive countries and German reunification before the U.N., which should call upon Russia to abide by the Yalta Agreement providing for free elections in the satellites and to comply with its promises regarding German reunification in freedom.

(Statement Adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, February 2, 1957.)

Does the AFL-CIO have any specific proposal for peaceful settlement of the issue over captive nations and divided and strife-torn areas?

In an effort to lessen world tension and remove dangers to world peace, the U.N. should adopt a universal policy of the holding of free elections in all divided and strife-torn areas with a view to employing peaceful means rather than war for establishing legitimate governments which are to enjoy full sovereignty. Despite continued Soviet opposition, the U.N. must persist in advocating free elections in the satellite states as well.

(AFL-CIO Resolutions on Foreign Policy. Adopted by First Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, December 1955.)

How did the AFL-CIO react to the strike of the Polish Transport Workers (1957)?

Once again the workers of Poland have demonstrated—through the strike of transport workers in Lodz—that under Communism, wage earners do not benefit from the so-called "workers' republic."
The reply of their Communist government was to call out the troops and police to ruthlessly suppress this legitimate expression of these workers' discontent.
The AFL-CIO salutes these brave workers and endorses their use of the historic weapon of workers although the right to strike is forbidden to them.

(Statement by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, August 14, 1957.)

Where does the AFL-CIO stand on the question of aid to Communist Poland?

Assure Congressional approval of the President's foreign aid program with the additional proviso that America's efforts to help the needy populations in countries like Poland should be directed towards providing them, through an international agency like the Red Cross, with consumer's goods rather than selling to their dictatorial regimes industrial machinery which might serve Moscow's military potential.

(Statement Adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, May 22, 1957.)

What position did the AFL-CIO take towards the democratic Hungarian revolution?

In their inspiring resistance to Soviet aggression and Communist savagery, the working people, the youth, and the students of Hungary have displayed an indomitable spirit and courage unexcelled in the annals of man's struggle for human dignity, freedom and civilization. . . .
The continued Soviet military occupation of restive Poland and the butchery of the Hungarian people, after their successful revolution against Communist despotism, should dispel and uproot every illusion

about the real character and aims of the post-Stalin regime and its so-called liberalized and peaceful policies. The present Soviet colonialism has been exposed as even more aggressive and ruthless than under Stalin.

Moscow had no reason to fear a free and democratic Hungary as a threat to Soviet security. Finland has shown that a free and democratic neighbor is no threat to the USSR. The relentless Soviet drive for world domination and Communist enslavement is the sole reason for the Kremlin's drowning in blood the democratic Hungarian revolution and imposing on Hungary the puppet Kadar regime.

. . . The tragic and profoundly significant events in Hungary are bound to have a great impact on the peoples of all the satellite countries, on the Russian people themselves, and on freedom-loving people everywhere.

(Declaration by AFL-CIO Executive Committee, November 30, 1956.)

Soviet savagery in crushing the Hungarian revolt has aroused the conscience and moral indignation of the civilized world as no other event has done in many years. The international Communist movement and Soviet prestige have been seriously weakened in the free world. Communism is now detested most by the very people whom it has pretended to serve most.

Urge the U.N. to appeal to the free governments of Asia, especially India, to declare their solidarity with and pledge support of the Hungarian freedom fighters in their courageous passive resistance to Soviet colonial oppression and exploitation.

Provide the victims of Soviet tyranny in Hungary with free food—via the International Red Cross or an especially designated agency—and desist from aiding the quisling Kadar regime through selling it consumers' goods and industrial products.

Condemn the puppet Kadar regime for executing the leaders of the Workers Councils and seek to have the ILO expel it for its flagrant violation of all human rights.

Sever diplomatic relations with the Kadar regime and seek its unseating, as a foreign-imposed government, from the U.N.

Demand that the Romanian puppet government should free Hungary's

legitimate Premier Imre Nagy, upon pain of expulsion from the U.N. Seek to have the U.N. invoke economic sanctions against Russia for its persistent refusal to heed the U.N. decision that it withdraw its invasion army from Hungary.

Urge all free governments to join in giving full support to the Hungarian National Government Representation (Kethly, Kiraly, Koevago) as rallying center of Hungarian freedom fighters seeking full national independence and freedom.

(Declaration by AFL-CIO Executive Council, February 4, 1957.)

The barbarous suppression of the Hungarian democratic revolution caused a worldwide revulsion against the Kremlin dictatorship and international Communism. This suppression entailed Moscow's having to sacrifice every pretense of peaceful co-existence and to turn to open brutal aggression instead. To millions of people, especially in Asia and Africa, Soviet policy was exposed as viciously reactionary and utterly inhuman colonialism.

But the West and the United Nations failed to respond effectively to the historic events in Hungary. Today, the moral indignation aroused by the Soviet savagery in Hungary has already begun to fade away in the democratic world. As a result, the movement for democracy and national independence in other satellite countries, such as Poland, has been slowed down.

In view of the aforementioned developments, the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO urges our government to expand the American aid program for Hungarian refugees still in Austria and other countries to which they fled in the hope of coming to the United States.

(Declaration by Executive Council, AFL-CIO, May 22, 1957.)

Khrushchev and Zhukov, posing as champions of "peaceful co-existence" and generous treatment of the satellites, were the primary architects of the savage suppression of the Hungarian people in their effort to secure national independence and genuine co-existence with Russia and the rest of the world.

(Declaration by AFL-CIO Executive Council, August 15, 1957.)

By authority of the United Nations Eleventh General Assembly, there was established a Special Committee on Hungary consisting of repre-

sentatives of countries from Africa, Asia, Australia, Europe and Latin America.

Nearly two months ago, this Special Committee issued a comprehensive report on aggression by the Soviet Government against the people of Hungary seeking national independence and human freedom in accord with the Charter of the United Nations binding upon all its members. This Special Committee was unanimous in its finding that there was "a massive armed intervention by one power on the territory of another with the avowed intention of interfering in its internal affairs."

The Executive Council of the AFL-CIO declares that this indictment of Soviet aggression and Communist terror involves grave issues which demand timely and appropriate action by the U.N. General Assembly in the interest of just and peaceful relations among the nations of the world. The Executive Council, therefore, strongly urges our government that it should redouble its efforts to have the U.N. lose no further time in convening its Eleventh General Assembly in Special Session so that it may consider thoroughly and act on the Report on its Special Committee on Hungary.

(Declaration by AFL-CIO Executive Council, August 15, 1957.)

What measures did the AFL-CIO propose for our government to take in meeting the savage Soviet suppression of Hungarian national independence and democracy?

The Executive Committee calls upon our government to give prompt and vigorous support to the following measures:

1. Seek to have the U.N. decide: (a) to demand the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary; (b) to send a police force to Hungary where recent events have taken a turn to constitute a grave threat to world peace and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations; (c) to void the credentials of the Kadar agent who does not represent the people of Hungary, set up machinery for free elections under its supervision so as to enable the Hungarian people to establish a government of their own free choice which shall be fully sovereign in its foreign relations as well as its domestic policies and be legitimately represented in the U.N.; (d) to call upon the

Soviet government to release Imre Nagy and the members of his government kidnapped by the Soviet military occupation authorities in Hungary; (e) demand that the Soviet government stop all reprisals against the Hungarian freedom fighters and release forthwith all political prisoners and deportees.

2. Until such time as the Soviet government proves, through concrete action, that it can be trusted, our government, through the State Department, should see to it that there be no cultural or scientific or any other so-called goodwill exchanges between our country and Soviet Russia. This is to be the first step in rallying the civilized world for the moral isolation of the barbaric forces of evil represented by the Kremlin.

3. Energetic steps should be taken to revise our country's immigration laws and refugee admission procedures with a view of greatly speeding up the admission into the U.S. of a greater number of Hungarian freedom fighters and their families.

4. We call upon every affiliate of the AFL-CIO to contribute generously and promptly to the AFL-CIO International Free Labor Fund so that it may quickly dispense adequate support to the ICFTU campaign for aiding the cause of freedom in Hungary and the mounting number of Hungarian workers who have had to flee the vengeance of the Communist terror.

5. We urge every City Central Labor body and State Federation of Labor to organize protest meetings against the Soviet brutalities in Hungary, to utilize their local radio facilities and these meetings for the purpose of rallying public opinion in support of our government's initiating the proposals specified in Points 1 through 3, and to take the lead in their respective communities for securing the strongest condemnation of Soviet aggression and expression of solidarity with and support of the Hungarian fight for freedom.

6. We call upon all religious denominations to designate the week-end of December 8-9—on the eve of the day (December 10) which marks the anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration of Human Rights, as an occasion for special tribute to the Hungarian freedom fighters.

(Statement Issued by the AFL-CIO Executive Committee, November 30, 1956.)

FRANCO SPAIN

What is the AFL-CIO attitude towards Franco Spain?

Despite all the repressive measures of the Franco regime, miners in Asturia, industrial workers in Barcelona, agricultural workers in Adalusia, students in Madrid openly demonstrate their discontent with this dictatorship and their totally inadequate living and working conditions.

The AFL-CIO again declares its complete opposition to all totalitarianism, accompanied, as it always is, by the suppression of free trade unions. The longstanding opposition of the American trade unions to Franco totalitarianism is not modified by any military or economic arrangements made between our government and the present Spanish regime.

We reject the charge made by supporters of Franco that all opposition to his regime is of Communist origin. Naturally, Communists for their own purposes are endeavoring to exploit the justified discontent of the Spanish people, but this opportunity comes from the Franco regime's denying the people human rights and civil liberties, including the right of free association.

(Statement Adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, Washington, D. C., May 1, 1958.)

What does the AFL-CIO propose to do in order to promote human freedom and well-being in Spain?

The AFL-CIO Executive Council endorses the Manifesto on Spain of the ICFTU Subcommittee, March 17-20, 1958, and reaffirms its belief that the interests of the free world require the return of Spain to peaceful, democratic development and prosperity for all its people.

After careful study of the situation in Spain and taking into consideration the voice of those who all too long have been prevented from freely expressing their thoughts, the ICFTU, on its own behalf and on behalf of its affiliated Spanish organizations, now issues this

manifesto calling upon all the democratic forces in the world and of free labor everywhere to support these urgent objectives:

1. Establishment of a non-partisan provisional government, representative of all democratic and anti-totalitarian forces, to guarantee to the Spanish people the exercise of its fundamental freedoms and to prepare in the shortest possible time the way for free elections in which the Spanish people will be able to determine what kind of government should rule the country.
2. Immediate repeal of the legislation instituting the discredited Falangist syndicates and restoration of free trade unionism, independent from control by government and employers.
3. Establishment of the right of association and of the exercise of all individual freedoms.
4. Release of and amnesty for all political prisoners; recall of all exiles wishing to return to Spain, their rehabilitation and compensation for losses, due to political persecution, of property, income and social rights, suffered individually or collectively.
5. A program for rehabilitation and development of the Spanish economy and for the improvement of the deplorably low living standards of the industrial and agricultural workers.
6. A program for genuine land reform, agricultural investment and soil improvement to assure the progress of agricultural production.
7. Large-scale international financial and technical aid for carrying out the industrial and agricultural development programs.

The free world owes it to the Spanish people and to itself to come to the help of this great and ancient nation so that it may once more find the road open to peaceful democratic development and prosperity for all.

(Statement by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, May 1, 1958.)

REUNIFICATION OF GERMANY—AND BERLIN

What is the AFL-CIO position on the question of reunification of Germany in freedom?

World peace, freedom and justice demand that no effort be spared to end this deadlock over the future of Germany.

The primary responsibility of the Big Four Powers to help the German people attain their reunification in freedom cannot be disavowed, discontinued, or even diminished. But, after years of Big Four inability to agree, the time has come to meet the German problem on new grounds. The time has arrived when they should call upon the German people and the United Nations to help them discharge justly and fully this responsibility. Let the German people be heard regarding the problem of reuniting their country. Let them exercise their voice effectively towards attaining reunification of Germany as a fully sovereign land—with freedom to determine their relations with other peoples as well as the social, economic and political system they themselves want.

(Statement Adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, February 10, 1956.)

Does the AFL-CIO have any concrete proposals for U.S. government action to speed German reunification in freedom?

Towards hastening the day when the entire German people can enjoy the fundamental human rights provided for in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, we urge our government to initiate and work for the following proposals:

1. A free and democratic plebiscite should be held, under U.N. supervision, so as to enable the German people themselves to choose freely between the Eden Plan and the Molotov Plan as presented at the Geneva Conference of the Big Four Ministers.
2. The democratic procedure followed in the holding of the recent

Saar plebiscite might serve as the basis for organizing this U.N.-supervised plebiscite.

3. Together with the U.N., the Big Four should pledge themselves to protect the personal safety of all individuals and the rights of all organizations—regardless of the plan they supported in the plebiscite.

4. After the German people have thus made their choice between the two plans, the Big Four should honor this free expression and promptly proceed with the execution of the plan chosen by the Germans in the plebiscite.

(Statement Adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, February 10, 1956.)

What is the AFL-CIO attitude towards German national reunification?

Place the problem of German national reunification and the situation of the captive countries on the agenda of the forthcoming Twelfth Session of the U.N. General Assembly.

(Statement Adopted by AFL-CIO Executive Council, May 22, 1957.)

Moscow is today most categoric in its opposition to German national unification through free elections. It insists on turning the entire German nation into another Soviet satellite by confederating the democratic Federal German Republic with the East German Communist puppet regime.

(Statement Adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, August 15, 1957.)

What position does the AFL-CIO take in regard to the status of Berlin?

In order to lessen international tension, America, Britain and France should reaffirm their determination to hold the USSR to the Four-Power Agreement on Berlin, to maintain the present status of West Berlin, and take all necessary measures for assuring its freedom and

prosperity. Towards eliminating the recurrent threats of starvation against West Berlin, the democratic powers should seek to obtain unimpeded air, rail and waterways communication between West Berlin and West Germany. Such unimpeded access is to be guaranteed, for instance, through sealed trains and the construction of fenced-in connecting highways not subject to control by Soviet Zonal authorities or any of their agents.

(Statement Adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, February 10, 1956.)

UNITY OF FREE EUROPE

Where does the AFL-CIO stand on the question of the unity of free Europe?

In view of the intransigent Soviet opposition to German national reunification in freedom and the restoration of the national independence of the satellite countries, speedy action should be taken to . . . further European unity through economic aid and technical assistance to specific projects for free European integration, such as the establishment of a free Europe Authority to construct and operate continental oil pipelines; unify rail, water, and air transport systems; co-ordinate atomic energy, electricity and waterpower resources along the lines of the present Iron and Steel Community. The free trade unions of the cooperating countries should be drawn into the policymaking bodies of such projects in order to assure the great mass of the people sharing equitably in the benefits thereof. This implementation of the London-Paris Accords should be combined with a program to enable NATO to fulfill not only its primary purpose as a military defense body but in addition as an organ for greater economic and political cooperation in advancing peace, human rights, and improved living standards.

(AFL-CIO Resolutions on Foreign Policy. Adopted by First Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, December 1955.)

What position does the AFL-CIO take towards the European Atom Authority (Euratom)?

Towards furthering free European unity, economic aid and technical assistance should be rendered to such specific projects for European integration as the establishment of the European Atom Authority (EURATOM); the construction and operation of continental oil pipelines; the unification of the European rail, water and air transport systems; coordination of electricity and waterpower systems; etc.

(Statement Adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, June 7, 1956.)

FOREIGN AID TO UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES

How would American labor have the U.S. government approach the problem of the economically underdeveloped countries?

Undeveloped and underdeveloped continents and regions, where many hundreds of millions nurse their grievances and their hopes—constitute a fertile field for Communist operations. In dealing with rudimentary human problems the world over, we must be concerned primarily with two immediate needs—the need for food, health and irrigation in the underdeveloped countries, and the burning desire for independence and equality. By ministering to such fundamental needs we will be on firmer ground as we seek to win new adherents to the free world. . . .

The representatives of democracy must go out into the underdeveloped regions with specific plans, programs and projects to help raise living standards, for helping to end all colonialism, for winning these peoples as equal members of the free world community. Thus we will make it possible for them to have a stake in the defense of a civilization worth defending.

Our country has done some of this. UNRRA was a beginning. American labor supported the Marshall Plan because it was conceived and largely administered in this spirit. Point Four was an imaginative gesture in the same direction but tragically all too little. Towards the same end, the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development, (SUNFED), provides real possibilities for developing and expanding worthy projects for the fundamental improvement of the economic conditions of the needy peoples. Our responsibilities include, but are not limited to, a firm and effective military defense of established positions against Communist subversion and aggression. Positive measures for social and economic betterment are an indispensable part of the program for the defense and victory of the free world.

(AFL-CIO Resolutions on Foreign Policy. Adopted by First Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, December 1955.)

How does the AFL-CIO stand on the question of American aid to economically underdeveloped countries?

American labor has been among the first to urge our government and other democracies to offer the economically underdeveloped countries adequate help to assure their economic progress, human freedom and national security. Towards this end, we of organized labor have supported such plans and proposals as Point Four, Colombo Plan, the UN Technical Assistance Program, and President Eisenhower's plea for a universal war against poverty.

The threat of Soviet aggression has compelled the free nations to divert to their defense needs large sums which might otherwise have been used in promoting the well-being of the underdeveloped areas. But since mass poverty and hunger constitute a potentially grave threat to freedom and peace, we strongly urge our government to increase its assistance to the peoples of the underdeveloped areas.

(Statement adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, June 7, 1956.)

What guiding lines for American overseas economic policy has the AFL-CIO proposed?

1. Demonstrate to the people of the underdeveloped regions, in word and deed, that our interest in their well-being is free from any desire to exploit or dominate them.
2. No interference in each other's domestic affairs or political life.
3. In all countries which have not yet attained their full national independence, representatives of the population are to be drawn into participating in the planning and application of all assistance programs in order to further the progress of self-determination.
4. Wherever practical, our government should seek joint efforts with other democracies in undertaking technical aid and economic assistance projects.
5. When such projects are undertaken through the United Nations and its special agencies, their operation must not be subject to the exercise of the veto power.

6. The workers in each country must be guaranteed full opportunity for genuine collective bargaining and decent working conditions in line with the standards established by the ILO and free from racial discrimination and forced labor.

7. The working population of the countries receiving technical assistance should be helped to learn the organization of free and democratic trade unions, farmers' and consumers' associations.

8. In order to secure the maximum cooperation of and support by the working people in attaining the above goals, the respective free trade unions should be adequately represented in all important planning and project commissions.

9. Increasingly, the principal control and ownership of important projects should be placed in the hands of the country aided and in accord with the economic forms their own people democratically determine.

10. Our government should join with other democratic governments in preparing, through the UN, an international code to which the recipient nations should subscribe so as to reduce to a minimum the risks and difficulties surrounding private foreign investment and encourage this great reservoir of capital to serve in promoting a healthy and non-imperialist development of the industrially underdeveloped countries.

11. While technical and economic assistance should be accorded to all countries devoted to human freedom and peace, whether or not they are in alliance with the United States, the critical world situation created by Soviet imperialism and the limits on funds available for such economic aid require that countries which have shown *in deed* that they are ready to join with the democracies in the preservation of peace and freedom should be given priority of consideration in such assistance projects.

12. Expanded economic and technical assistance is of vital importance in the struggle against Communism, because it makes people less prone to fall victim to Communist propaganda and subversion. However, the resulting economic improvement is an indispensable

supplement to but not a substitute for military preparedness and cooperation with other freedom-loving people.

(Statement Adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, June 7, 1956.)

What is the AFL-CIO attitude towards U.N. role in reordering aid to economically underdeveloped countries?

Launch a bold global attack aimed at wiping out the source of Communist power in industrially and agriculturally underdeveloped countries through a program of technical, cultural and economic aid channeling such assistance whenever possible through the United Nations and its specialized agencies, including ILO, UNESCO, FAO, IAEA, Technical Assistance and the proposed SUNFED (Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development).

(Resolutions on International Affairs. Adopted by Second Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, December 1957.)

What is the AFL-CIO position towards the development of water resources in extending aid to economically underdeveloped countries?

Our government should help establish a worldwide project for the development and effective utilization of water resources. It would symbolize the humanitarian aims of our country's overseas economic aid program and help overcome the widespread hunger, disease, and poverty resulting from arid soil, drought and poor crops.

This project should largely embody the principles of TVA and recognize the need of a healthy agricultural base and rising food supply as essential to a humane process of industrialization. It should seek to develop water conservation, dams, irrigation, electric power, improved cultivation of the soil, and industrial growth in the economically underdeveloped countries.

To initiate this plan for water development and utilization in the fight against hunger, a pilot project might well be started in the Sudan for the expansion of its agriculture and industry.

(Statement Adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, February 11, 1958.)

COLONIALISM

What is American labor's attitude towards colonialism?

Rejection of all colonialism—the old declining western as well as the new rising Soviet colonialism—should be cardinal to our nation's foreign policy. In line with our national traditions, positive steps should be taken to help all peoples aspiring to self-government or national independence under conditions which will enable them to assume equal status among the free peoples of the world. All peoples —in Europe no less than in Asia or Africa—who have been subjected to the yoke of alien despotism should be encouraged in their efforts to regain the right of self-determination which will enable them to choose the form of government they desire and enjoy the Charter of the United Nations.

(AFL-CIO Resolutions on Foreign Policy. Adopted by First Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, December 1955.)

American labor, today as always, supports the aspirations of all colonial and oppressed peoples to national independence and human freedom.

In line with the democratic traditions of the American people, we have consistently opposed all colonial oppression and exploitation—on both sides of the Iron Curtain. We have not hesitated to criticize our own government when, in the realm of power politics, it did not disassociate itself or failed to oppose colonialist policies pursued by our allies in Africa, Asia or elsewhere. . . .

Support with all vigor the just demands of the colonial peoples for national freedom, self-determination and full partnership in the family of nations. Aid submerged peoples in preparing for self-government.

(Resolutions on International Affairs. Adopted by Second Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, December 1957.)

What is the AFL-CIO attitude towards the new, Soviet, colonialism?

Pretending to aid the various national independence movements, Moscow seeks only to infiltrate and exploit them so as to replace

the old Western colonialism with the new Communist colonialism which is infinitely more oppressive and utterly inhuman in its exploitation and repression of peoples, as most recently demonstrated in Hungary.

(Statement Adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, August 15, 1957.)

What is the AFL-CIO estimate of the role of the Soviet regime in the struggle for national independence?

Particularly since the close of World War II, the old style colonialism of western powers has been on the wane. Hundreds of millions of people have attained their right to full nationhood in the Far East, Middle East and in Africa. But the struggle for national independence and against the declining western colonialism has been seriously complicated and hampered by the emergence of the new and infinitely more dangerous Soviet colonialism. Under the pretext of fighting against colonialism, Communist imperialism has been utterly inhuman in its stamping out of the national sovereignty and democratic liberties of weaker nations.

(Resolutions on International Affairs. Adopted by Second Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, December 1957.)

How does American labor view Soviet penetration of dependent countries? And how does the AFL-CIO propose to counteract and defeat this Kremlin strategy?

The longer western colonialism countinues, the greater is the danger of Communist penetration of dependent countries. In spite of Moscow's discrimination against national minorities in the Soviet Union, in spite of its brutal suppression of the Hungarian revolution, the Communists continue to pose as the most determined fighters against race prejudice and champions of national independence. Moreover, the manifesto of the recent international Communist meeting in Moscow shows that the Kremlin has ordered a stepped-up campaign of infiltration of trade unions in colonial countries.

To counter these Communist maneuvers, an energetic campaign must be carried on in all colonial countries designed both to lay bare the true nature of communism and to demonstrate the positive advantages and enormous possibilities of democracy and free trade unionism as the means for the fulfillment of workers' aspirations for economic progress, security and dignity. To this end we call upon the ICFTU to step up its educational work in colonial and underdeveloped countries and we pledge our aid and support for such work.

American labor's help to the workers and trade unions of the colonial countries is based upon winning new and strengthening established support for ICFTU policies. We have but one aim in rendering such assistance—to help them in achieving for themselves the same goals of bread, peace and freedom that we seek for our own members. We ask nothing of them in return except that they work with us to strengthen the international free trade union movement as a bulwark of human rights, democracy and peace for all workers everywhere.

(Resolutions on International Affairs. Adopted by Second Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, December 1957.)

What is the AFL-CIO attitude towards the struggle of the Algerian people for national independence?

Today our government could render the most important service to the cause of peace and freedom in the Middle East and in all other economically underdeveloped areas by mobilizing American prestige and influence to have our allies abandon all colonialist policies—particularly to have the French government grant the Algerian people their national independence.

Such American action in regard to Algeria would deal a shattering blow to the ambitions of the most demagogic dictators and to the position of the Kremlin in the entire Middle East.

(Statement adopted by AFL-CIO Executive Council, February 2, 1957.)

The AFL-CIO welcomes the Congress resolution on Algeria which reiterates the ICFTU pledge "to do all it can for the complete emancipation and national independence of the peoples" and stresses that "the refusal to any nation of the right and the effective means to govern itself in the way it wishes" is not only a violation of "the elementary rights recognized by the United Nations Charter, but also a grave threat to political stability and to world peace." We likewise support the ICFTU Congress calling upon the French government to enter into "direct negotiations with the qualified representatives of the Algerian people."

(Statement Adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, August 15, 1957.)

We appeal to . . . France to begin negotiations immediately for the granting of independence to and the withdrawal of French troops from Algeria.

(Resolutions on International Affairs. Adopted by Second Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, December 1957.)

The Executive Council views with deep concern the continued military conflict in Algeria as a threat to world peace and freedom.

Twice the U.N. General Assembly has acted to end this terrible war with a view of helping the embattled people of Algeria to attain peacefully the rights enunciated in the Charter of the United Nations. Twice the Algerian National Liberation Front, fully supported by the Algerian Federation of Workers (UGTA), has offered to act on the basis of these resolutions and end this destructive war.

The time has come for our government to implement the traditional anti-colonial policies of the United States. The time has come for our government to act vigorously for compliance with the U.N. resolutions, so that hostilities can be ended and the peoples of France and Algeria can live in peace and friendship with each other.

We urge our government to make every effort to have the French government, the governments of Tunisia and Morocco, and representatives of the Algerian National Liberation Front confer immediately—in line with the unanimously adopted resolution of the

U.N. Twelfth General Assembly for the purpose of arriving at a just and peaceful solution of the Algerian problem.
Our government should exercise all its influence and prestige towards this end, so that the Algerian people can attain their national freedom and democratic liberties and join with the free nations of North Africa in a North African federation of free peoples living in close association and friendship with the people of France.

(Statement Adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, February 11, 1958.)

How did the AFL-CIO view the French Air Force bombardment of the Tunisian village of Sakiet-Sidi-Youssef?

The shocking French Air Force bombardment of a Tunisian town on the Algerian border, with scores of civilian casualties, has focused world attention on the terrible war in Algeria. . . . We condemn without reservation the recent French attack on the Tunisian village of Sakiet-Sidi-Youssef.

(Statement Adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, February 11, 1958.)

What is the AFL-CIO attitude towards the idea of establishing a North African democratic federation?

We call upon the French government to support and encourage the establishment of a North African democratic federation (consisting of Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria) in close and friendly association with the people of France and with full protection of the rights and equities of all minority groups including the French residents in North Africa.

(Resolutions on International Affairs. Adopted by Second Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, December 1957.)

What is the AFL-CIO position towards the Cyprus question?

We appeal to the British government to grant self determination to Cyprus. . . .

(Resolutions on International Affairs. Adopted by Second Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, December 1957.)

What is the AFL-CIO attitude towards the U.N. Trust Territories?

Definite and reasonable time limits should be set for the non-self-governing people (Trust Territories and colonies) obtaining their national freedom. During the interim, effective measures should be taken to further economic, social, and cultural progress and training in self-government. Every effort should be made to develop an efficient civil service system and a free and compulsory public school system. The workers should be encouraged to establish their own free trade unions to further their interests.

The U.N. Trusteeship Council supervising the various Trust Territories, should set time limits for the termination of its supervision. Under the U.N. Charter, the Powers which control dependent areas are obligated to report to the United Nations on social, education, and economic conditions in their territories. This obligation should be extended to include reports on political conditions and the development of institutions of self-government. The U.N. should likewise take greater interest in those dependent territories which are not subject to supervision by the Trusteeship Council, with a view to promoting their progress toward national independence.

(Resolutions on International Affairs. Adopted by Second Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, December 1957.)

What is the attitude of American labor towards "Apartheid" in South Africa?

The organized labor movement of America is shocked at the continued and increasing denial of human rights to the non-white four-fifths of the population in the Union of South Africa. We of organ-

ized labor feel free to condemn this racist course because we have outspokenly opposed anything similar in our own country. While there has been a progressive improvement in race relations in the United States, due in no small part to the role of the labor movement, the opposite has been the case in South Africa.

. . . We express our solidarity with the opponents of apartheid, both white and non-white, in South Africa.

By law, African workers are compelled to accept the wages and working conditions set by their employers and the government. No collective bargaining, no right to strike is countenanced. Africans are systematically denied equal pay for equal work. White unions are forbidden to have African members and must establish separate branches for Asians and Colored (persons of mixed descent).

By its policies, the South African Government is playing into the hands of Communists. Unless the Western democracies, including the United States, can speak in a clear voice condemning the racism of South Africa, the Communist bloc of countries led by the Soviet Union can make increasingly successful propaganda out of the injustices being perpetrated in South Africa. We strongly urge our own government not to dilute its official stand in the United Nations or in private discussions with South African officials.

(Statement by AFL-CIO Executive Council, May 1, 1958.)

What is the AFL-CIO position towards free trade unions in the colonies?

The ICFTU has shown that it can contribute greatly to the democratic development of peoples under and emerging from colonial rule. By aiding them in the building of strong free unions, the ICFTU fosters their progress toward independence and equips them to achieve and safeguard fundamental human rights. We commend the ICFTU for what it has done to date. We pledge our cooperation and support in its future efforts to assist the democratic independence movements in the non-self-governing territories and to help in the building and strengthening of free trade unions devoted to the economic, social and cultural progress of peoples

now under colonial rule. We endorse and support the U.N. activities of the ICFTU designed to hasten the independence of such peoples. We urge the free trade unions in the countries which govern dependent territories to (1) exert vigorous pressure on their governments to grant their colonial peoples freedom and independence; (2) enter into fraternal alliance with and give generous aid and support to the labor unions in their countries' colonies; where such unions do not exist, help organize them.

(Resolutions on International Affairs. Adopted by Second Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, December 1957.)

CRISIS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

What is the AFL-CIO's approach towards the crisis in the Middle East?

Particularly in view of the recent grave developments in the Middle East, our country and its allies in concert with the United Nations should take positive steps to prevent aggression in the Middle East, to improve the economic conditions of its people and to promote peaceful relations among its various peoples—based on mutual recognition of each other's national existence and territorial integrity.

(AFL-CIO Resolutions on Foreign Policy. Adopted by First Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, December 1955.)

In the few months since the AFL-CIO Constitutional Convention adopted its policy on Israel on December 7, 1955, the situation in the Middle East has deteriorated. . . . This deterioration is the result of the Soviet imperialist drive to exploit Arab-Israel friction and of the Communist expansionist policy in the Middle East and Africa. The free world must thwart this immediate threat to peace by at once supplying Israel with the defensive weapons it needs to offset the increased offensive strength of any possible aggressor.

The United Nations should seek a solution of the problems in this area in compliance with the following five principles: mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in internal affairs, equality and peaceful relations.

(Statement Adopted by AFL-CIO Executive Council, February 10, 1956.)

What is the AFL-CIO program for achieving the goal of peace and social progress in the Middle East?

Under UN direction, there should be called a conference of representatives of the various Middle East governments for resolving their disputes and difficulties.

Issues which this conference fails to resolve should be referred to the UN General Assembly for further consideration and action.

The UN should set up an initial fund of $500 million to be expended for the solution of the Arab refugee problem. Israel should contribute a substantial part of this fund, the remainder being supplied by other governments in order to eliminate this source of tension.

The Economic and Social Council of the UN, the appropriate UN technical agencies and the ILO together with the respective governments, should prepare a program for improving the living standards and well-being of the peoples in this region, through increasing their agricultural and industrial efficiency, raising their purchasing power, and assuring them an equitable share in the benefits accruing from the development of the great natural resources (oil) of the Middle East.

Our own government should demonstrate its support of the above measures by taking the lead in pledging generous economic and technical assistance towards their fulfillment.

(Statement Adopted by AFL-CIO Executive Council, February 10, 1956.)

Towards further assuring improved living and working conditions and the general well-being of the people of the various countries of the Middle East, the Economic and Social Council of the U.N., the appropriate technical agencies, and the ILO, together with the respective governments and representatives of the leading foreign investors in these lands, should prepare a program for increasing agricultural and industrial efficiency, promoting democratic institutions such as free trade unions, enhancing purchasing power, and providing an equitable share for the people in the benefits accruing from the development of the great natural resources of this region.

(Statement Adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, August 28, 1956.)

How does the AFL-CIO approach the problem of promoting economic improvement, social justice, and human freedom in the Middle East?

The Economic and Social Council of the U.N., the appropriate U.N.

technical agencies and the ILO, together with the representative of the respective interested governments, should prepare a program for increasing their agricultural and industrial efficiency, promoting democratic institutions such as free trade unions, enhancing the purchasing power of their people, and providing them with an equitable share in the benefits accruing from the development of the great natural resources of the Middle East.

(Statement by Executive Committee, AFL-CIO, November 30, 1956.)

Towards furthering economic development and social progress in the Middle East, the U.N. Economic and Social Council and its other appropriate agencies should prepare plans and projects for industrial development and improved living standards.

(Statement Adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, February 2, 1957.)

What is the AFL-CIO position towards the Aswan Dam?

In this connection, especially in view of the importance attached to the projected Aswan Dam in Egypt and because of the fact that its financing has assumed controversial international implications, the U.N. ECOSOC should designate a Special Commission of Experts to study and review the entire idea of the Aswan Dam Project with a view of ascertaining and making specific recommendations regarding (a) its economic feasibility; (b) available sources for the capital required; (c) appropriate relative Egyptian and foreign contributions for financing the project; (d) assurance of full rights and benefits for Sudan; (e) measures to have the resulting increased economic potential serve solely peaceful purposes.

(Statement Adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, August 28, 1956.)

How did the AFL-CIO react towards the Suez Crisis (1956) And what program of action did it propose?

The situation in the Middle East has been deteriorating dangerously especially since the Bandung Conference (1955). Events in this vital

area have taken a most critical turn with the renunciation by the Egyptian government of the contract permitting the Suez Canal Company to operate the international waterway. This unilateral action by Nasser has had so many serious repercussions that the Indian government representative at the recent London Conference on the Suez was led to declare:

"My Government would like it to be stated that there is in the manner that the nationalization was carried out features which have led to the present gravity of the situation."

In seeking a just and peaceful solution of the Suez Canal crisis, the democratic countries should be guided by two principles: (a) respect for the sovereign rights of Egypt; (b) the maintenance of freedom of navigation in the Suez as an international waterway open at all times to all peoples. In this spirit, we make the following proposals:

1. As a sovereign state, Egypt has the right to buy out the shareholders at a fair price and then to nationalize the Suez Canal Company. But the unilateral action and the methods employed by Nasser in taking over this international waterway are to be condemned as disruptive of equitable and harmonious international relations.

2. In view of (a) the international character of the Suez waterway; (b) the vital needs of healthy international economic relations requiring that this Canal be operated efficiently and be free to navigation by ships of all flags; (c) the aforementioned transgressions by the Nasser dictatorship and (d) the Egyptian Government's blockade of Israeli shipping for the last eight years, in crass violation of the Constantinople Accord for "the free use of the Suez Canal" and the U.N. Security Council Decision of September 1, 1951, it has become imperative to take new international measures to assure uninterrupted free navigation in the Canal for all nations.

3. Towards insuring the free use of the Suez Canal by ships of all nations at all times, we propose that: (a) There be established a Special Egyptian Suez Authority charged with operating the Canal in line with the present solemn international commitments already undertaken by the government of Egypt and in accord with the U.N. Security Council Decision of September 1, 1951. (b) There be established an International Suez Authority—representative of the principal users of the Suez Canal—to work together with the Egyptian

Suez Authority for insuring efficiency of operations, sound economy, and the maintenance of uninterrupted freedom of navigation. (c) Both the Egyptian and the International Suez Authority agree that, in the event of any differences arising between them, they will submit these differences to the International Court of Justice (Hague Tribunal) with full power to make decisions which shall be final and binding.

4. Since the Suez crisis is part of the entire unhealthy situation in the Middle East, it is most urgent that the Western democracies redouble their efforts to eliminate every vestige of colonialist practice in this vital region and throughout Africa.

(Statement Adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, August 28, 1956.)

How did the AFL-CIO look upon the Anglo-French-Israeli invasion of Egypt (1956)?

While the invasion of Egypt was in violation of the U.N. Charter, the Executive Committee of the AFL-CIO recognizes that it was a direct consequence of years of provocation on the part of Egypt. We regret that its effect was to impair the unity of the democracies and to serve the interests of Soviet imperialist aggression particularly in the Middle East. In no small measure, it shifted attention away from and weakened the worldwide indignation against the savage Russian repression of the Hungarian people's heroic struggle for national independence and democracy.

It is wrong, however, to equate the invasion of Egypt with the Soviet butchery of Hungary. The British, French and Israelis are complying with the U.N. decision for a cease-fire and are withdrawing their forces—even before the U.N. has made any effort to correct the grievances which led to the invasion. In sharp contrast, Moscow continues to flout all concepts of human decency as well as the U.N. decisions regarding Hungary.

Furthermore, while there is no excuse whatsoever for the ghastly Soviet crimes in Hungary, it must be recognized that the Anglo-French and Israeli attacks came in consequence of years of tension and tragedy in the Middle East evidenced in the lack of a peace

settlement between Israel and her Arab neighbors; constantly recurring bloody border incidents; Soviet intrigue, vast arms shipments for aggression and Communist subversion; blockade of Israeli shipping in violation of all U.N. decisions and international treaty obligations; continued terrible plight of the Arab refugees; lack of a long-range economic aid program for the poverty-stricken Middle East; Nasser's arbitrary and unilateral taking over the Suez Canal and persistent refusal to give adequate guarantees for free international navigation of the Suez world waterway.

(Statement issued by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, November 30, 1956.)

What is the AFL-CIO position towards alternative routes to the Suez Canal?

Immediate steps should be taken by a broad consortium of free nations, or by the International Bank, to survey the possibilities and recommend the steps to be taken for providing alternative routes to the Suez Canal and additional means of transport and communication, such as a fleet of super-tankers, new pipeline construction via Turkey, Iraq and Israel, in order to prevent Nasser or anyone else from having a dangerous monopoly on such vital channels of international commerce and prosperity.

(Statement Adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, February 2, 1957.)

What is the AFL-CIO position towards freedom of navigation in the Middle East?

Towards improving the relations between the peoples of the Middle East, Egypt, Israel, Jordan and Saudi Arabia—as the nations bordering on the Gulf of Aqaba—should be strongly urged to sign a treaty safeguarding freedom of navigation in this waterway for all ships without regard to their national registry.

(Statement Adopted by AFL-CIO Executive Council, February 2, 1957.)

Mobilize all economic and diplomatic influence and resources to have Egypt comply with the U.N. Six Principles on the Suez situation so as to assure Israel and every other nation the right to freedom of navigation in the Suez Canal and the Gulf of Aqaba.

(Statement Adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, Washington, D. C., May 22, 1957.)

How does the AFL-CIO propose our government should meet the Soviet penetration of and the crisis in the Middle East?

Soviet penetration of the Middle East threatens the national existence and territorial integrity of the countries in this pivotal region, but it is also a challenge to the security of the free world.

To meet this challenge, the free world must have more than a firm military posture; we must have first of all a clear understanding of our own aims and objectives. They constitute a reliable ally in this common effort.

What must be taken into account are the genuine aspirations of the mass of people in that entire area for self fulfillment, rather than selfish demands of anti-democratic, anti-labor, feudalistic regimes. An anxious and naive search for makeshift alliances with fair weather friends among foreign governments is no substitute for alliance with people built on longterm commitments to aid down-trodden and restive peoples themselves to find a democratic alternative to Communist threats and Communist temptations.

The critical nature of the present Soviet threat and accompanying grave developments in the Middle East call for quick action to mobilize the economic, political and mutual security forces required to insure peace and independence and to lay the base for economic well-being of all the countries in this crucial area.

Urge our government to propose within the United Nations the convening of an emergency conference of all countries in the Middle East for the purpose of eliminating the disputes in this explosive area that now threaten the peace of the entire world.

Seek immediate establishment by the United Nations of an initial fund of $500 million to be expended for the solution of the Arab refugee problem.

Urge our government and its allies in concert with the United Nations to take immediate and positive steps to prevent outbreaks of aggression in the Middle East and to lay the basis for peaceful relations among the countries of that area based upon the following principles:

(a) Mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty;

(b) Non-aggression;

(c) Non-interference in internal affairs;

(d) Equality in relationships with one another;

(e) Regional economic cooperation and development.

(Resolutions on International Affairs. Adopted by Second Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, December 1957.)

What is the position of the AFL-CIO towards the Eisenhower Doctrine?

President Eisenhower's proposals for the Middle East are appropriate steps towards preventing overt Communist aggression in this pivotal area. The proposal to use armed force, if necessary, to halt armed Soviet intervention marks no basic innovation in American foreign policy.

The powers requested and the objectives specified by the President are essentially the same as those of the Truman Doctrine in regard to Greece: (a) to serve the cause of peace and preserve the national independence of peoples by deterring Soviet imperialist aggression and expansion, and; (b) to promote their economic development and well-being through American aid.

(Statement Adopted by AFL-CIO Executive Council, February 2, 1957.)

It is imperative that the Eisenhower Doctrine should include a clear-cut affirmation that the United States considers Israel an indispensable force for peace, freedom and social progress in the Mideast, and would not permit any attempt to destroy Israel as an independent nation. The time has arrived for our government to propose a program and machinery for concluding, under U.N. auspices, a peace treaty between Israel and her Arab neighbors. This treaty should

eliminate all border disputes and assure a humane and just solution of the Arab refugee problem.

Congress should accept the Eisenhower Doctrine with the aforementioned additions.

The United States should strive to replace the present Arab-Israeli Armistice with a permanent treaty of peace and a Mutual Non-Aggression Pact between Israel and her Arab neighbors.

(Statement Adopted by AFL-CIO Executive Council, February 2, 1957.)

Under the Eisenhower Doctrine our government is pledged to use its armed forces to assist those countries in this region which have associated themselves with that policy against armed aggression by any Communist controlled country. Current Soviet maneuvers are aimed at inducing others in the area to pull Soviet chestnuts out of the fire. This requires that the United States government and the United Nations issue clear warnings against aggressive acts from any source and unequivocal assurance that all countries in this explosive area who associate themselves with a non-aggression policy will be given guarantees of territorial integrity and the safeguarding of their national independence against aggressive acts.

(Resolutions on International Affairs. Adopted by Second Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, December 1957.)

LATIN AMERICA

Where does American labor stand on the question of Inter-American cooperation?

It is imperative that there be a marked expansion of cultural, political, and economic relations among the nations of the Western Hemisphere with a view of raising living standards, strengthening democracy, and enabling the entire New World to play a unified and greater role in the preservation of peace and the furtherance of freedom. An intensified effort to reinvigorate democracy is urgent in view of the recent defeat of Peronist totalitarianism in Argentina and the Communist-tainted regime in Guatemala.

(AFL-CIO Resolutions on Foreign Policy. Adopted by First Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, December 1955.)

Does the AFL-CIO favor economic expansion in Latin-America?

Drawing upon the experiences of our own labor movement and the economic development of our country, we have steadfastly urged for Latin America, as well as for the underdeveloped countries of the rest of the world, a policy of economic expansion based primarily on the increasing purchasing power of the people. The economic difficulties at present experienced by so many Latin American countries stem precisely from the failure to extend to the great mass of agricultural, mining and industrial workers a fair share of the benefits gained by the land owners, local industrial concerns and foreign investors.

On the other hand, Latin American countries—along with those in other underdeveloped areas—need capital and technical assistance from abroad for the modernization of their productive capacities and the diversification of their economies. While a great part of this needed capital can be furnished by private investors, in many fields the needs can only be supplied by loans from government sources, particularly the World Bank, the Export-Import Bank and similar public financing agencies. We therefore urge the Government of the

United States to put into practice without delay—along with the necessary assurances and guarantees for a well-planned and efficient use of the eventual loans—the program for enlarged economic aid to Latin America announced at the recent Inter-American Economic Conference in Buenos Aires.

(Resolutions on International Affairs. Adopted by Second Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, December 1957.)

Does American labor propose that the U.S. government should give preferential treatment to democratic as against dictatorial regimes in Latin-America?

We urge the Government of the United States to give—within the limitations of diplomatic propriety and the accepted principle of non-intervention—moral, political and every other form of available support to those governments in Latin America that are based on the freely expressed support of the people and are intent on promoting and strengthening the democratic way of life. At the same time, we urge our government to refrain from giving any support—moral, political or otherwise—to the dictatorial regimes that still plague so many countries in Latin America. We demand that our Government cease giving or selling arms to these dictatorial governments—under the pretense that they will be used for the common military defense of the Western Hemisphere—because experience has proved beyond any doubt that these arms have been used and are now being used mainly against the people demanding liberty and free elections.

(Resolutions on International Affairs. Adopted by Second Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, December 1957.)

How does the AFL-CIO view the overthrow of the General Perez Jimenez dictatorship and the struggle to build a strong democracy in Venezuela?

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations greets and rejoices with the people of Venezuela on the overthrow of the bloody dictatorship of General

Perez Jimenez. During almost ten years the country was subjected to a totalitarian despotism that deprived the population of all the benefits of democratic life and decent human rights and imposed jail, torture, exile and often death on all who opposed it.

As always in such circumstances, organized labor suffered the brunt of the tyrant's attack and special tribute must be paid to the Venezuelan Confederation of Labor and its leaders who during these troubled years fought valiantly within the country and in exile, and more recently were found in the forefront of the final battle that deposed the military junta of General Perez Jimenez.

. . . Experience teaches that the road of transformation from dictatorship to full democratic freedom is a difficult one, and that it is during this unsettled period that Communists and other totalitarian elements try to infiltrate the labor movement and seek to dominate it.

For years the AFL-CIO has protested against the abuses of the Perez Jimenez dictatorship and has extended its support to the fighters for freedom in Venezuela. Now we further pledge to support and aid our sister Confederation of Labor and the people of Venezuela to regain in full measure the democracy and liberty to which all people are entitled.

(Statement by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, February 11, 1958.)

How does the AFL-CIO view the exchange of trade union delegations in the Western Hemisphere?

The increasing exchange of trade union visitors from the other countries of the Western Hemisphere with the United States, and vice versa, has greatly contributed to a better understanding of our mutual problems and respective ways of life. In this connection, we urge the Government of the United States to continue and to intensify the programs of labor training and leaders exchange under ICA and Department of State.

(Resolutions on International Affairs. Adopted by Second Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, December 1957.)

What attitude does the AFL-CIO have towards the problem of Communism in Latin America?

Aided by the devastating effects of rampant inflation, which has plagued and continues to plague so many republics in Latin America, the Communists are exploiting legitimate economic grievances in order to infiltrate and gain control of the trade unions. Short-sighted repressive measures on the part of Governments, inexperienced in labor relations procedures, have often resulted in aiding the aims of the Communists. The panorama is further muddled by the popular front tactics revived by the Communists, now parading under the cloak of democracy and progressivism. This latest device is particularly dangerous in those countries where the workers suffer under the yoke of military dictatorships and totalitarian police regimes. We call upon our brother trade unionists in Latin America to be on guard against these renewed Communist infiltration tactics; to stand firm against attempts to be inveigled into united front maneuvers which would end in the destruction of the free trade union movement; and to assert with renewed vigor that a truly democratic labor movement must be uncompromisingly opposed to the Communists as well as to the fascists and every other brand of totalitarianism.

(Resolutions on International Affairs. Adopted by Second Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, December 1957.)

ICFTU AND ORIT

What is the attitude of American labor towards the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)?

United American labor—the AFL-CIO—realizes the urgency of strengthening the organization and enhancing the influence and prestige of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), and of ORIT, the Regional Organization to which we belong. We urge our affiliates to join and participate actively in the work of the various International Trade Secretariats. The ICFTU will (1) become increasingly effective in promoting the economic interests, as well as the larger aspirations of labor, regardless of race, nationality, color or creed; (2) defeat the Communist attempts to subvert and destroy the free trade unions; (3) play an increasingly effective role in aiding the working people of the underdeveloped countries to establish strong free trade unions which shall play an ever more decisive role in improving the conditions of life and labor and in advancing the cause of national freedom and democratic rights of the people; (4) and in developing into a most powerful force for building a world free from the perils of poverty, the terror of all despotism and dictatorship, and the horrors of war.

(AFL-CIO Resolutions on Foreign Policy. Adopted by First Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, December 1955.)

The Executive Council notes that, in its progress to date along the lines further developed by the Tunis Congress, the ICFTU has been greatly aided by American labor through its active support of the ICFTU policies by helping the free trade union and democratic national independence movements in the underdeveloped countries; by aiding the Finnish workers to resist and defeat the Communist drive to capture their trade unions; by close cooperation with the courageous leaders of Hungarian labor and democracy; and by continuous efforts to have our country meet effectively its responsibilities of world leadership in the protection of peace and the promotion of

freedom and human well-being, today most gravely menaced by Soviet imperialism and Communist subversion.

(Statement Adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, August 15, 1957.)

We salute the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions as the instrument through which the world's free workers can assist each other and make their contributions to the preservation of peace and the advancement of freedom and human dignity in the world. We take great satisfaction in what we and our fellow trade unionists in other lands, working through the ICFTU, have thus far been able to accomplish in (1) promoting the economic interests as well as the larger aspirations of labor, regardless of race, nationality, color or creed; (2) defeating Communist and other totalitarian attempts to subvert and destroy free trade unions; (3) aiding the working people of the economically under-developed countries to establish strong free trade unions able to improve conditions of life and labor and advance the cause of national freedom and democratic rights; (4) playing a responsible and constructive part in building a better world.

We are proud that, as it continues to grow, the ICFTU is becoming an ever more effective means for the protection and advancement of workers' rights and interests. Its country representation has increased from 51 in 1950 to 88 in 1956 and now embraces 56 million free trade unionists in 134 affiliates operating in 94 countries throughout the free world.

We pledge our full support to the further strengthening and development of the ICFTU, its services and its influence. To this end we urge unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO to join and participate actively in the Trade Secretariats associated with the ICFTU so that American trade unionists can act in concert with trade unionists in similar employments in other lands to advance their common interests.

We emphasize the urgency of strengthening the organization and enhancing the prestige and influence of the regional organizations of the ICFTU. We pledge ourselves to do our full share in the further development of ORIT, the regional ICFTU organization to which we

belong, so that it may speak and act with maximum effectiveness on behalf of all workers in the Western Hemisphere.

We commend the recent decision of the AFL-CIO Executive Council to support the efforts of the ICFTU to establish a trade union training center in Africa. Realizing the urgency of making adequate resources available to the ICFTU in order to enlarge and extend vital trade union work in the critical areas of the world, we call upon all AFL-CIO affiliates and subordinate bodies to support the AFL-CIO's efforts to meet its obligation to the ICFTU's International Solidarity Fund by meeting its pledge of $1 million in the period 1958-60.

By making the organizational family of ICFTU stronger in its fight against all forms of political dictatorship and tyranny and in the positive work of extending democracy in political life and on the job, we shall strengthen political and trade union democracy everywhere.

(Resolutions on International Affairs. Adopted by Second Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, December 1957.)

What is the attitude of the AFL-CIO towards ORIT?

We reaffirm our determination to continue active support through the ICFTU Regional Organization, the Inter-American Organization of Workers (ORIT), with which we are affiliated, of the organizational educational activities designed to extend the benefits of modern constructive trade-unionism to the workers and farm laborers of Latin America and the Caribbean.

(Resolutions on International Affairs. Adopted by Second Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, December 1957.)

I.L.O.

What is the attitude of the AFL-CIO towards the International Labor Organization (ILO)?

The Executive Council of the AFL-CIO is greatly concerned over the campaign of falsehoods being waged against the International Labor Organization. We regard the ILO as a vital forum through which to promote the cause of freedom and democracy in the world. We take this opportunity to officially reiterate our full and unqualified support of the ILO and of United States membership and active participation therein.

We urge the Congress of the United States to enact Senate Joint Resolution No. 97, which provides for an increase in the existing ceiling on the United States' contribution to the ILO from $1,750,000 to $3,000,000. This will serve to bring the United States' contribution to the ILO's budget, which is so essential to the success of the ILO's programs and activities, more nearly in line with contributions by the United States to the United Nations itself as well as to other specialized agencies of the United Nations.

In addition, the Executive Council urges the Congress of the United States to enact Senate Joint Resolution No. 117, which calls upon the United States Government, in cooperation with other nations, to assume leadership in the campaign to abolish the use of forced labor and to support the adoption of a convention on forced labor at the 1956 conference of the ILO.

. . . We call upon not only the members of the unified trade union movement of the AFL-CIO, but upon all other citizens of these United States to demand the continuance of America's membership in the ILO and the retention of its proud position in that organization as a fearless champion of human rights for the wage earners of the world.

(Statement Adopted by AFL-CIO Executive Council, February 11, 1956.)

The American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, in Convention assembled, reaffirms its faith in the International Labor Organization and dedicates itself to continued active

support of the International Labor Organization in its efforts to assist the peoples of the world and especially the people of the lesser developed countries; and, be it further

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations calls upon the Congress of the United States to make available adequate funds to enable the International Labor Organization to continue and to expand its work toward the economic and social betterment of the peoples of the world.

(Resolutions on International Affairs. Adopted by Second Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, December 1957.)

What is the AFL-CIO position towards the ILO Convention, No. 87, Freedom of Association and the Protection of the Right to Organize?

The Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, recognizing the importance of providing freedom of association to all peoples of the world, and further recognizing the moral responsibilities of the United States to provide progressive leadership in the promotion of basic human rights, urges the President of the United States to submit to the Senate of the United States for ratification, ILO (Convention) No. 87, Freedom of Association and the Protection of the Right to Organize, adopted in 1948.

(Statement by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, August 13, 1957.)

What is the AFL-CIO position towards the ILO Convention on Forced Labor?

The Executive Council of the AFL-CIO notes with satisfaction the recent adoption by the ILO of a Convention to Abolish Forced Labor. The continued existence of systems of forced labor, notably in the Communist world, as amply substantiated by UN-ILO reports, is an outrage against human dignity and a threat to freedom everywhere.

The United States should assert moral leadership in the effort to bring an end to this shocking and inhuman violation of the basic rights of man.

We, therefore, strongly urge the President of the United States to immediately forward this Convention to the U. S. Senate for ratification.

(Statement by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, August 13, 1957.)

TOWARDS FREE WORLD PROSPERITY

How does the AFL-CIO propose to promote free world prosperity?

Towards promoting prosperity in the free world, our government should call for an international economic conference of non-totalitarian countries to join in preparing a program for eliminating trade barriers among themselves, expanding their respective domestic markets, increasing their productivity and purchasing power, improving their standards of living, securing stability of prices and rational international utilization of surplus manpower. At this conference, our government should seek the establishment of an international consumers' credit fund of $10 billion to facilitate longterm installment credits especially for the peoples of the economically underdeveloped areas of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

(Statement Adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, June 7, 1956.)

Call an international economic conference of all non-totalitarian countries for the purpose of promoting freedom, peace, prosperity and social progress through joint action in raising the purchasing power and productive capacities especially of the peoples in economically underdeveloped areas; expanding their respective domestic markets; facilitating and expanding trade among the free nations; stabilizing prices of the basic raw materials; organizing a more just international access to the world's natural resources and securing more rational international utilization of the surplus manpower in any particular country.

(Statement Adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, May 22, 1957.)

Promote economic cooperation and freer trade with safe-guards looking towards the establishment of an international system of fair labor standards and minimizing possible economic dislocation and hardship.

(Resolutions on International Affairs. Adopted by Second Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, December 1957.)

Our government should initiate a coordinated international effort for promoting the prosperity and well-being of the free world through convening a conference of non-totalitarian countries which shall prepare a program for reducing trade barriers among its participating nations; expanding their prospective domestic markets; increasing their productivity and purchasing power; stabilizing prices and establishing a substantial international consumers' fund for facilitating the buying of goods by the peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

(Statement Adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, February 11, 1958.)

How does the AFL-CIO view the Reciprocal Trade Program?

The AFL-CIO reiterates the traditional support of the labor movement of the Reciprocal Trade Program and urge the Congress to extend the Reciprocal Trade Act for a period of at least five years. Consistent with both domestic and international economic requirements and within the framework of continued application of the peril point concept, the President should be given additional authority to negotiate changes in existing tariffs.

The escape clause procedures should also be retained and the President should be authorized to provide various types of assistance to workers, firms and communities adversely affected by increased imports. In addition, where necessary, consideration should be given to development of specific programs, tailored to the requirements of specific industries, to aid adjustment of affected industries.

It should be a fundamental part of our national trade policy to foster the principle of fair labor standards in international trade through multi-lateral trade negotiations and commercial agreements and in the ILO. In particular, the U. S. should seek to obtain efforts by exporting countries to establish and maintain fair labor standards in exporting industries consistent with productivity levels in such industries and the economy at large of the exporting country.

Congress should, at the earliest possible date, authorize United States membership in the Organization of Trade Cooperation.

(Resolutions on International Affairs. Adopted by Second Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, December 1957.)

OTHER AFL-CIO PUBLICATIONS DEALING WITH INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

- 1955 AFL-CIO Convention Resolutions on Foreign Policy
- 1957 AFL-CIO Convention Resolutions on International Affairs; 15¢ per copy
- The Greater Danger: An Analysis of the Post-Stalin Pattern for Communist World Conquest; 50¢ per copy
- American and Soviet Economy: Contrast and Comparison by George Meany; 10¢ per copy
- Workers' Purchasing Power—Behind the Iron Curtain and in the Free World; 25¢ per chart
- AFL-CIO Free Trade Union News; published Monthly by AFL-CIO Department of International Affairs; $3.00 per year
- AFL-CIO American Federationist; Official monthly magazine; $2.00 per year
- AFL-CIO News; official weekly paper; $2.00 per year

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Preguntas y Respuestas



FEDERACION AMERICANA del TRABAJO y CONGRESO de ORGANIZACIONES INDUSTRIALES

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Presidente George Meany en conferencia de prensa sobre la política internacional de la AFL-CIO.

INTRODUCCIÓN

Este folieto es un manual de valiosa información y guía para todos los hombres y mujeres, tanto trabajadores como los demás ciudadanos de espíritu público, dedicados al bienestar y al futuro de la nación; para todos aquellos que están interesados en los movimientos obreros norteamericano e internacional y en la lucha por la libertad y por la paz del mundo.

En forma de preguntas y respuestas, presenta la evaluacion y las políticas concernientes a los asuntos interamericanos adoptadas por las Convenciones Constitucionales de la AFL-CIO, por su Consejo Ejecutivo y Comité Ejecutivo, y sus Comités de Asuntos Interamericanos e Internacionales desde diciembre de 1955 hasta setiembre de 1959.

En este crítico período, el trabajo organizado norteamericano se ha esforzado por hacer su parte en capacitar a la nación para desarrollar una politica interamericana democrática efectiva y fortalecer al movimiento sindical libre internacional, como factores vitales que son para la promoción de la dignidad y el biĕnestar humano, la seguridad del mundo libre, y la armonía entre las naciones.

Los estudiantes del obrerismo norteamericano encontrarán en este manual la impresionante confirmación de que cada día es más clara y amplia la visión y la responsibilidad social de la AFL-CIO, y de la variedad y amplia esfera de su acción en el campo internacional.

Tengo la esperanza de que esta publicación sirva para aumentar la comprensión del papel del sindicalismo norteamericano e internacional en la actual grave crisis mundial. Esta mejor comprensión aumentará nuestra efectividad en ayudar a nuestra nación a seguir con todo vigor un política internacional que apresurará la llegada del día en que la humanidad goce de las bendiciones de la libertad humana, la paz y la prosperidad.

GEORGE MEANY,
Presidente

Washington, D. C.
Noviembre, 1959

La Política Extranjera de Nuestra Nación ... y sus objetivos



¿Cuáles son las principales áreas en que se desarrollan los esfuerzos del laborismo norteamericano para ayudar a nuestra nación a descargar sus grandes responsabilidades como fuerza poderosa dirigida al logro de duradera paz mundial, libertad, y bienestar humano?

Nosotros los del movimiento obrero norteamericano unido —la Federación Americana del Trabajo y Congreso de Organizaciones Industriales (AFL-CIO)— tenemos tres áreas principales de actividades en el desarrollo de nuestros esfuerzos por ayudar a nuestra nación en el desempeño de su nuevo papel histórico. Son éstas: (1) Mediante nuestra fuerza sindical y acciones políticas, ayudamos a edificar una America mejor y más fuerte, una tierra próspera y progresista libre de injusticia social y de toda discriminación racial y de cualquier otra clase. (2) Mediante el proceso democrático, ayudamos a nuestra nación a formular y desarrollar una política extranjera democrática efectiva. (3) Mediante la cooperación y la ayuda que prestamos a la Confederación Internacional de Organizaciones Sindicales Libres (CIOSL) y a la Organizacion Regional Interamericana de Trabajadores (ORIT), ayudamos al sindicalismo libre de todas partes a convertirse en una fuerza muy poderosa dirigida a fomentar la justicia social, la libertad nacional y humana, el bienestar económico y la paz mundial.

(Resolución de la AFL-CIO Sobre Política Extranjera. Adoptada por la Primera Convención Constitucional de la AFL-CIO, en diciembre de 1955.)

¿Desde el punto de vista del laborismo: cuáles debieran ser los principales objetivos de la política extranjera norteamericana?

Los principales objetivos de una buena política extranjera norteamericana son: (1) cultivar buenas relaciones con otras naciones, para preservar y fomentar la paz y la libertad, duraderas y (2) estimular el intercomercio mutuamente ventajoso, así como otras relaciones, con otros países, para adelantar su estabilidad económica y bienestar social comunes. La política extranjera efectiva no puede ser improvisada y racionada a pedacitos. Debe tener una orientación clara y definida y ser consistente, sostenida y vigorosa en su aplicación. Sus motivos y sus intenciones principales deben ser la movilización de todos nuestros recursos morales y materiales para desarrollar un sistema de relaciones internacionales que mantenga la paz, proteja la libertad y la seguridad nacional, y capacite a la creciente población para gozar de un nivel de vida en elevación constante.

(Resolución de la AFL-CIO Sobre Política Extranjera. Adoptada por la Primera Convención Constitucional de la AFL-CIO: diciembre, 1955.)

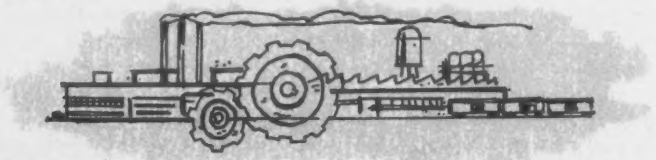


¿Hay alguna relación entre la política extranjera y la interior?

En todos los países hay una estrecha relación entre la política exterior y la interior. Ni nuestro gobierno ni ningún otro gobierno pueden seguir una política exterior genuinamente democrática, si sigue una política interior reaccionaria. Ningún gobierno que declare la guerra a su propio pueblo dentro del país, negándole sus derechos y libertades y deprimiendo sus niveles de vida y de trabajo, puede ser verdaderamente pacífico hacia los pueblos extranjeros y ser digno de la confianza de éstos. Un gobierno culpable de agresión contra su propio pueblo tiende a ser agresivo contra los países vecinos y otros.

La integración de nuestras políticas extranjera de orden político y económico es de importancia esencial, si los grandes recursos técnicos y el enorme potencial industrial de los Estados Unidos han de ser engranados al empeño para aumentar la productividad, elevar el poder adquisitivo y mejorar los niveles de vida, especialmente de esos países económicamente subdesarrollados que están dedicados a la causa de la libertad humana y la paz.

(Resolución de la AFL-CIO Sobre Política Extranjera Adoptada por la Primera Convención Constitucional de la AFL-CIO: diciembre, 1955.)



¿Cuál es la actitud del laborismo norteamericano acerca de la idea de imponer nuestra forma de gobierno o nuestro sistema económico a otras naciones?

La de rechazo categórico de toda idea de imponer nuestra forma de gobierno o sistema económico a cualquiera otra nación, y de invencible oposición a los esfuerzos de cualquier potencia por imponer su sistema político o económico a nuestro país. Es de vital importancia apoyar a pueblos libres que resisten los intentos de subyugación por minorías armadas o por presiones de fuera sobre sus instituciones libres.

(Resolución de la AFL-CIO Sobre Política Extranjera Adoptada por la Primera Convención Constitucional de la AFL-CIO: diciembre, 1955.)

¿Cuál es la actitud del laborismo norteamericano hacia las alianzas de los Estados Unidos con otras naciones?

Acoge con beneplácito como aliados a países confiados en sí mismos, independientes, unidos por principios que les obligan responsablemente, que cooperan por la paz, la libertad y el bienestar humano. Los satélites o vasallos que como rebaños son matenidos en cohesión por el fraude y la fuerza no pueden servir a la paz y la libertad. Son indispensables un propósito común el sentido de urgencia, y la maquinaria para una cooperación permanente, para garantizar la seguridad colectiva de los pueblos libres aliados. La lucha por la paz y la libertad demanda no sólo fuerza militar

suficiente para impedir la agresión y derrotarla, sino que la alianza se convierta en una asociación de pueblos libres dedicada a la cooperación politica y económica efectiva y a la ayuda mutua.

(Resolución de la AFL-CIO Sobre Política Extranjera. Adoptada por la Primera Convención Constitucional de la AFL-CIO: diciembre, 1955.)

¿Cuál es la posición de la AFL-CIO con respecto al papel del trabajo en la lucha por la paz mundial?

Ante todo y sobre todo, debemos preconizar incesante e incansablemente que los Estados Unidos, así mediante las Naciones Unidas como directamente por medio de sus relaciones con otros gobiernos y pueblos, van en busca de todos y cada uno de los medios honorables de lograr la paz, sin comprometer los principios básicos que caracterizan al mundo libre.

La búsqueda de la paz por medio de expedientes honorables no es una mera aspiración piadosa, sino una condición primordial de la supervivencia. Los miembros del movimiento obrero, y esperamos de que también todos los demás ciudadanos, están conscientes de que ya la política extranjera no es meramente una cuestión de firmar tratados o efectuar conferencias.

La bomba H, el proyectil balístico intercontinental, y los cohetes y satélites del espacio han convertido las cuestiones y los acontecimientos de la política extranjera en cosas de interés para cada hogar. En juego hay valores tan elevados como el de nuestra existencia física, y de la existencia y florecimiento constante del modo de vida libre.

El movimiento obrero hace voto renovado de dedicarse a la preservación de la paz y la libertad en todas partes del mundo.

(Resolución Sobre Asuntos Internacionales. Adoptada por la Segunda Convención Constitucional de la AFL-CIO: diciembre de 1957.)





Hacia la Prosperidad de un Mundo Libre

¿Cómo propone la AFL-CIO que se fomente la prosperidad del mundo libre?

Para fines de fomentar la prosperidad del mundo libre, nuestro gobierno debiera convocar a una conferencia económica internacional de naciones no totalitarias para que se unan en la preparación de un programa tendiente a suprimir las barreras comerciales entre ellas mismas, extendiendo sus respectivos mercados domésticos, aumentando su productividad y su poder adquisitivo, mejorando sus niveles de vida, asegurando la estabilidad de los precios y la racional utilización internacional de la energía humana excedente. En esa conferencia nuestro gobierno debería probar a conseguir el establecimiento de un fondo de crédito del consumo internacional, de 10,000 millones de dólares, para facilitar los créditos a plazos largos, especialmente para los pueblos de las regiones económicamente subdesarrolladas de Asia, África y la América Latina.

(Declaración Adoptada por el Consejo Ejecutivo de la AFL-CIO: 7 de junio, 1956.)

Convóquese a una conferencia económica internacional de todas las naciones no totalitarias, con el propósito de fomentar la libertad, la paz, la prosperidad y el progreso social por medio de acción conjunta para elevar el poder adquisitivo y las capacidades

productivas, especialmente de los pueblos de las regiones económicamente subdesarrolladas; de expansionar sus respectivos mercados domésticos; de facilitar y ensanchar el comercio entre las naciones libres; de estabilizar los precios de las materias primas básicas; de organizar un acceso internacional más justo a los recursos naturales del mundo, y lograr una utilización internacional más racional de los excedentes de energía humana de cualquier país.

(Declaración Adoptada por el Consejo Ejecutivo de la AFL-CIO: 22 de mayo, 1957.)

Foméntese la cooperación económica y el más libre intercomercio, con salvaguardas tendientes al establecimiento de un sistema internacional de normas justas de trabajo, y a reducir al mínimo posible la dislocación económica y las dificultades del mismo orden.

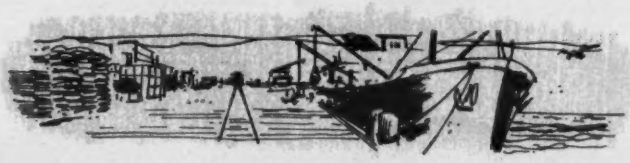
(Resolución Sobre Asuntos Internacionales. Adoptada por la Segunda Convención Constitucional de la AFL-CIO: diciembre, 1957.)

Nuestro Gobierno debe iniciar un esfuerzo internacional coordinado para fomentar la prosperidad y el bienestar del mundo libre, mediante convocar a una conferencia de naciones no totalitarias que habrá de preparar un programa para reducir las barreras comerciales entre las naciones participantes en él; para ensanchar sus respectivos mercados internos; para incrementar su productividad y elevar su poder adquisitivo; para estabilizar los precios y establecer un fondo internacional de consumo substancial que facilite la compra de artículos por los pueblos de África, de Asia y de la América Latina.

(Declaración Adoptada por el Consejo Ejecutivo de la AFL-CIO: febrero, 1958.)

¿Cómo considera la AFL-CIO el Programa de Comercio Recíproco?

La AFL-CIO reitera el tradicional apoyo del movimiento obrero al Programa de Comercio Recíproco, e insta al Congreso a prorrogar la Ley de Comercio Recíproco por un período de por lo menos cinco años. Tomando en cuenta la compatibilidad con las necesi-



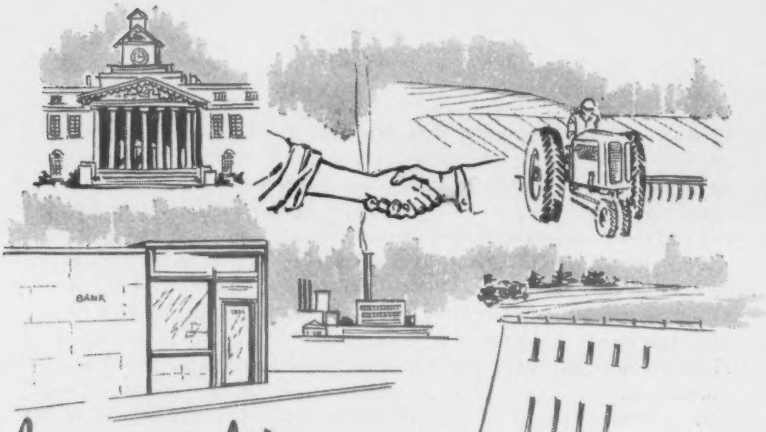
dades económicas, tanto domésticas como internacionales, y dentro de la estructura de la continua aplicación del concepto del "punto de peligro," el Presidente debe ser investido de autoridad adicional para negociar cambios en las tarifas ahora vigentes.

Los procedimientos de las cláusulas de salvedades deben ser retenidos también, y el Presidente debe ser autorizado para tomar proveer varios tipos de ayuda par los trabajadores, las firmas y las comunidades adversamente afectados por el incremento de importaciones. Además, cuando sea necesario, debe darse consideración al desarrollo de programas específicos, proyectados en forma de llenar las necesidades de las industrias específicas, para ayudar al ajuste de las industrias afectadas.

Una parte fundamental de nuestra política nacional de comercio debe ser el fomentar el principio de normas justas de trabajo en el comercio internacional, mediante negociaciones por intermedio de convenios comerciales multilaterales, y en la OIT. En particular, los Estados Unidos deben conseguir que los países exportadores se esfuercen por establecer y mantener normas justas de trabajo en las industrias exportadoras, normas compatibles con los niveles de productividad de tales industrias y con la economía en general de la nación exportadora.

El Congreso debe autorizar a los Estados Unidos, a la mayor brevedad posible, a ingresar como miembro de la Organización de Cooperación Comercial.

(Rsolución Sobre Asuntos Internacionales. Adoptada por la Segunda Convención Constitucional de la AFL-CIO: diciembre de 1957.)



Cooperación Interamericana

¿Cuál es la actitud de la AFL-CIO acerca de la cuestión de la Cooperación Interamericana?

Es una necesidad imperativa que haya una marcada expansión de las relaciones culturales, políticas y económicas entre las naciones del Hemisferio Occidental, con miras a elevar los niveles de vida, reforzar la democracia, y capacitar al Nuevo Mundo entero para desempeñar unificado del todo un papel de mayor importancia en la preservación de la paz y el fomento de la libertad. Es urgente hacer un esfuerzo intensificado para revigorizar la democracia en vista de la reciente derrota del totalitarismo peronista en Argentina, y de del regimen de tinte comunista de Guatemala.....

(Resolución de la AFL-CIO Sobre Política Extranjera. Adoptada por la Primera Convención Constitucional de la AFL-CIO: diciembre de 1955.)

¿Está la AFL-CIO en favor de la expansión económica de la América Latina?

Aprovechando las experiencias de nuestro propio movimiento obrero y el desarrollo económico de nuestra nación, nosotros hemos estado siempre empeñados en pugnar por una política de expansión económica para la América Latina, así como para los países subdesarrollados del resto del mundo, política basada primordialmente en el incremento del poder adquisitivo del pueblo. Las dificultades económicas que están experimentando actualmente

tantos países latinoamericanos se originan precisamente en el hecho de que se ha fallado de darle a la gran masa de trabajadores agrícolas, mineros e industriales una participación justa de los beneficios obtenidos por los propietarios de tierras, por las firmas industriales y los inversionistas extranjeros.

Por otra parte, las naciones latinoamericanas —al igual que las de las otras regiones subdesarrolladas— necesitan capital y asistencia técnica del extranjero para efectuar la modernización de sus capacidades productivas y la diversificación de sus economías. Mientras que una gran parte de este capital necesario puede ser suministrado por inversionistas particulares, en muchos campos esta necesidad puede ser llenada únicamente por préstamos de fuentes gubernamentales, particularmente el Banco Mundial, el Banco de Exportación e Importación y otras agencias financieras públicas similares. Por lo tanto, instamos al Gobierno de los Estados Unidos a poner en práctica sin demora alguna —junto con las necesarias seguridades y garantías de que se hará un uso bien planeado y eficiente de los préstamos eventuales— el programa de ayuda económica incrementada a la América Latina anunciado en la reciente Conferencia Económica Interamericana efectuada en Buenos Aires.

(Resolución Sobre Asuntos Internacionales. Adoptada por la Segunda Convención Constitucional de la AFL-CIO: diciembre de 1957.)

¿Que medidas propone la AFL-CIO para promover el bienestar económico de América Latina?

El movimiento obrero de los Estados Unidos está consciente de y preocupado por las necesidades económicas de América Latina. El ingreso nacional por persona en América Latina es escasamente de $300 anuales. La población que cada día aumenta, está

Ingreso Nacional Por Persona, 1950

Venezuela	$480	Guatemala	$150
Argentina, Uruguay	$395	Ecuador	$130
Chile	$350	Costa Rica, El Salvador, Honduras	$125
Cuba	$290	México	$115
Colombia	$255	Perú, Haití	$ 95
Panamá	$240	Paraguay, Nicaragua, Bolivia	$ 90
Brasil	$210		
República Dominicana	$165		

ocasionando una presión económica creciente. Creemos que los Estados Unidos deberían amparar los esfuerzos sinceros que hacen los pueblos latinoamericanos para levantar el nivel de vida por razones tanto de índole moral como para promover el bienestar de todos los pueblos de este hemisferio.

Nuestros compañeros sindicalistas de América Latina creen que en la mayor parte de los países latinoamericanos los pasos a darse son la reducción de gastos para material bélico y de otra índole, adopción de sistemas de impuestos progresistas, poner freno a la desvastadora inflación, y la estimulación de sindicatos vigorosos así como otras medidas encaminadas a aumentar el poder adquisitivo del consumidor. Se necesita hacer mayor esfuerzo para que los pueblos participen de los beneficios de la economía en expansión y no que éstos se limiten a favorecer a grupos reducidos.

Pero la América Latina no puede lograr adelantos adecuados sin la ayuda exterior. Sus países no pueden por sí solos reunir suficiente capital para su necesitado tipo de desarrollo económico. Tampoco pueden ellos solos vencer los problemas que ofrece la pobreza, la enfermedad, el analfabetismo, y el generalmente bajo nivel de las habilidades agrícolas e industriales Asímismo, se hallan imposibilitados de alcanzar por sí solos la estabilidad requerida en sus relaciones comerciales.

Los Estados Unidos se han esforzado mucho por ayudar, pero ahora pueden y deberían ayudar más substancialmente; los gestos simbólicos, nuevos lemas, y conferencias más frecuentes no son suficientes.

El movimiento sindical de los Estados Unidos, por lo tanto, hace un llamado a su Gobierno para que, a la brevedad posible, tome las

País	Población 1960	Población 1975	País	Población 1960	Población 1975
	en millones			en millones	
Argentina	21.3	27.2	Haití	3.5	4.8
Bolivia	3.4	4.9	Honduras	1.9	3.0
Brasil	67.1	102.0	México	34.2	53.3
Chile	7.0	8.8	Nicaragua	1.5	2.3
Colombia	14.3	21.6	Panamá	1.0	1.6
Costa Rica	1.1	1.8	Paraguay	1.7	2.2
Cuba	6.8	9.6	Perú	10.5	15.7
Ecuador	4.1	6.4	República Dominicana	2.7	3.9
El Salvador	2.6	4.1	Uruguay	2.8	3.5
Guatemala	3.8	5.9	Venezuela	6.8	10.6
			Totales	198.1	293.2

Apoximaciones basadas sobre datos de la Union Panamericana.



medidas necesarias para estimular un avance más velóz en el mejoramiento del standard de vida y el aumento de la economía de América Latina.

(Declaración adoptada por el Consejo Ejecutivo de la AFL-CIO, Febrero 1959.)

Además de la inversión de capital privado extranjero, abogamos por que se aumente la suma de los préstamos públicos de los Estados Unidos y de instituciones internacionales financieras para proyectos de urgente necesidad en el desarrollo económico, sin hacer caso de que estos proyectos estén bajo administración o de propiedad privada o gubernamental. Por lo cual, apoyamos la decisión del Gobierno de los Estados Unidos de tomar parte en el establecimiento de un banco interamericano de préstamos para el fomento, un paso hace tiempo abogado por la AFL-CIO.

Urgimos un substancial incremento de asistencia técnica, pues tal ayuda ha dado buen rendimiento al mejoramiento del bienestar humano y puede dar aún todavía mejores resultados en hacer adelantos en la salud, educación, y eficiencia agricultural e industrial. Particularmente, encomendamos a la Administración de Cooperación Internacional (ICA) y a otros programas gubernamentales, dar subsidios a sindicalistas latinoamericanos permitiéndoles así que visiten los Estados Unidos para que estudien la estructura y funcionamiento del movimiento sindical norteamericano.

Urgimos el establecimiento de un programa sistemático de intercambio de visitas de sindicalistas de Estados Unidos a América Latina, y la participación de peritos sindicales norteamericanos en los institutos de capacitación sindical de América Latina y en las escuelas de relaciones obrero-patronal. También recomendamos la cooperación de la ICA con las universidades latinoamericanas para implantar cursos de Extension Sindical, por los cuales existe una gran demanda en círculos académicos y sindicales.

Las restricciones en el mercado y las fluctuaciones en los precios, han afectado severamente a los países de América Latina, los cuales dependen económicamente de la exportación de algunos de sus productos. Los Estados Unidos pueden aliviar este problema eliminando y evitando el alza de las tarifas en las cuotas de importación que debilita, la economía de los países latinoamericanos. Recomendamos que nuestro Gobierno coopere en los esfuerzos que se hacen para desarrollar los mercados para productos básicos y estabilizar sus precios a niveles equitativos.

La acción conjunta de grupos de países latinoamericanos puede superar las barreras infranqueables para los países que actúan solos.

Recomendamos que el Gobierno de los Estados Unidos extienda la ayuda técnica y cooperación económica necesaria para el éxito del establecimiento de mercados comunes regionales en América Latina.

(Resolución adoptada por el Tercer Congreso de la AFL-CIO. Setiembre 1959.)

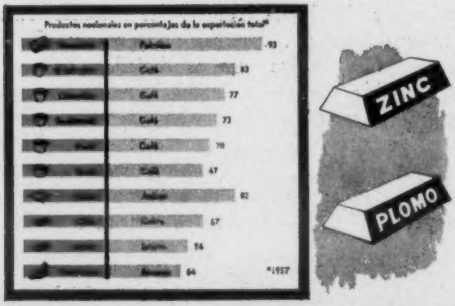
¿Cuál es la posición de la AFL-CIO con respecto a la importación del plomo y el zinc?

La AFL-CIO deplora la acción del Presidente Eisenhower al imponer cuotas sobre la importación del plomo y zinc a los Estados Unidos. Tal acción es por demás inoportuna porque el resultado ha traído la desocupación y desventura de un gran número de obreros en América Latina, y al mismo tiempo, justamente cuando parece que se ha acordado en todo el Hemisferio Occidental de la necesidad de un programa completo para estimular el desarrollo económico de América Latina.

De acuerdo con nuestra línea de tradicional apoyo para un programa de comercio recíproco, la AFL-CIO ha favorecido una solución alternativa para el problema del plomo y zinc, que contempla pagos de producción a las minas locales. Asi, no habría resultado en la drástica diminución de las importaciones de plomo y zinc que ha tenido lugar, si el Congreso hubiera decretado la alternativa ofrecida por nosotros. No hubiera habido necesidad de imponer tan injuriosas cuotas a las importaciones.

Llamamos la atención del Congreso para que tome medidas inmediatas para considerar el crítico problema del plomo y zinc con leyes que provean justicia máxima para la industria estadounidense y para las naciones hermanas de Latino América. Por lo pronto, urgimos al Presidente de la República que revise el problema y que retire las cuotas a la mayor brevedad posible.

(Declaración del Presidente de la AFL-CIO, Sr. George Meany. Octubre 13, 1958.)





¿Cuál ha sido la posición de la AFL-CIO frente a las dictaduras?

La AFL y el CIO siempre se distinguiéron notablemente por la oposición al mundo comunista y al imperialismo soviético. Ambos estuvieron siempre resueltamente opuestos al facismo, nazismo, falangismo, peronismo, y a cualquier otra forma de dictadura. La organización unida que ha nacido desde la fusión de estas dos centrales sindicales estadounidenses, no desistirá de esa oposición.

(Resolución de la AFL-CIO sobre Política Extranjera. Adoptada por la Primera Convención Constitucional de la AFL-CIO, Diciembre 1955.)

La AFL-CIO reafirma su inflexible oposición a las dictaduras militares en América Latina y declara otra vez, su completa solidaridad con las fuerzas sindicalistas oprimidas que luchan por el restablecimiento de la democracia y la libertad.

La continuación de estos regímenes dictatoriales y su aceptación como colaboradores en la familia de naciones americanas, debilita la posición del Hemisferio Occidental y particularmente la de los Estados Unidos en la lucha contra las fuerzas siniestras del comunismo internacional y sus miras de agresión. La experiencia de estos últimos años indica que es difícil, y si no imposible, movilizar el respaldo completa de los pueblos latinoamericanos contra la agresión comunista si esos pueblos están sometidos a un brutal regimen totalitario de sus propios gobiernos. La eliminación de esas dictaduras representa, por lo tanto, un requisito previamente necesario antes de que podamos obtener una completa medida de unidad y cooperación de los pueblos americanos contra las miras

de agresión de la Rusia soviética y de las actividades subversivas del comunismo internacional.

(Declaración del Consejo Ejecutivo de la AFL-CIO, Enero-Febrero, 1957.)

¿Cuál fué la actitud de la AFL-CIO hacia el sindicalismo venezolano oprimido durante las dictaduras?

Estamos particularmente preocupados por la situación que todavía prevalece en Venezuela. El movimiento sindical de los Estados Unidos, en cooperación con la ORIT y la CIOSL, repetidamente ha urgido al gobierno de aquel país para que restablezca la libertad sindical y política; pero la situación ha empeorado. Recientemente, más de 100 sindicalistas, la mayor parte de ellos obreros y campesinos, fueron puestos en libertad de las prisiones donde se habían encontrado por varios años sin haber tenido el privilegio de un juicio legal ni de haber sido acusados de culpabilidad alguna; pero todos fueron deportados inmediatamente. Sin dinero ni ropas, fueron embarcados en aviones militares y abandonados a la ventura en diferentes aeropuertos en países de América Central y el Caribe.

Al exponer estas deplorables condiciones, queremos traerlas particularmente a la atención de nuestro Gobierno y de otros gobiernos democráticos del Hemisferio Occidental. Hacemos, una vez más, un llamado al Gobierno de Venezuela, para que tome medidas efectivas con el fin de poner término a la persecución de las fuerzas sindicales democráticas y políticas y que restaure completa libertad política en todo el país antes que se realicen las elecciones presidenciales. Específicamente, pedimos el regreso a la Patria de todos los exilados sindicalistas y políticos; la libertad de los prisioneros o que sean sometidos a justos juicios y el restablecimiento de las libertades sindicales y civiles.

(Declaración del Consejo Ejecutivo de la AFL-CO, Enero-Febrero, 1957.)



¿Propone el movimiento obrero norteamericano que el Gobierno de los Estados Unidos dé a los regímenes democráticos un tratamiento de preferencia sobre los regímenes dictatoriales de la América Latina?

Urgimos al Gobierno de los Estados Unidos a que dentro de las limitaciones impuestas por la propiedad de la diplomacia y con sujeción al principio aceptado de la no intervención, dé apoyo moral, político y de cualquier otro género posible a aquellos gobiernos de la América Latina que estén fundados sobre el libremente expresado respaldo de sus pueblos y empeñados en promover y reforzar el modo democrático de vida. Al mismo tiempo, urgimos a nuestro Gobierno a que se abstenga de prestar todo apoyo —moral, político o de cualquier otro género— a los regímenes dictatoriales que son todavía una plaga en tantos países de América Latina. Demandamos que nuestro Gobierno cese de dar o vender armas a estos gobiernos dictatoriales —bajo el pretexto de que dichas armas serán usadas para la defensa militar común del Hemisferio Occidental—, porque la experiencia ha demostrado, sin lugar a duda que estas armas han sido usadas, y siguen siendo usadas aún, principalmente contra el pueblo que demanda libertad y elecciones libres.

(Resolución Sobre Asuntos Internacionales. Adoptada por la Segunda Convención Constitucional de la AFL-CIO: diciembre, 1957.)

¿Cómo ve la AFL-CIO el derrocamiento de la dictadura del General Pérez Jiménez y la lucha por edificar una democracia vigorosa en Venezuela?

El Consejo Ejecutivo de la AFL-CIO saluda al pueblo de Venezuela, y se regocija con él por el derrocamiento de la sanguinaria dictadura del General Pérez Jiménez. Durante casi diez años



estuvo sujeto el país a un despotismo totalitario que privó a la población de todos los beneficios de la vida democrática y de derechos humanos decentes e impuso la cárcel, la tortura, el destierro y a menudo la muerte a todos aquéllos que se oponían a él.

Como siempre en tales circunstancias, el trabajo sindicalizado sufrió lo rudo del ataque del tirano, y debe rendírseles muy especial homenaje a la Confederación de Trabajadores de Venezuela y a sus dirigentes, quienes durante esos años de tribulaciones lucharon valerosamente dentro del país y en el exilio, y quienes recientemente se pusieron en la primera fila de la batalla final que depuso a la junta militar del General Pérez Jiménez.

. . . La experiencia nos ha enseñado que el camino de la transformación de la dictadura a la entera libertad democrática es muy difícil, y que es durante este período de intranquilidad cuando los comunistas y otros elementos totalitarios tratan de infiltrarse en el movimiento obrero tratando de dominarlo.

Durante largos años la AFL-CIO ha estado protestando contra los abusos de la dictadura de Pérez Jiménez, y ha brindado su apoyo a los luchadores por la libertad de Venezuela. Ahora renovamos nuestro voto y promesa de respaldar y ayudar a nuestra hermana la Confederación de Trabajadores y al pueblo de Venezuela a ganar de nuevo y en medida plena la democracia y la libertad a que todos los pueblos tienen derecho.

(Declaración del Consejo Ejecutivo de la AFL-CIO: febrero de 1958.)

¿Qué actitud ha asumido la AFL-CIO con respecto al problema del Comunismo en la América Latina?

Ayudados por los devastadores efectos de la rampante inflación, que ha plagado y sigue plagando a tantas repúblicas de la América Latina, los comunistas están aprovechándose de los genuinos agravios económicos para infiltrarse en los sindicatos obreros y ganar el dominio de ellos. Las medidas represivas dictadas con corta visión por los gobiernos, inexpertos como son en los procedimientos de las relaciones laboristas, se han traducido frecuentemente en ayuda para los objetivos de los comunistas. El panorama está todavía más enturbiado por las tácticas de "frente popular" resucitadas por los comunistas, que ahora alardean cubiertos con el manto de la democracia y el progresivismo Esta último treta es particularmente peligrosa en aquellos países en que

los trabajadores sufren bajo el yugo de las dictaduras militares y los regímenes policiales totalitarios. Hacemos un llamado a nuestros compañeros sindicalistas de la América Latina, instándoles a mantenerse en guardia contra estas renovadas tácticas de infiltración comunista; a sostenerse firmes contra los intentos de seducírseles con arte y maña para envolverles en maniobras del frente unido, cuyo final sería la destrucción del movimiento sindical libre; y a afirmarse, con renovado vigor, en la idea de que un movimiento obrero verdaderamente democrático debe estar en todo momento intransigentemente opuesto a los comunistas, así como a los fascistas y los prosélitos de toda otra forma de totalitarismo.

(Resolución Sobre Asuntos Internacionales. Adoptada por la Segunda Convención Constitucional de la AFL-CIO: diciembre de 1957.)

¿Como reaccionó la AFL-CIO ante las caídas de las dictaduras en América Latina?

La AFL-CIO considera los recientes acontecimientos en Colombia, que culminaron con la caída de la dictadura del General Rojas Pinillas, como otro paso hacia el triunfo de la democracia y la libertad en todos los países de América Latina. Siguiendo el ejemplo de Argentina, Perú, Honduras y otros países, el pueblo de Colombia ha empezado la ardua y difícil tarea de restablecer un gobierno constitucional.

(Declaración adoptada por el Consejo Ejecutivo de la AFL-CIO, Mayo 22, 1957.)

El movimiento sindical de los Estados Unidos ha visto con satisfacción la caída de las dictaduras de Pérez Jiménez de Venezuela y de Fulgencio Batista de Cuba, caídas que han ocurrido desde nuestra última convención. Con las victorias previas de las fuerzas democráticas de Argentina, Perú, Honduras y Colombia —donde las dictaduras fueron reemplazadas por gobiernos constitucionales elegidos por el pueblo en pleno ejercicio de sus derechos civiles— existe la esperanza de que los pocos despóticos regímenes que todavían quedan en el Hemisferio Occidental, muy pronto desaparecerán.



Sabemos que nuestros hermanos de América Latina están conscientes del peligro de permitir que los comunistas se infiltren en los movimientos democráticos que buscan la caída de las

dictaduras restantes. La ayuda comunista sólo tendrá por objeto el dominio comunista, el que resultará en la implantación de regímenes totalitarios comunistas, tan hostiles a la causa de la libertad humana como las dictaduras militares totalitarias que buscan desplazar.

Recurrir a la invasión de fuerzas extranjeras, como recientemente hemos observado en el Caribe, ha tenido un efecto contrario al de estimular la democracia. Solamente alentará al comunismo internacional a imponerse a través del uso de fuerza militar, tal como lo ha hecho an numerosas ocasiones en el Asia y en Europa Oriental.

(Resolución sobre Asuntos Internacionales. Adoptada por la Tercera Convención Constitucional de la AFL-CIO. Setiembre 1959.)



¿Cuál es la actitud de la AFL-CIO hacia Nicaragua y la República Dominicana?

Urgimos a los sindicatos de Nicaragua unirse en los esfuerzos iniciados por las fuerzas democráticas, dentro y fuera del país, para resolver pacíficamente la crisis política causada por la continua existencia de la dinastía de los Somoza, la cual por espacio de 30 años, ha gobernado el país como un dominio privado. Si los sindicatos de Nicaragua continúan soportando pacíficamente el presente estado de cosas, entonces dejarán el campo libre para las maniobras de los comunistas.

La dictadura de la familia Trujillo en la República Dominicana, ha sido por varias décadas una fuente de fricción, conflictos y amenazas a la paz en la zona del Caribe. Es la dictadura más antigua entre las que todavían quedan en América Latina; no solamente se ha distinguido por su brutal supresión a toda expresión disidente dentro del país, sino que también se ha dedicado constantemente a conspirar para tratar de derrocar los gobiernos de aquellos países que se atreven a oponérsele ó simplemente critizándolo.

La conciencia colectiva de los países americanos, considera que la continua existencia de la tiranía de Trujillo es una mancha en el

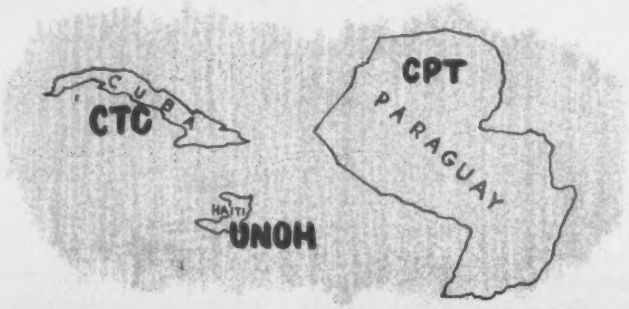
honor de la familia de naciones americanas y una constante amenaza a la paz del hemisferio.

(Resolución adoptada por la AFL-CIO en la Tercera Convención Constitucional de la AFL-CIO. Setiembre 1959.)

¿Qué opina la AFL-CIO con respecto a Cuba?

La AFL-CIO extiende al pueblo de Cuba sus mejores deseos en sus esfuerzos para re-edificar la estructura económica y política de su país sobre las bases de justicia social, libertad, moralidad cívica, y derechos humanos. También ofrece su cooperación al movimiento sindical cubano en cualquier esfuerzo que éste haga para mantenerlo independiente y verdaderamente democrático, libre de la influencia comunista y completamente responsable para cumplir la voluntad de sus miembros.

(Resolución adoptada por la AFL-CIO en la Tercera Convención Constitucional de la AFL-CIO. Setiember 1959.)



¿Y acerca de Haití y Paraguay?

Expresamos nuestra solidaridad y nuestras promesas de continuo apoyo moral y material para los sindicalistas democráticos de Haití y Paraguay, quienes están sufriendo en las prisiones o están luchando clandestinamente y en el exilio para recobrar su libertad. Condenamos la brutal supresión de los derechos humanos y la negación de las libertades civiles a la cual les regímenes de Duvalier y Stroessner, en Haití y Paraguay respectivamente, se aferran con el objeto de permaner en el poder.

Violentos levantamientos, que a la larga sólo beneficiarían a los agitadores comunistas, pueden ser evitados solamente con la pronta

restauración de los derechos políticos y de la libertad de prensa y de asamblea. Demandamos el regreso de la Unión Nacional de Obreros Haitianos (UNOH) y de la Confederación Paraguaya de Trabajadores (CPT) a sus legítimos dirigentes, quienes han sido reemplazados ilegalmente por intervenciones del gobierno y de la policía y han sido arrestados o forzados a la clandestinidad o al exilio.

(Resolución adoptada por la AFL-CIO en su Tercera Convención Constitucional. Setiembre 1959.)

¿Qué piensa la AFL-CIO de la Organización de Estados Americanos (OEA)?

Respaldamos la Declaración de Santiago, adoptada en la reciente Conferencia de Ministros de Relaciones Exteriores de los Estados Americanos, la que tuvo lugar en la capital de Chile. Mientras reafirmó el principio de no-intervención, como la base primordial de las relaciones en el hemisferio, la reunión de Santiago tomó una posición definitiva en defensa de la democracia verdadera y libertades civiles; también repudió firmemente el totalitarismo en todas sus formas —en el pasado, presente y futuro.



Respaldamos los poderes adicionales conferidos al Comité Interamericano de Paz de la Organización de Estados Americanos (OEA) para investigar la relación entre la falta de democracia genuina, la supresión de los derechos humanos y libertades civiles en un país y la amenaza de invasión extranjera.

Urgimos al Consejo de la OEA poner inmediatemente en efecto las recomendaciones de la Conferencia de Ministros de Relaciones Exteriores en Santiago requiriendo la preparación (a) de una lista de violaciones del principio de no-intervención; (b) de un proyecto de acuerdo sobre el respeto de los derechos humanos; (c) de

proyecto de acuerdo del ejercicio efectivo de la democracia verdadera; (d) de un estudio de la posibilidad de tener observadores internacionales en las elecciones presidenciales en el Hemisferio Occidental.

(Declaración de la AFL-CIO adoptada en su Tercera Convención Constitucional, Setiembre 1959.)

¿Ignoró la AFL-CIO el caso Galindez-Murphy?

La AFL-CIO ha denunciado repetidas veces a la dictadura del General Rafael Trujillo en la República Dominicana, y se ha unido a la ORIT y a la CIOSL para demandar la intervención de parte de la Oficina Internacional del Trabajo (OIT) contra la violación de los derechos sindicales de aquel país.

Entre los tantos crímenes perpetuados por la dictadura de Trujillo, se cuenta con el asesinato de sus opositores, dentro de la República Dominicana y en el extranjero, y entre ellos muchos sindicalistas.

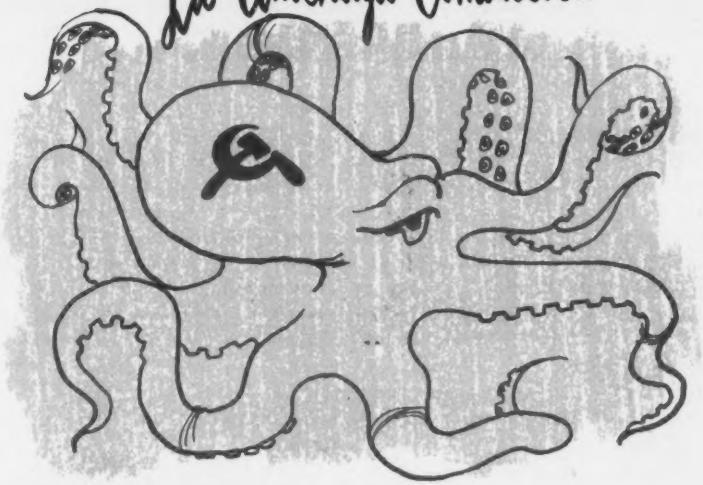
El flagrante rapto en la ciudad de New York del Profesor Jesús de Galindez, y el asesinato del aviador estadounidense, Gerald L. Murphy, ha estremecido al mundo civilizado. La evidencia recogida, señala complicación directa del gobierno dominicano.

La AFL-CIO expresa su gran horror ante estos crímenes monstruosos. Llamamos la atención del Gobierno de los Estados Unidos para que adopte estrictas medidas para prevenir las actividades de los agentes del dictador Trujillo en este país, y urgimos al Congreso de los Estados Unidos a que inicie minuciosa investigación en el caso Galindez-Murphy y todo lo concerniente a ello.

(Declaración adoptada por la AFL-CIO, Mayo 22, 1957.)



La Unión Soviética
La Amenaza Comunista



¿Cuál es la actitud del movimiento sindical norteamericano hacia las negociaciones entre el Gobierno de los Estados Unidos y la dictadura soviética?

Mientras que no se cierren las puertas a las negociaciones con Moscú, nuestro país y sus aliados deben edificar su unidad política, poder económico y adecuada potencia militar. Buena voluntad para negociar no quiere decir apaciguamento. Se necesita valor para encarar la agresión. También se necesita valor para conseguir, paciente y persistentemente, arreglos pacíficos y satisfactorios. El apaciguamiento de las demandas de cualquier poder expansionista solamente invita a la agresión. Por lo tanto, nuestro Gobierno nunca debe dar como establecida y final ninguna conquista que el Kremlin u otro regimen totalitario haya hecho a través de agresión militar directa, amenaza de intervención armada, subversión comunista, agresión por sus representantes o por cualquier otra combinación de estos métodos.

(Resolución sobre Política Exterior. Adoptada por la Primera Convención Constitucional de la AFL-CIO, Diciembre 1955.)

¿Cómo ve la AFL-CIO la campaña soviética en favor de la "coexistencia y las relaciones culturales"?

Habiendo capoteado la crisis más grave a que se ha enfrentado hasta la fecha el Imperio Soviético, los gobernantes del Kremlin están ahora recurriendo a su estrategia de la llamada coexistencia pacífica para adelantar sus objetivos básicos, por medio de alentar la diseminación del neutralismo, el relajamiento de la vigilancia en el Occidente, y la infiltración comunista de las organizaciones obreras libres.

La más reciente fase de la política extranjera soviética tiende a vencer el ostracismo moral y el aislamiento a que ha estado condenado el Kremlin por causa de su criminal agresión contra el valiente pueblo húngaro. Moscú está nuevamente tratando de conseguir que el Occidente acepte el sistema soviético de regímenes satélites y pueblos cautivos como permanente. Los dictadores comunistas se esfuerzan por aplacar, por medio de ésos sus intentos al efecto, el anhelo de libertad que en medida creciente florece hasta entre el propio pueblo ruso. De acuerdo con esta estrategia, Moscú ha reanudado su campaña en pro del llamado intercambio cultural. Quiere restaurar y aumentar la influencia comunista entre los artistas, los hombres de ciencia, las entidades comerciales y los sindicatos obreros del mundo libre. Mediante una mayor utilización de la superioridad científica, técnica e industrial de las democracias occidentales, y por medio de obtener artículos y créditos de ellas, trata el Kremlin de superar las dificultades económicas ocasionadas por las políticas comunistas y agravadas por la rebelión de los satélites.

(Declaración Adoptada por el Consejo Ejecutivo de la AFL-CIO: 22 de mayo, 1957.)





¿Qué actitud adopta la AFL-CIO acerca de enviar delegaciones sindicales obreras a países de detrás de la Cortina de Hierro?

La AFL-CIO rechaza, como cuestión de principio, la idea de que el trabajo libre envíe delegaciones a cualquier país que prohiba los sindicatos libres, que proscriba todas la actividades sindicales de los obreros libres, y que imponga castigos a los trabajadores por preconizar el sindicalismo libre, sea tal país comunista, o fascista, o de cualquier otro tinte totalitario. Nos oponemos a la maniobra del Eje Moscú-Peiping tendiente a hacer que delegaciones de sindicatos obreros libres visiten la órbita esclavizada soviética como fase vital que es de la estrategia de la siniestra "Sonrisa Ancha", calculada para confundir y dividir al campo democrático. Moscú quiere visitas de delegaciones de sindicatos libres para impartir respetabilidad moral y legitimidad a su régimen, que ha robado a su pueblo de todos y cada uno de los derechos humanos fundamentales, tiene a millones de sus súbditos en campos de trabajo forzado, y niega a los trabajadores el derecho a la libertad de asociación y organización, el derecho a la genuina negociación colectiva, y el derecho a la huelga.

(Resolución de la AFL-CIO Sobre Política Extranjera. Adoptada por la Primera Convención de la AFL-CIO: diciembre, 1955.)

¿Cómo ve la AFL-CIO el reto económico del Kremlin?

Desde hace más de tres años, y especialmente desde el Vigésimo Congreso del Partido Bolchevique, el Kremlin ha dado marcado énfasis a los medios económicos y políticos para fomentar el comunismo mundial. Percatándose de que la intensificada penetración económica soviética de las naciones subdesarrolladas tiene por objetivo, meter a las regiones respectivas dentro de la órbita imperialista soviética, y no fomentar el bienestar humano y la libertad, nuestra Convención Constituyente hizo resaltar, con absoluta razón, la urgente necesidad de la iniciativa norteamericana en la empresa de derrotar esta siniestra estrategia soviética.

(Declaración Adoptada por el Consejo Ejecutivo de la AFL-CIO: 7 de junio, 1956.)

¿Qué política general propone la AFL-CIO para enfrentarse con éxito al reto comunista y preservar la paz mundial?

Para preservar la paz mundial, extender la libertad y enfrentarse con éxito al reto comunista, el mundo democrático debe hacer algo más que meramente edificar una fuerza militar adecuada. Las naciones democráticas deben también tratar de establecer ligas políticas más estrechas y aumentar la cooperación científica; pugnar por condiciones económicas mejoradas y relaciones económicas expansionadas; por una mejora del modo democrático de vida, para hacerlo más atractivo para los pueblos de las llamadas naciones no comprometidas; por asistencia económica y técnica expansionada y coordinada para las naciones industrialmente subdesarrolladas, ayudándolas en sus esfuerzos por elevar sus capacidades productivas y sus normas de vida, y por reforzar sus instituciones democráticas; por la eliminación del colonialismo; y por el fomento de la amistad con los pueblos soviéticos, haciendo la distinción debida entre ellos y sus opresores gobernantes comunistas.

(Declaración adoptada por el Consejo Ejecutivo de la AFL-CIO: 11 de febrero, 1958.)





¿Cúal es la actitud de la AFL-CIO hacia la España de Franco?

A pesar de todas las medidas represivas del regimen de Franco, los mineros de Asturias, los trabajadores industriales de Barcelona, los campesinos de Andalucía, y los estudiantes de Madrid, han demostrado abiertamente su descontento con esta dictadura y las completamente inadecuadas condiciones de vida y de trabajo.

La AFL-CIO, una vez más, declara su completa oposición a todo totalitarismo, acompañado como siempre sucede, por la supresión de los sindicatos libres. La establecida oposición de los sindicatos norteamericanos al totalitarismo de Franco no ha sido modificada por ningún arreglo militar o económico que haya habido entre nuestro gobierno y el actual regimen español.

Rechazamos todo cargo hecho por los partidarios de Franco que toda oposición a su regimen es de origen comunista. Naturalmente, los comunistas, para el beneficio de sus propios fines, tratan de explotar el justificado descontento del pueblo español, pero esta oportunidad se origina en el hecho de que el regimen de Franco niega al pueblo derechos humanos y libertades civiles, incluyendo el derecho de libre asociación.

(Declaración adoptada por el Consejo Ejecutivo de la AFL-CIO, Mayo 10, 1958.)

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FEDERACION AMERICANA DEL TRABAJO Y
CONGRESO DE ORGANIZACIONES INDUSTRIALES

815 Sixteenth Street, N. W. Washington 6, D. C.—U.S.A.

GEORGE MEANY
Presidente

WM. F. SCHNITZLER
Secretario-Tesorero

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SAFEGUARDING



LABOR'S DOLLAR

By Leo Perlis, Director, AFL-CIO Community Service Activities

MILLIONS of dollars won by wise trade unionists across collective bargaining tables are lost by unwise consumers across the nation's store counters.

An automobile, a home appliance, a rug, a television set—these and thousands of other items, when purchased unwisely, can eat up the extra dollars that mean better living for the families of American workers.

Today's union member is a skilled craftsman. He has been trained to seek an honest financial return for his labor. Successful programs of education and information are daily teaching him how to safeguard his health, welfare and citizenship.

But his role as a consumer has long been neglected.

The federal government has abandoned several half-hearted attempts at consumer education. Too few states have anything remotely resembling effective consumer programs. This vast and complex area of public ignorance seems to have been scrupulously avoided by any and all who should be legitimately concerned.

The picture changes this month. For the first time on a mass scale across the nation, a major effort is being launched to protect the hard-earned dollar of the trade union member. Consumer counseling is a program of AFL-CIO Community Service Activities in cooperation with the Union Label and Service Trades Department, AFL-CIO.

This program is something new—and it will be the No. 1 priority of CSA in 1959.

Carrying a two-fold purpose, the consumer counseling program will strive to make the union member aware of how he can get his money's worth and how he can stretch his dollar. Every resource in labor's extensive community services network will be utilized to this end.

The need and desire for information of this type are sharply attested to in figures released recently. Better Business Bureaus throughout the country recorded a total of 2,404,809 instances of services, inquiries and complaints in 1957.

People are concerned about the overall problem. Only fifteen out of every 100 contacts are complaints. The rest are from men and women needing information. These figures are the reverse of the experience of the Better Business Bureaus forty years ago.

THE AFL-CIO Executive Council last year adopted the following resolution:

"The AFL-CIO Community Services Committee recognizes the importance of meeting the personal and family needs of union members as consumers of goods and services. We recognize also the need for promoting consumer acceptance of union-made goods and the union label.

"While union counseling has dealt with some of these problems over the years, a more concentrated effort is needed to provide essential information to both union members and their spouses on the general subjects of how to stretch the dollar, how to get a dollar's worth and why to buy the union label way. It is recommended, therefore, that union counseling be extended to include counseling in these consumer problems. It is recommended also that this be done in cooperation with the Union Label and Service Trades Department."

With this resolution, the way was paved for a concerted attack on the problem.

AFL-CIO Community Service Activities first realized that people face certain blocks as consumers.

Initially, there is the economic block which is already being tackled through labor's collective bargaining. Secondly, there is the psychological

block to wise buying which often finds a consumer making a purchase because of a desire for social status or to meet a psychological need in his life. Third is the traditional block which is rooted in many years of custom and habit.

CSA early saw it could not fight these three blocks. The fourth, however, is lack of knowledge, and it was in this arena that CSA felt it could wage a successful battle.

The knowledge and skills that community service volunteers and staff members gained through their years of enlightening AFL-CIO members in the field of health and welfare could now be also applied to the consumer.

This, then, will be a primary concern of CSA in 1959 as it works to save AFL-CIO members untold millions of dollars by shedding the bright light of information on the darkness of consumer ignorance—ignorance of cost, quality, the law and of the how, where and when to buy.

IN MAPPING plans for consumer counseling, Community Service Activities quickly discovered the lack of governmental concern for the consumer. This fact was highlighted in the November issue of *Consumer Reports*, which stated that "since the end of World War II there has been comparatively little interest in the consumer on the part of federal agencies."

Perhaps the one bright spot in the area of government has been New York State, where former Governor Averell Harriman pioneered a new venture in state government when he created the office of consumer counsel to the governor four years ago.

He named Dr. Persia Campbell, an economics professor with many years of experience in the consumer field.

Drawing on her extensive background, Dr. Campbell developed a sound, active program geared to informing and protecting the consumer.

Her accomplishments have been so noteworthy that other states have shown an interest in establishing similiar consumer programs. Governor "Pat" Brown of California is the latest to be reported considering a full-scale consumer plan for his state. It is to be hoped that the Nelson Rockefeller administration in New York will continue the Harriman program.

REALIZING there was little to draw upon in the way of past nationwide consumer efforts, CSA sought the most effective methods of implementing its new priority project.

It was decided that CSA would follow a pattern similar to its initial blueprint for the entire community service program. CSA will work with existing agencies such as better business groups, consumer unions, credit unions, the Cooperative League, the Food and Drug Administration, the Federal Trade Commission and other governmental agencies. At the same time CSA will conduct a three-phased program within the framework of its already well-established operation.

Emphasis throughout the program will be placed by CSA and the Union Label and Service Trades Department on the union label as a symbol of sound, honest craftsmanship.

Courses patterned after the union counseling plan will be given for union members across the country. Conferences will be held on consumer problems. Consumer clinics will be conducted in union headquarters and elsewhere. All of these will be open to union members and their spouses.

The consumer classes will be two-hour sessions held over eight to twelve weeks. Course topics will include the union label and the con-

sumer, how to set up and operate a family budget plan, buying personal and property insurance, how to buy appliances and new and used cars, home buying and renting, buying medicines, toiletries, pharmaceuticals, vitamin preparations and eyeglasses, food purchasing and meal planning, borrowing money, installment buying and revolving charge accounts.

Also legal assistance, including garnishments and wage assignments; home repair and renovating; group buying, such as medical care; education, including correspondence schools; home furnishings, legal protection available to consumers and the purchase and care of clothing.

Selection of these course topics came after an intensive study of such authoritative lists as the national Better Business Bureau's top ten classifications of public inquiry and complaint.

The consumer clinics are envisioned as sources of direct aid to the consumer. A panel of experts will conduct each clinic. Any interested person can attend. The clinic will be especially valuable, however, for the union member who seeks advice on a specific consumer problem.

A major part of the overall AFL-CIO Community Service Activities consumer program will deal with helping the consumer to guard against frauds. While the great majority of American businesses are ethical, millions of dollars are wasted annually because of the unscrupulous tactics of a minority.

To cite just one area, the Food and Drug Administration offers proof that this modern age has not been able to abolish the quackery of the horse-and-buggy patent medicine show. The FDA reports that at the end of 1957 more defendants were serving jail sentences for false curative claims than at any other time in the agency's history.

AFL-CIO Community Service Activities, in cooperation with the Union Label and Service Trades Department, hopes to teach union members to detect and avoid frauds wherever possible. Once victimized, however, the union member should know how to deal with frauds and should learn the steps necessary in the prosecution of them.

Every attempt will be made to spotlight those areas where abuses exist and to take action on them.

The CSA consumer program officially opened at the beginning of the new year. The entire manpower of Community Service Activities will focus its attention on service to the American consumer.

Consumer counseling will be one of three main items on the agenda at regional institutes to be held at seven American universities in January and February. At these institutes the 13 full-time CSA labor staff members from seventy-eight major cities will arm themselves with information on how to operate effective consumer programs at the local level.

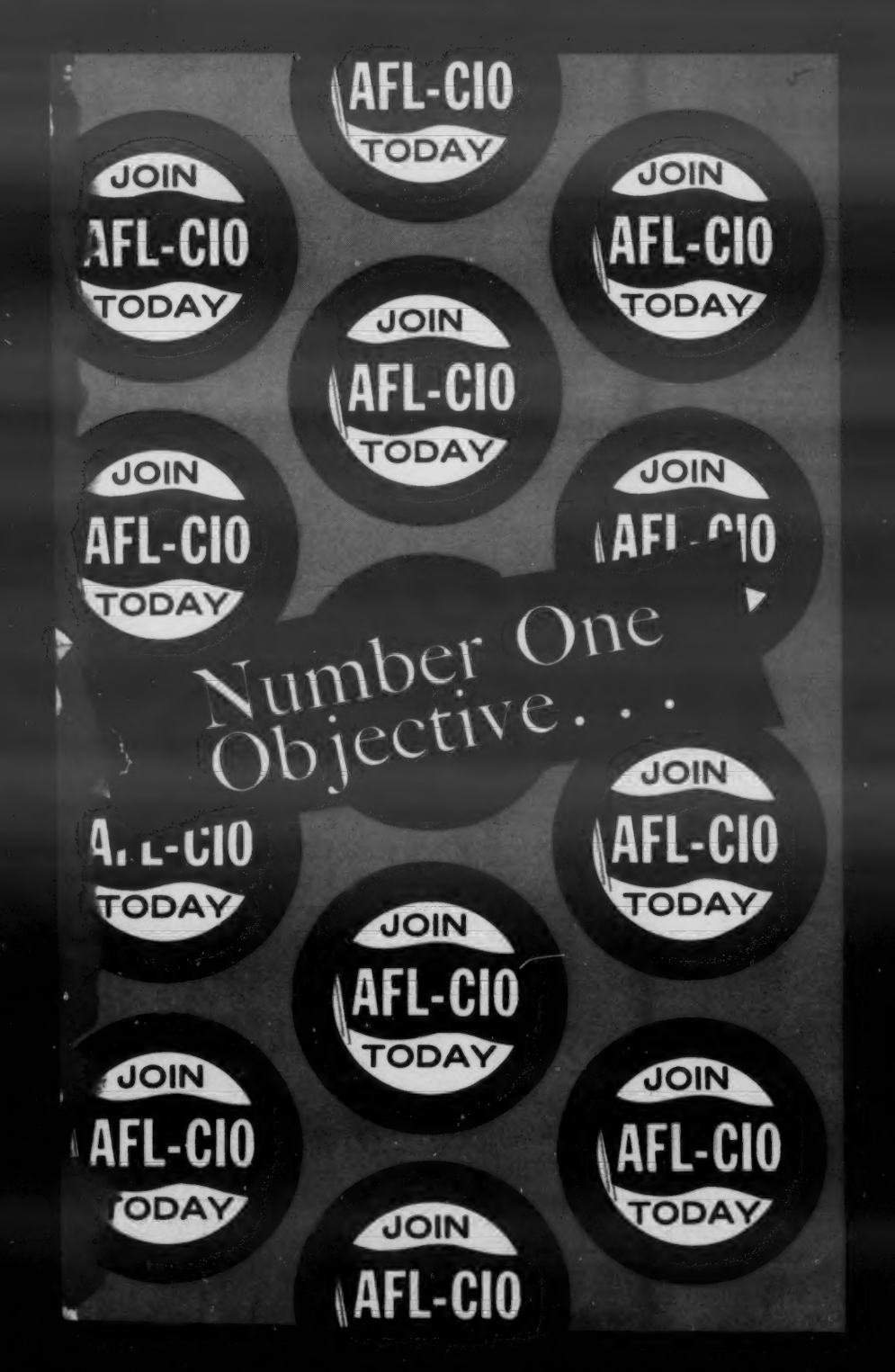
They, in turn, will take this knowledge back to the more than 40,000 trade unionists who are trained volunteer union counselors standing ready to help their fellow workers in shops, factories and offices across the nation.

In this way the machinery of the AFL-CIO community services will be set in motion for 1959. The end product: the American worker's dollar—wisely spent with value received.

American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations
815 16th St., N. W. Washington 6, D. C.
GEORGE MEANY, *President* WM. F. SCHNITZLER, *Secretary-Treasurer*

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AFL-CIO
TODAY
JOIN
AFL-CIO
TODAY
Number One
Objective . . .

"I feel that the subject matter of these conferences in which you have been meeting here for the past few days is still the most important aspect of the Trade Union Movement . . . the number one objective."

. . . George Meany, President,
AFL-CIO

Address to the Conference,
Luncheon Session, Second Day

"We are meeting here in the first organizational conference . . . so that we can start developing the plans necessary to initiate the campaigns that must take place, and prepare ourselves to go out and do the work."

. . . Wm. F. Schnitzler,
Secretary-Treasurer,
AFL-CIO

Address to the Conference,
Afternoon Session, First Day

NUMBER ONE OBJECTIVE . . .

A report . . . . .

of the First AFL-CIO National Organizing Conference

January 6-7, 1959 Washington, D. C.

American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

George Meany, *President*

Wm. F. Schnitzler, *Secretary-Treasurer*

Department of Organization, John W. Livingston, *Director*

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Foreword

In January 1959 the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations held a national organizing conference, the first such conference ever held by the organized labor movement in the United States.

Designed for labor officials having national organizing responsibilities, the conference was attended by approximately 200 delegates from 75 unions including 32 international union presidents, 27 international union vice presidents, 11 international union secretary-treasurers and 21 international union directors of organization. Also in attendance, and included in the above number, were representatives of AFL-CIO chartered departments and the regional directors and assistant directors of AFL-CIO's Organizing Department, the sponsoring organization.

At the time the organizing conference call was sent to each AFL-CIO union affiliate, nearly three years had passed since the merger convention—three years that had seen the establishment of the special Senate committee to investigate improper labor-management practices, the issuance of the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in public schools and the worst national economic recession since the great depression of the 1930's.

These eventful years were characterized also by an increasingly pro-business orientation of the National Labor Relations Board and the launching of a big-business sponsored anti-union drive of unprecedented scope and vigor.

The time had come to evaluate organizing progress since the merger convention, make a realistic appraisal of organizing obstacles, and consider ways and means of achieving the "full use of our resources" called for in that convention's resolution on organizing.

Within this framework, the conference focused on four major areas of interest—the general organizing situation, organizing and the law, organizing in the South, and organizing among white collar workers.

Each of these four major subjects was discussed by panels composed of representatives from participating unions, and chaired by members of the AFL-CIO Dept. of Organization headquarters staff. Panel reports were followed by discussion from the floor.

While the conference proceedings were recorded by professional reporters, limitations of space preclude a verbatum report; the discussions are presented here for the most part in summary form. So far as possible, however, highlights are given in the actual words of conference delegates.

The four panel discussions are presented separately, each in three divisions—an introduction of the panel members, a brief narrative which recaps the panel highlights, and some of the ideas or suggestions that came out of the panel discussions.

The addresses of President Meany and Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler are presented in detail, along with the opening address setting forth the background and purposes of the conference.

There is a final section dealing with the role of our central bodies in the organizational work of AFL-CIO unions. While such a section was not planned originally, the emphasis placed upon these bodies by various speakers, and the potential significance of their role in union growth, made special treatment necessary.

As chairman of the Conference, I was impressed by the intense interest manifested by the delegates throughout the sessions. Their concentration testified both to the importance they attached to the topics under discussion, and to the degree of their personal commitment to the task of solving the problems.

This pamphlet is intended as more than a report of the conference proceedings. It is offered, as well, with the hope that it may serve as an aid to all who are engaged in the organizing mission of the American labor movement.

JOHN W. LIVINGSTON
Director of Organization
AFL-CIO



ORGANIZING THE BACKGROUND



Opening Remarks

by

JOHN W. LIVINGSTON

In December 1955 after nearly 20 years of organizational rivalry, the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations abandoned their separate existences to form a single, united labor force.

This move was prompted by a number of factors, one of the most important being recognition that organizing the unorganized was an essential and necessary function of the labor movement, and that labor unity was an indispensable ingredient for organizing success in today's political and economic environment.

Contrary to views expressed by some, the organizing promise held out by merger has not proved false. Despite obstacles produced by developments within and outside the labor movement, organizing by AFL-CIO and its affiliates has not been at a standstill.

Organizing Progress Analyzed

AFL-CIO unions, for example, have participated in over 12,423 collective bargaining elections conducted by NLRB since merger, winning 59 per cent, to receive certifications for bargaining units of approximately 748,000 members.

Many additional thousands of workers have come into AFL-CIO ranks through several means other than NLRB elections—voluntary

recognition, state labor board elections, elections conducted under the Railway Labor Act, expansion of bargaining units, etc.

The results of our organizing efforts, however, have not been at the level we would like—we have not moved ahead as rapidly as we should. A brief glance at some statistics will reveal why we cannot be satisfied with the progress to date.

Non-agricultural employment in late 1958 stood at 50,750,000. Excluding executives and supervisors, the remainder represents the current potential national union membership—43,650,000.

Union membership at the present time stands at about 17,200,000 leaving an unorganized, eligible group of around 26½ million.

The organized percentage of this eligible work force thus is some 39 percent. Five years ago, union and government figures indicated a 40 percent level of organization.

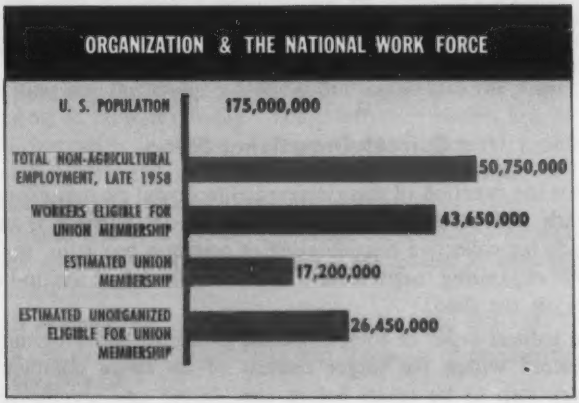
Keeping in mind the lack of preciseness in the statistical data, it would appear that we are not quite keeping up with the increase in the nation's work force. At best, we are barely keeping pace.

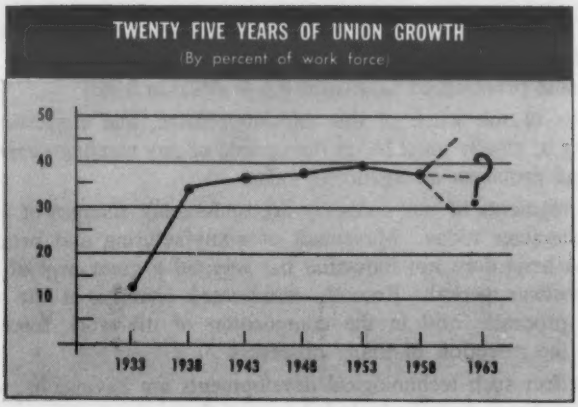
In either event, we must better our organizing results since the greatest level of union membership is found in the areas of our national economy having the least amount of recent growth.

Appropriate Time for Conference

The need for giving an impetus to organizing is evident, and, fortunately, the climate for organizing success appears to be improving. Indications of that improvement can be summarized briefly:

- Damage stemming from disclosures of the McClellan Committee, and their exploitation by anti-union forces, appears to have reached a peak and now is receding. Recent increases in percentage of certification election victories are a barometer of this. The defeat of "right-to-work" measures in five out of the six states in which they were submitted to popular vote would also suggest that the voters of America—union members and non-members alike—are basically friendly to organized labor, despite unfavorable publicity.
- The majority of central bodies, both local and state, have been merged by this time. There can be no doubt that consolidation of these merged organizations will lead to more friendly and cooperative relationships at the local level and thus to improved possibilities for organizing.


ORGANIZATION & THE NATIONAL WORK FORCE
U. S. POPULATION
175,000,000
TOTAL NON-AGRICULTURAL EMPLOYMENT, LATE 1958
50,750,000
WORKERS ELIGIBLE FOR UNION MEMBERSHIP
43,650,000
ESTIMATED UNION MEMBERSHIP
17,200,000
ESTIMATED UNORGANIZED ELIGIBLE FOR UNION MEMBERSHIP
26,450,000


TWENTY FIVE YEARS OF UNION GROWTH
(By percent of work force)
50
40
30
20
10
1933
1938
1943
1948
1953
1958
1963
?

- The spread between benefits enjoyed by organized workers and those accruing to unorganized workers is increasing to the growing disadvantage of the latter. With this there is an increasing awareness by unorganized workers of their relative position. Particularly is this true of white collar workers whose worsening plight has been publicized, not only in scholarly dissertations but in publications of mass circulation.

Current Organizing Scene

It is not the function of this conference to unveil an organizing blueprint which will produce guaranteed success. Its purpose is to serve as a vehicle for collective consideration of common problems, sharing of significant organizing experiences, encouragement of union-building teamwork in the field.

By the natural order of things, specific problems and programs must be considered within the larger context of an entire complex. The preliminary step to be taken before considering any specific problem areas labelled "organizing problems" is that of viewing the general situation affecting the labor movement. When this is done, several elements immediately loom large.

We are witnessing today a well-coordinated, anti-union campaign spearheaded by the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce whose ultimate goal is destruction of organized labor in this country as that movement presently is constituted. The campaign is being waged on many fronts. To date, however, it has had its most pronounced results on the organizing front.

Analysis of the scope of this anti-labor drive, and suggestions for combating it, clearly must be on the agenda of any meeting considering the general problems of organizing today.

Major segments of our economy are undergoing changes of a noteworthy character today. Movement of manufacturing and processing into areas heretofore not industrial has merited a great deal of notice in the postwar period. Recently accelerated changes in the nature of work processes and in the composition of the work force have attracted the attention of many observers.

What effect such technological developments are having, or may be expected to have, must be included among the topics for discussion in a conference examining factors affecting organizing.

The internal operations of our own organization, as they influence relationships between and among our affiliates, and as they help create

the public's impressions of active trade unionism — these too belong in any inquiry into the problems of, and prospects for, organizing amid current trends.

Specific Problem Areas

These then are the major elements that enter into the total picture of organizing in America today. The conference panels are set up to deal with just such questions. After broaching general problems in the opening panel, the conference, in succeeding panels, will focus upon more narrowly defined problems of organizing:

We will take a look at the laws, judicial decisions and administrative regulations governing labor unions and management as they engage in the organizing process;

We will examine the organizing situation in "The SOUTH;"

We will inquire into the problems and prospects of organizing among white collar workers;

We will have the benefit of the views of AFL-CIO executive officers on the role of organizing in today's labor movement.



ORGANIZING IN GENERAL



the panel

JOHN W. LIVINGSTON, *Director*
AFL-CIO Department of Organization
Moderator

HARRY SAYRE, *Executive Vice-President*
United Papermakers and Paperworkers, AFL-CIO

"We have a primary job to offset the massive public propaganda that labor's organized enemies hammer at people's heads day in and day out with, unfortunately, some effect."

"The only good that comes out of the volumes of material which the NAM, Chamber of Commerce and others ship constantly to employers all over the nation is that the paper tonnage used is absolutely fabulous. Since they have a hard time buying non-union paper, this helps to keep our people working but it hardly offsets the tragic effect upon the movement generally."

• • • •

LEO PERLIS, *Director*
Community Services Activities, AFL-CIO

"The organized labor movement often talks in terms of what comes

first. Is it political action, or union organization, or community relations, or research, etc? There can be no political action, or community services or education or research or anything else in the labor movement without union organization and collective bargaining."

"We have been too apologetic for the labor movement. It needs no apologies. The record speaks for itself. It is a good record, not only in terms of service to the members of our trade union movement but in terms of service to the country as a whole."

• • • •

A. J. EBERHARDY, *Vice President*
International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders, Blacksmiths, Forgers and Helpers, AFL-CIO

"We came to this conference with the full realization that the problems of organizing are different now than they were 10 or 15 or 20 years ago, and with the determination to find, through trading experiences, some solutions to those problems. We must also find the means of avoiding organizational conflicts between unions."

"The working people of this nation are interested in the organization. They want to know about the organization. They want to know about it in terms they understand . . . in good, common-sense, down-to-earth language backed up by all the statistical proof we can put forth."

• • • •

EDWARD J. LEONARD, *President*
Operative Plasterers' and Cement Masons' Int'l. Association of the United States and Canada, AFL-CIO

"The danger today is the propaganda wave, the undercurrent of organized hostility to the labor movement, which our enemies are trying to develop among our friends and neighbors. For such a program to succeed would endanger everything because the American trade union movement is an institution that is rooted in the people of America. That structure must not be broken down because it is vital to the wage earners of this nation."

"The Building Trades along with other departments can be a big factor in union progress when we get down to our principles and get down to respecting one another."

AL HARTNETT, *Secretary-Treasurer*
International Union of Electrical, Radio
and Machine Workers, AFL-CIO

"The time has come to take a look at some of the things we do to each other during the course of our organizing campaigns. We have to answer "No" to the question of whether we have a right as trade unionists to abuse another legitimate union and hamper its and our own opportunity for organization."

"Our unions have to give a considerably higher degree of attention to the increased opportunity which exists for new organization in the far western part of this country, as well as continue to focus attention on the South."



ORGANIZING IN GENERAL



how it is

Normally, workers have a friendly reaction to the idea of unionism. General progress through united action is not only as "American as apple-pie," it is as natural as breathing. To find out what happens to these normal tendencies is to know what makes union organizing the difficult job it is today.

Labor's enemies know about these tendencies and they don't like them. So they carefully set out to do something about them. They know that such tendencies must be changed if the numerical growth of unions is to be halted.

Anti-Union Tactics

Their general strategy is to identify unionism as something at odds with "Americanism," to characterize unionism and community welfare as complete opposites. In their scheme the public image of a union leader must be someone violently different from "thee and me," a person whose efforts are actually against the best interests of the people.

Great study, planning and energy goes into these campaigns to distort unionism in the public eye. The label technique ranks high in their kit of tools. Words like "bossism," "strikes," "violence," "radicals," "racketeers," are heavily employed. No one likes such things; equate them with unionism, and no one will like unionism!

Over-simplified? Ask the organizer who gets the deep-freeze treatment from the wife of a worker at whose house he calls, or the representative who has to register and pay a large fee in some southern town before he can even talk union to workers. Ask the organizer who finds his organizing ground eroded by a company which concocts a union-

busting campaign from a mail-order, do-it-yourself kit furnished by some professional anti-union force. Ask the organizer who is dragged from his motel and beaten by company-incited goons—not fifty years ago, but today, 1959.

Meeting the Anti-Union Drive

What to do about it? Well, over the years nothing stands the test of time like the truth. Sane people know that labor is not separate from the community. Labor's interests are the community's interests just as surely as the community's interests are labor's interests.

Start with the broad base. Community living standards are constant reflections of the force of organized labor to improve those standards. The "radical" union program of yesterday becomes tomorrow's great social and economic blessing for the entire community — be it vacation programs, paid holidays, pensions or hospitalization. It is no accident that this nation, with history's highest living standards, embraces simultaneously the world's greatest free labor movement.

Check off the worthwhile community projects. Find a successful United Fund Drive and you'll find active participation from organized labor. Look at a community disaster and you'll see organized labor in the fore-front of the re-building program. In the world-wide struggle of freedom vs. Communist tyranny there is nothing in the free world sales kit which outranks, in appeal to people in under-developed nations, the aggressive American labor movement and the high living standards it has helped bring about.

Viewed carefully and calmly these facts are so obvious that it becomes difficult to comprehend the success of the hate-labor campaigns as organizational road-blocks.

"That's just the point," say these panel members. The ingredients are there but we aren't studying them carefully enough, aren't keeping on top of current problems and situations, aren't adapting ourselves to the peculiar tasks they present.

Labor's Public Image: Not a Matter of Chance

How carefully, for example, do we study the enemy and keep abreast of his methods and devices? How about our public relations? Do we strive to offset distortion by trying to convey effectively a proper image to the community? Do we work hard at the job of associating ourselves with more and more of those broad helpful programs of the community which are not necessarily "union" programs?

The panelists suggest that doing a better job in things such as these can do much to offset the efforts of the enemy while at the same time conditioning the community atmosphere to one in which union membership brings with it the appeal of status to the unorganized worker. They further suggest that the task is not so tough as it might appear at first glance. It takes hard work, but the ingredients are there. Developing a favorable community atmosphere amounts almost to getting the community to do "what comes naturally." But it doesn't happen by accident. It takes some doing, some planning and a great deal of determination.

Recognizing Changing Conditions

Beyond the broad aspect of community attitude exists another set of general problems. They are more specifically related to the actual detailed work of organizing. Again the panel members wove through their discussions the thread of caution that these detailed tasks be undertaken with a 1959 perspective.

How about the workers who are being approached? Present-day conditions may well present organizational problems that are unsolvable through the old, tried and true methods of the past.

The complexion of the work force is radically different today than it was a few years ago. It is concentrated differently, geographically. There are many more women workers. The backdrop of economic hardship so familiar to workers in depression days is the figment of a high school history book to hundreds of thousands of today's organizable workers. Every industry has undergone violent technological change. These, and many other factors, dictate the importance of studying, knowing and understanding the peculiarities of each organizational situation.

The Essential Process: Communication

Methods of communication cannot be developed carelessly. Building key in-plant committees has always been essential in every organizing campaign. Today's organizing problems probably make it the most irreplaceable gear in the organizing worker's kit. The deterioration of the NLRB to an agency which nearly always represents the employer against unionization, rather than the worker against unfair restrictions on his organizational rights, combined with all of these other complex problems, places extreme emphasis on the careful establishment and development of these committees. With all of this, it must be remem-

bered that the personnel of these committees are considered by other workers to reflect the character of the union.

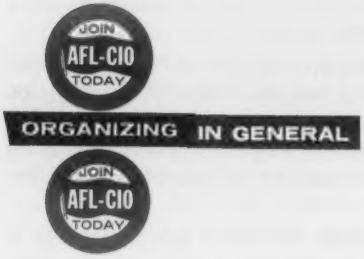
Other communication methods, particularly the written word, must be developed and presented with care and sufficient dignity. They too help to develop the kind of union label which the rank-and-file worker attaches to the particular organization seeking his support. Gone are the days when organizing efforts can succeed in spite of careless, improper, or sloppy handbills.

Personal contact through house calls and small group meetings is more important today, and more risky. Organizers on house calls today often find themselves dealing with family units. A set of questions that might come from a worker often will be different from the set his mate may ask. And all need answers, proper answers, true answers. First-to-mind answers frequently are not enough; some documentation is required. Such requirements call for much careful and advance study and preparation. Through it all is the constant responsibility which rests upon the union representative because his effect upon that family will constitute its impression of the union for a long time.

"Our Own Worst Enemy"?

The panel suggests that we take a very thorough and honest look at ourselves. Perhaps our rate of organizational success is slowed by the manner in which we sometimes fail to practice what we preach. We are not likely to be effective in advocating unity through unionism, and progress through mutual effort, while we engage in organizing conduct that presents the House of Labor as one of discord. It is hard to convince workers that a union will help them solve their common problems while public organizational in-fighting reveals an apparent inability of unions to solve their problems—one with another. How effective is the appeal to those not yet our "Brothers and Sisters" who watch competing unions indulge in the shame of a family fight through organizational leaflets?

Implicit in the presentation of each panelist was the belief that organizational progress is destined to accelerate. Each pointed to recent successes of their organizations and associated those successes with common sense recognition that time brings new problems — problems demanding careful evaluation, new or re-modeled methods, and an extra large dose of hard work and determination.



ideas came out

● Know the opponent! Know what he is doing. Know that he is working hard at his job!

● Research his plans and material. Acquire copies. Compile it. Reproduce it for staff and organizers so that they know most specifically what they are "in for." Then have them plan accordingly.

● Expose the enemy! Show the time and money spent trying to make people hate unions. Ask, "Why"? The "special interest" flavor of those efforts aren't attractive to workers. They often look ridiculous when placed beside the facts.

● Analyze their campaigns. Expose the lies and weaknesses. Prepare documented material to refute and disprove. (Example: Figures on time lost due to strikes from U. S. Department of Labor make the NAM strike bug-a-boo look sick).

● Examine the possibilities of community organization and community services as an auxiliary force in particular organizing campaigns.

● Public service is the best device for conditioning the community climate to one less-hostile, if not actually friendly, to unionizing efforts. It is interesting to note that big business spokesmen are urging executives—senior and junior—to become active in community affairs in order to bring about a pro-business climate of public opinion.

● Better service to present members can help, not just in union matters but in their total community existence. Members well served are members who make unionism attractive to potential members with whom they come in contact day after day.

- Don't be afraid of the word "respectable." It's a real factor; sort of a clamor for status. Unions will do well, through conduct and programs, to make union membership meet this requirement.

- Aggressive organizational efforts mean manpower. International unions, by programs of education for local union leaders which equip them to take over more and more of the administrative and servicing duties, can release many staff people from those tasks for full-time organizational work.

- Consolidate established bargaining units. Get every worker under contract coverage into union membership.

- More organization conferences. Have them on a smaller geographical basis, area, state or regional. Attendance is then feasible for more representatives. Bring all different unions in. This gives broadest effectiveness to idea-exchange and promotes harmony in the field by getting people better acquainted.

- In developing in-plant leadership be inquisitive about every potential leader. Find out everything before giving him leadership responsibility. Constantly work with him. Arm him with facts. Back him up by making him the best informed worker in the plant.

- In personal contacts, showing is better than telling. Exploit use of visual aids. Prepare these in orderly and attractive fashion. (Example: Plastic loose-leaf envelopes into which are inserted sections of constitutions on strikes, dues, etc.; Labor Department bulletins on time lost due to strikes, etc.).

- Getting several workers together at one of their homes makes for an ideal house call. Focuses all attention on purpose of gathering. Overcomes distractions like TV, etc.

- Organizational literature must be more than an "activity." Its use should be confined to a need and a purpose. When used, it should be attractive. White space makes for easy reading and attractiveness. Copy should be as short as possible to still be effective. Themes should be centralized. One idea per leaflet is an effective standard. Pictures and cartoons increase impact but must be in good taste. Language must be clear, concise and grammatically correct, never abusive, offensive or off-color. Beware of over-stating your case.

- On general meetings, don't use them as a forum to display oratorical ability. Fancy stages and speaker stands can create an artificial barrier between the organizer and the organizeable. Keep it friendly and person-to-person. Question and answers make for interesting meetings. Questions provide the best spring-board from which to make strong unionizing arguments.

- Don't pass up those who appear to be unfriendly. One convert among them is often worth many of the "quick friends" in a campaign.

- Anticipate last-minute block-busters. Plan for them. Educate against them. The facts are on your side. Sell them. Whirlwind management finishes usually feature strike scare, violence-and-unionism, high dues, bossism, etc. Meet these before the company raises them. The facts will do the job.

- Develop mobile attitudes. Work forces are shifting. The organizing tasks aren't where they used to be. There may be too much concentration of full-time representatives where the unorganized "ain't." Take a good look at these statistics and plan!

- There are new "group" concentrations in the unorganized work force. Women, semi-professionals, white collar, etc. Study them. Know them. Know their problems. See things as they see them and fit programs to their needs.

- Study and know the problems technological advances have created in a given situation for workers under organization. They are there, more than you think. Unionism can help workers with those problems. Show them how. Automation is great if the wealth it creates can be properly distributed. Workers need a voice in making those policies. Unions provide the voice.



ORGANIZING NO FEAR OF THE FUTURE



By WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER

This meeting represents an activity that the committees of the AFL and the CIO talked about at the time we were working out our merger details—organizing the unorganized.

At that time all of us had great hopes that the merging of these two great federations would introduce a brand new organizing campaign throughout the country.

A conference of this sort would seem to have been in order earlier, therefore, but circumstances both within our own movement, and outside, have caused postponement until now. The atmosphere until now seemed to work against our being able to get on with the organizing job we had in mind at the time of merger.

But now we find that all of the things that we have talked about are becoming realities, and so now we are meeting here in the first organizational conference, called by our Department of Organization, and kept to a minimum attendance purposely, so that we can start developing the plans necessary to initiate the campaigns that must take place, and prepare ourselves to go out and do the work that is expected of us.

Post-Merger Trials

We have just gone through a difficult period. I know how discouraged many of you felt as the headlines throughout the country told their one-sided story of corruption in the trade union movement. As we looked about the country it seemed that the prestige of our labor movement was

at an all time low. Many were hesitant to initiate organizing campaigns in the face of an apparent loss of confidence, by workers, in the trade union movement.

Now, as we look back and examine our own soundings throughout that period and analyze the record of organizational achievement, we can realize that things were not quite so dark as we might have thought.

Unique Contribution of Local Leadership

Even in the midst of the period we found that community leaders, not connected with the labor movement, would contrast the representatives of the labor movement in their areas with those being discussed in the headlines. They would express their respect for the labor spokesmen they knew and make a distinction between them and those whose betrayal of their union trust had brought them into disrepute.

The possible damage to the entire labor movement that might have resulted from these sensational disclosures was lessened by the kind of reputations enjoyed by the overwhelming majority of trade union leaders in their local communities.

When we recognize this fact—that the standing of our state and local representatives brought so much help to our national movement—we must realize that we have there a source of organizational strength on which we can draw to great advantage.

AFL-CIO Ethical Position Acclaimed

Another point that should be brought out is that during this period many newspapers, ordinarily considered anti-union, started to say nice things about the AFL-CIO because of the courage with which AFL-CIO dealt with the problems before us. That, too, helped to offset what might have been a tendency to label all of organized labor as unworthy.

Now let's look at our present situation—let's look at ourselves a little bit. As we do it, let's remember that the best labor legislation on the statute books in this country was written at a time when the trade union movement was at a low tide of membership. It was when this movement had two million members, or less, that such legislation was adopted.

Is there anyone to suggest, today, that with our 13½ to 14 million members we should take an attitude that we can't move any further? Do we have less stature than the members of a few years back? Do we have less courage in speaking out on new issues? I doubt it!

We need a bit of change in our thinking—we need to get away from a defensive attitude and return to our old offensive attitude.

A Return to Militancy

For years the representatives of the NAM and the Chamber of Commerce were characterized as "aginners" because in the legislative halls they were against everything that was good for the people. We can become "aginners" of a different sort if we occupy ourselves with *defense* and leave the *offensive* to those who want to destroy our movement.

Let's mount an organizing offensive that will keep our traditional opponents so busy defending themselves that they won't have time to attack us!

I recall some years back, in Newark, New Jersey, when the central labor union there decided upon a program of taking labor's message to the community. All the business agents were slated to serve several days a week. We used to use a little stand the carpenters made for us—put it in the back of our car—and drive down the street until we would come to a corner where people were standing around. And we'd get out our stand and start talking.

"What's Good for America . . ."

We talked about the things that were good for America. We talked about social security; workmen's compensation; unemployment insurance; wages, hours, working conditions. We found a ready response because the things we were for were the very things the people were for. And this has been so all through our history—labor's goals have been the goals of all the people.

When this became clear, we had their support.

But somehow we seem to have lost that technique of getting them to help along in things that will benefit them too—or if we have not lost it, we're not using it.

Workers Show Faith in Unions

We have not, on the other hand, as the record shows, lost our direct appeal to workers. The figures on membership—that is on membership on which per capita is paid to AFL-CIO—show that even when we were under the most serious attack in the history of this movement, 77 international unions increased their membership.

Of course our unions suffered from unemployment, particularly those in basic industries such as auto, steel, rubber and glass. But placing the membership loss through unemployment against membership gains, our net loss was under 150,000. The organizing efforts of our unions, therefore, helped counteract the worst effects of the recession.

Now the point is that if in the time of serious problems we continued to attract new members—over 385,000 of them in a period of great layoffs and adverse publicity—then there must be a tremendous number of unorganized workers waiting for us to launch an organizing campaign to give them the protection they need. When hundreds of thousands of workers, in the face of glaring headlines and economic uncertainties, demonstrated their belief that their best interest was served by the trade union movement, this should be sufficient to spur us all into new organizational activities.

No Fear for the Future

I have no fear of the future. I have no fear of what the workers will be thinking of in the future. There is nothing in the picture that can make us turn backward. Our eyes are on the upgrade, our goals are definite. What we need now is to coordinate all efforts, to utilize the resources available to us in the best possible manner.

Let's march into this year and prepare for the years ahead with the same determination and sincerity we have always exhibited.

Forget about the defense. Get in the front with the offense, and the response will be there.



ORGANIZING AND THE LAW



the panel

JOHN F. SCHREIER, *Assistant Director*
AFL-CIO Department of Organization
Moderator

ALBERT WOLL, *General Counsel*—AFL-CIO

"The law is an ever changing thing—particularly a labor law. I think that is due to the fact that the labor movement, itself, is a highly volatile movement; that it cannot be channeled into a certain path. It is a coming forth of the hopes and the aspiration of those who toil, and is, therefore an ever changing and progressive movement. As a result, the law changes with the extent that the activity of labor changes . . ."

TOM HARRIS—*Associate General Counsel*—AFL-CIO

"The labor board's complex and ever-changing doctrines with regard to representation proceedings present an almost insoluble problem to union organizers. Obviously organizers need to have at least a general idea of when and under what circumstances it may be possible for them to obtain a labor board election. They need to know in advance, before they have laid out time and money, and mobilized and perhaps exposed their supporters—and not months or years later, when the labor board finally decides their case. Yet the board's doctrines and practices in representation cases are so complicated that it is difficult even for law-

yers specializing in labor law to master them. Worse, the board is constantly revising its practices and principles, so that like commutation tickets its decisions are good for this season only."

PLATO PAPPS, *General Counsel*
International Association of Machinists, AFL-CIO

"There was a time, not too long ago, when a great many of us in the organized labor movement considered the National Labor Relations Board as a good friend of the trade union movement. I don't think that time is with us today. It is important to know, however, that there are still people in the National Labor Relations Board who are fair minded and objective, and I think it is important for you to find out who they are and how to deal with them."



how it is

We have come a great distance from the days when organizing for collective bargaining was deemed a conspiracy punishable by law. Unions, today, are legally recognized organizations. They are still, however, subject to the law—to legislation, to administrative rulings of regulatory agencies, to decisions of the courts.

Since "the law" has a decided effect upon organizing activities, those with organizing responsibilities have a special need to keep informed concerning all the laws controlling or regulating labor. Particularly is this true with respect to the National Labor Relations Act and its administrative body, the National Labor Relations Board.

Recognizing that the NLRB and the courts constitute probably the most important government agencies from the standpoint of organizing, the panelists for this section of the conference devoted most of their time to court and board decisions. The factual material they presented was pointed up with practical advice on day-to-day dealings with those administering or interpreting the laws affecting labor.

"The Old Order Changeth . . ."

It is significant that these panel members, skilled practitioners in the law, at the very outset cautioned against a "stagnant" approach to labor law. The labor representative who thinks he knows the law today because he was well informed yesterday, or who expects that his knowledge of the present situation will suffice for tomorrow, will soon founder in a sea of outdated notions.

Laws, generally, the panelists reminded, are subject to change. Those of direct interest to labor are even more changeable because the labor movement itself is highly dynamic. The body of laws dealing with any-

thing so progressive as the American labor movement must also be capable of change.

The language of the laws often is so lacking in clarity that change via judicial interpretation is encouraged. In illustration of this point, Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter was reported to have said that the only way to find what the Taft-Hartley law means in some important areas is to test it in the courts.

During their formal presentation, the panelists did not dwell in too great detail on the technical aspects of the various court decisions and board rulings they singled out for analysis, preferring to wait for the discussion period for elaboration of their preliminary remarks.

In keeping with this, a listing of the cases, with a brief description of their importance, appears as the concluding portion of this section. For the most part they deal with federal-state jurisdiction, picketing, membership expulsion, union security clauses, "hot cargo" clauses.

Picketing: Free Speech, But . . .

In illustration both of the transitory nature of labor law and of the influence of court action on organizing and collective bargaining, attention was drawn to two noted Supreme Court decisions and several subsequent decisions that have modified them.

Twenty years ago, the Thornhill decision was hailed by labor as a great victory since it likened peaceful picketing to free speech, thus ascribing to picketing the same constitutional protection enjoyed by the American concept of freedom of speech.

Then, in the Garner decision, the Supreme Court held that a state court could not enjoin peaceful picketing covered by the federal act even though state law was violated.

Within a very short time, both rulings were offset, in part, by other decisions granting exceptions to the principles enunciated in Thornhill and in Garner.

Now, in the Supreme Court's most recent term, two cases—Russell, and Gonzales—further limit the protective aspect of the earlier decisions by apparently declaring unions liable in state court actions to recover damages for mental suffering and work loss resulting from picketing or membership expulsion.

In the light of these recent rulings, particularly the latter, which hadn't the slightest shred of violence in its context, the panelists raised the question of whether unions should not seek federal legislation precluding the possibility of this form of harassment of unions.

The Board and Its Import

If union organizers were to take part in a word association test in which they were to give their immediate reaction to a word or phrase, invariably, if the word given were "board," most would respond, "National Labor Relations Board."

Organizing is by no means restricted to workers coming under NLRB jurisdiction, of course, nor is union growth accomplished only through NLRB election processes. But the overriding importance to organizing of the National Labor Relations Act and the board that Act provides is beyond question.

Actions taken by the board and by the board's general counsel probably have more significant an impact on organizing and affect a larger portion of the labor movement than any other single factor.

Familiarity with current NLRB developments is, therefore, a virtual necessity for the organizer. And, no less so than in the case of the courts, the law, as it is reflected in board activity, is a changing collection of rules, regulations, and standards.

New Jurisdictional Standards

NLRB has recently adopted a whole new set of jurisdictional standards which broaden the scope of board activities, thus reversing an earlier trend by the board to limit its area of operations. As a result of these new standards, the so-called "no man's land" between federal and state jurisdiction in labor relations has been reduced.

In a related ruling, the board has taken the position that if it appears an employer falls within the act at all, the assumption is that he meets board standards unless he produces data to prove otherwise. The burden of proof, therefore, in such cases, has been shifted to the employer.

The door is thus opened to organizing among groups of workers whom unions previously were unable to assist via NLRB recognition elections. Many workers whose employers were able to avoid NLRB elections because their volume of business fell below the board's standards now might be covered.

Judicial Review of Representation Decisions

Of equal importance are recent Supreme Court decisions asserting the right of the courts to review board determinations in representation cases. Heretofore, representation cases were not deemed reviewable by the courts unless they came up collaterally in an unfair labor practice

case. Smashing that position, the court has twice conducted a review of board rulings in this area. In the first instance, the Miami Hotel case, the Supreme Court stated that the board could not exclude general categories of employers without regard to the effect on interstate commerce of the business.

In the second case, the board was informed by the court that a ruling placing non-professional employees into a professional unit in the absence of approval of the majority of professional workers was in violation of the law.

The importance of these decisions lies in the fact that they open the way to getting court review of board determinations in representation cases. Whenever the board does anything too crude in a representation case, a union now has recourse to the courts, even to the point of having the board enjoined from conducting an election for a unit the union considers grossly improper.

[No one should overlook the fact, however, that the possibility now also exists for employers to seek judicial review in representation cases.]

New Contract Bar Formula

Anyone handling organization matters will find it necessary to familiarize himself with four administrative decisions handed down by the board last year as a result of a general review it conducted in four related fields: contract bar; union security; schisms; timeliness of petitions.

These decisions establish a new body of board doctrine on those aspects of representation. Major features of the new doctrine are summarized in the concluding section of this portion of the report.

New Non-Compliance Rules

In one other phase of representation, the board, through a series of rulings last year, has established new policy. Reversing a policy of many years standing, the board has ruled that non-complying unions may appear on the ballot in an election. They may appear if the employer petitions or if a rival union petitions. Inability of the non-complying union to petition is the only prohibition left.

Results of the election are certified by the board in such cases, but the union is not certified, for whatever effect that distinction is worth.

NLRB — A Friend That Was

No discussion of the NLRB among those engaged in organizing would be complete, and no report of the conference discussions would be useful, which did not reflect the genuine, deep-rooted dissatisfaction with the board's operations during the last few years.

There was a time, the panelists reported, when the board was looked on as a good friend of the trade union movement. That condition, they hastened to add, does not prevail today.

That the interpretation, operation and administration of the board raises hob with new organizing efforts (particularly in the South), is a matter of general knowledge in organized labor circles. As one delegate put it, speaking from the floor, "clever industry lawyers, today, in their delaying tactics, coupled with the liberties an employer takes under this Act, can make majorities into minorities before you get into an election."

There can be no doubt that Taft-Hartley has shackled the process of organizing, and that the act itself has virtually been rewritten through the actions and decisions of those who have served on the board and in the seat of the general counsel since the advent of the present Administration.

Thus, what is involved here is not a matter that involves organizing alone but one which is unavoidably tied in with political and legislative considerations.

In time, through all means at the disposal of the labor movement, we hope to be able to get relief both from the act itself, and from the manner in which the act is administered.

Meantime, organizing must go on.

And insofar as that means carrying on within the framework of the act and the board as they are presently constituted, certain common sense judgments governing the conduct of organizers vis-a-vis the board and its personnel were advanced by the panelists.

Working With the Board, "As Is"

We have to work with the board as it is, and the board personnel as they are. That means, said the panelists, viewing NLRB employees within the broad picture of their political environment.

To castigate the board and board employees is easy. Under the force of the provocations of their actions, such reaction comes almost nat-

urally. But does this, the panelists asked, accomplish the best possible good for the people on whose behalf we are dealing?

Does it not make good sense to proceed with the end-in-view of obtaining the maximum benefit still obtainable from the board? Is there no value to keeping in mind that there are many board representatives who still try to administer the act in accordance with its original intent?

If the answer to the last two questions is "yes," then, say the panel lawyers, the course of wisdom is to make every effort to establish and maintain a good personal as well as official relationship with NLRB employees, particularly within the NLRB regional structure.

The Region—Unions and Board, Day-By-Day

Emphasis is placed on the regional level because that is the area of day-to-day contact between unions and the board. In his region, the NLRB director exercises great authority, subject only to appeal to the national body. Under his direction and control the law officer and the field examiners administer the working affairs of NLRB. Their role is crucial, and their influence, ordinarily, sufficient to warrant careful recognition.

At all times, of course, union spokesmen should keep in mind that in recent years there has been an increasing amount of fear on the part of regional office NLRB people. They are aware that policies are determined at the topmost echelons and that their continued association with the board can depend on the manner in which they carry out policies handed down to them.

Many of them are quite unhappy about the reversal of original NLRB goals that has taken place as a result of the appointment to policy making levels of persons whose attitudes are conditioned by a big-business bias.

Within the limits such circumstances impose, these employees of the NLRB, out in the regions, can be helpful to unions who are engaged in organizing campaigns utilizing the resources of NLRB machinery.

(One of the panel members suggested that organizers keep a "score sheet" on the board in their areas to determine the net results of board action in organizing situations and to point up the dimensions of the problem, on a local basis, of obtaining services from the board that are at least of a neutral complexion.)

In the same vein of working with the board as it is, the suggestion was made that the very changeability of the board, evidenced by the recent adoption of new jurisdictional standards, and new policy toward non-complying unions, could be used to advantage.

Working With the Board: Responsible Ingenuity

Since the act, as interpreted by the board and the courts, is so subject to practical modification, union representatives can employ imagination and inventiveness in their approach. One panelist remarked that board doctrines like those on craft severance and schism were the ultimate results of ingenious, new approaches instituted by union representatives in a search for a solution to a given problem.

The panel experts also advised labor representatives to conduct themselves as such, not as lawyers, though familiarizing themselves with the parlance of labor board hearings. At the same time, they expressed the opinion that one source of difficulty in labor law is the inclination of too many lawyers to consider themselves experts in labor law, without possessing the qualifications.

In the final analysis, whatever the law, however the board operates, the union organizer must anchor his activities in the firm ground of responsibility to the workers his organizing efforts are intended to help.



ideas came out

● In gathering material for unfair labor charges keep in mind the board's decision to apply the principle of the "Jenks" decision to board procedures. Insist upon getting statements that have been given to board members by witnesses, assuming, of course, that the statements refer to the subject in litigation.

● On the basis of the Miami Hotel decision, you can seek court action in an effort to prevent the board from gross abuses in representation decisions involving appropriate units or jurisdiction.

● Keep in mind that such cases will probably have to be brought in the District of Columbia.

● Keep in mind, also, that employers, too, can have recourse to the courts for review of board representation determinations. This can be another form of employer delay.

● Taft-Hartley is bad, has been made worse through interpretation, and must be changed. Its adverse effect on organizing, particularly in the South, has been enormous. But let's not stop organizing while we wait for a change—in the law or in its administration.

● There still are fair-minded persons among NLRB personnel, particularly in lower echelons. Keep on friendly day-to-day basis with them.

● Discuss NLRB problems with the people administering the Act—to see what the latest thing in Washington is. It may come in handy.

- Conduct yourselves as labor representatives, not as lawyers. But you should be familiar with the nomenclature, the parlance of labor board hearings.

- Familiarize yourself with the new board decisions dealing with contract bar, union security, schisms, and timeliness of petitions.

- Keep a score sheet on the board's decisions in your area, to determine the number of favorable and unfavorable decisions, and the trend they disclose.

- The law is so dynamic and flexible that if you think you have a new angle for an approach on new representation cases—try it. Imagination and inventiveness are as important as knowledge of the facts.



cases in point

Supreme Court Decisions

Garner — State courts have no jurisdiction to enjoin activities affecting interstate commerce which may either be protected or prohibited by the Taft-Hartley Act and thus subject to the NLRB.

Thornhill — Picketing is a type of free speech protected under the constitution against governmental interference (except where the government acts pursuant to a reasonable public policy).

Laburnum — A state may award damages for injury to an employer's business where there has been violent, tortuous conduct by a union even though the conduct involved an unfair labor practice subject to the NLRB.

Russell — State court may award compensatory and punitive damages in a court action brought against a union by a non-union employee claiming malicious interference with his employment through threats of violence even though the conduct may have involved an unfair labor practice subject to NLRB.

Gonzales — State court may award damages for breach of contract where a union wrongfully expelled a member even though the conduct may have involved an unfair labor practice subject to the NLRB.

Miami Hotel — The NLRB may not decline jurisdiction over the entire hotel industry as a class.

Mastro Plastics — 1. The 60 day notice requirement of Taft-Hartley applies to collective bargaining strikes rather than to strikes against an employer's unfair labor practices.

2. A no-strike clause in a collective bargaining agreement does not prohibit a strike against gross unfair labor practices which seek to destroy the union.

Jenks — All parties to a hearing have the right to prehearing statements made by a witness regarding matters about which the witness has testified in the procedure.

Sand Door — A hot cargo clause is not illegal in itself but a union may not induce an employer's employees to compel him to comply with the clause.

Board Decisions

Brown Olds — A union engaged in illegal union security practices must refund all dues and assessments collected under the union contracts even though there is no specific evidence that the collections were coerced.

Mountain Pacific — Unless three listed guarantees against discrimination are inserted in any contract providing for an exclusive hiring hall the union will be conclusively presumed to be engaging in discriminatory hiring practices.

Mid-west Metalic — By agreeing to a speedy grievance procedure for the settlement of disputes a union impliedly bound itself under a no strike clause not to strike even in protest against an employer's unfair labor practices.

Reynolds — Operations which are part of the basic reduction and rolling mill phases of the aluminum industry

are not subject to craft severance but other operations not part of these basic phases are subject to craft severance.

American Potash — A craft group is appropriate for severance purposes in cases where a true craft group is sought and the union seeking to represent it is one which traditionally represents craft (craft severance is not allowed in basic steel, aluminum, lumbering and wet milling industries).

NLRB Revision of Contract Bar Rules

(Note:) This is a very simplified summary of a complex set of rules. For detailed provisions see: *Keystone Coat,* 121 NLRB No. 125 (union security provisions); *Hershey Chocolate,* 121 NLRB No. 124 (schism); *DeLuxe Furniture,* 121 NLRB No. 135 (rival claims); *Pacific Coast Pulp,* 121 NLRB No. 134 (duration of contract); *General Extrusion,* 121 NLRB No. 147 (changed circumstances); and *Appalachian Shale,* 121 NLRB No. 149 (adequacy of contract).

I. Union-Security Provisions

General Rule: A contract cannot bar a representation petition if it contains ambiguous union-security or check-off clauses; the clauses must be valid on their face.

Note on compliance: An otherwise valid contract does not bar an election if the local or international is not in compliance with Taft-Hartley's filing requirements.

II. Schism

General Rule: A contract does not bar an election where a "schism" exists, i.e., where there is a basic policy conflict at the highest level of an international or within a federation and the employees in a particular bargaining unit have taken disaffiliation action.

III. Rival Claims

General Rule: A petition by a rival union must be filed more than 60 days but not over 150 days prior to the expiration date of an existing contract.

Qualification: A petition may be filed after expiration date unless a new contract has become effective through execution or automatic renewal.

Note: A bare representation claim by a union not previously recognized no longer extends the time for filing.

Petition on Day Contract is Executed: Such a contract will bar election if effective immediately, and if the employer has not been informed at time of execution that petition has been filed.

Premature Extension of Contract: This does not bar election if petition is properly filed in relation to original expiration date.

IV. Duration of Contracts

General Rule: Only fixed-term contracts will bar election petitions, for a maximum period of two years.

Note: Contracts having fixed term of more than two years will be treated as contracts for term of two years only, regardless of the term time customary in the industry.

V. Changed Circumstances

General Rule: A contract does not bar election if executed before anyone has been hired, or prior to a substantial increase in personnel, or prior to a change in the nature of the operations.

VI. Adequacy of Contract

General Rule: To bar an election, a contract must be in writing and cover substantive terms of employment, and it must be signed by all the parties, and ratified where necessary, before the petition is filed.





the panel

FRANZ E. DANIEL, *Assistant Director*
AFL-CIO Department of Organization
Moderator

GEORGE L. GOOGE, *Secretary-Treasurer*
International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union
of North America, AFL-CIO

"What we've got to do is again make membership in union activity the popular thing in the South. And it can be done if we inspire local leadership. The first job is to rebuild our labor centers in each community—then you'll see a rebirth of union organization in the South."

_____, *Researcher*

"I suspect that organizing in the South may have to be approached as a truly unique process — a process of setting up a prestige rallying point for discouraged people, a process of building mutual respect and confidence in indigenous leadership, a process of educating through a series of successful collective efforts."

JOHN W. LIVINGSTON, *Director of Organization*, AFL-CIO

"We're just not being practical if we don't recognize that there must be a special problem in the South. If there wasn't, we'd have a lot more people organized than there are organized today. We've got to face facts as they are."



how it is

When labor organizers meet to consider the South, one can almost feel the fog of despair and frustration creep into the room. The problems the South presents are indeed formidable: social dislocation of an industrial economy superimposed on an agricultural way of life; paternalism in its most insidious form; big industry for the most part committed to a non-collective bargaining philosophy; small business avid for further industrial expansion; political, educational, and social restrictions controlled in large part by those dedicated to the hindering of the spread of unionism; and, most recently, the explosive and emotional impact of civil rights legislation on the racial balance in the South.

Despite the problems, the need for more organizing effort in the South has never been more pressing. The low-income influence of the South on our national economy is of paramount importance to organized workers in other sections. The tendency of large industrial units long established in the North to diversify by expanding in the South presents a definite threat to wage standards elsewhere. National anti-labor legislation finds natural leadership and support from the unorganized states of the South. If an unrelenting program of organizational effort is not maintained there by the American labor movement, resulting finally in successful widespread organization, our labor movement will weaken.

The Face and Form of the South

The intensely human factor called "attitude" is involved in every organizing situation. In the South, attitudes are of singular importance in worker response to unions.

For an understanding of the attitudes of southern workers toward unions and toward social institutions of all kinds, some knowledge of the historical development of the area is necessary.

One of the best, brief accounts of the important elements in the development of the South as we know it today is presented in the film, "The Face of the South." This half-hour movie, available from the AFL-CIO film library, was shown at the opening of the session.

Narrated by George Mitchell, formerly of the Southern Regional Council, the film outlines the geographical factors that determined population growth and expansion of the South and explains the economic and sociological developments characteristic of its four major areas.

Each of these sections is different in many respects, the film denotes, because of varying historical backgrounds. The southern Piedmont area — taking in portions of North and South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama — became the section in which industry, particularly textile, tended to locate. There, the mills could be close to the cotton fields. There, playing a dominant economic role, textile remains in concentration, a bastion of non-union employment, depending upon rural people for its labor supply.

Farm-Based Industrial Workers

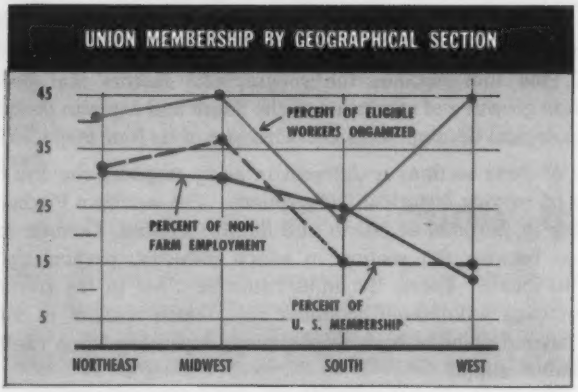
Many of these people continue to live on small farms while they commute to work. Others, in growing numbers, yearly have been forced to leave the farm because of changes in agricultural patterns that are affecting the South no less than other areas of the country.

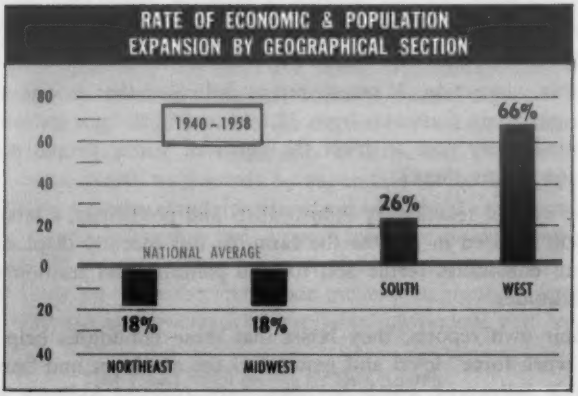
(In this connection, a recent report indicated that in one southern state alone, South Carolina, from 12,000 to 15,000 new industrial jobs are needed every year to meet the needs of young people no longer needed on farms there).

In the eyes of reactionary industrialists and politicians, a labor population still wedded in part to the farm, or but recently displaced from the farm, constitutes fertile soil for the planting and fruition of anti-union attitudes.

In their own reports, they boast that these conditions help form a "stable work force" loyal and grateful to the employer and "suspicious of outside influences which so often have plagued industry in other sections."

The recent arrival from the farm, or the commuting worker who sees in industrial employment supplemental income for shoring up his farm operations, with no previous contact with unions, walks through the plant gate with a set of attitudes rendering him susceptible to employer propaganda against unions. That is a consequence of the total situa-


UNION MEMBERSHIP BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION
45
35
25
15
5
PERCENT OF ELIGIBLE WORKERS ORGANIZED
PERCENT OF NON-FARM EMPLOYMENT
PERCENT OF U. S. MEMBERSHIP
NORTHEAST
MIDWEST
SOUTH
WEST


RATE OF ECONOMIC & POPULATION EXPANSION BY GEOGRAPHICAL SECTION
80
60
40
20
0
20
40
1940 - 1958
NATIONAL AVERAGE
18%
18%
26%
66%
NORTHEAST
MIDWEST
SOUTH
WEST

tional complex that no organizer can ignore. He must keep it in mind in any organizing campaign among such workers.

He must keep in mind, too, the fact that the South is experiencing a burst of industrial and commercial expansion that has been setting new records almost every year since World War II.

In 1953, estimates by observers from a well known southern university indicated that the investment represented by starts on new plant facilities in the southern states amounted to one million dollars, daily. Since then the rate of expansion and growth has been accelerated.

In fact, in the last 10 years, the rate of this industrial and commercial expansion in the South has been some 26 percent above the national average. That movement is producing a much greater industrial work force, with greater skill requirements, than the South heretofore has known; the work force in the southern states has increased 85 percent since 1938, with the major portion of the increase occurring in the last decade.

This growth of industry is not confined to one type of manufacturing. It is diversified — textile, electronics, chemical, metal manufacturing and fabricating, missile development, plastics, to name a few.

Accompanied by an inevitable degree of competition, these developments can be expected to create a better organizing climate, in the opinion of seasoned observers and veteran organizers.

Attitudes Studied

Recognizing the importance of attitude as a factor in organizing in the South, the AFL-CIO Executive Council, in the summer of 1957, authorized a firm of public opinion investigators to conduct a study in the South of existing attitudes towards the union movement.

A representative of this firm appeared before the conference to explain the method of the survey and to advance some speculative conclusions as to its findings.

The survey was described as a "scouting study" whose findings were to be considered neither as "dependable, proven facts about the South" nor as just "random, fuzzy impressions", but as careful observations which may, however, either overestimate or underestimate conditions in the South as a whole. He stated that his remarks went somewhat beyond the findings of the survey and could not be construed as a summary of the study report.

Three categories of people were interviewed in ten communities in seven Southern states—workers (mostly unorganized), employers or merchants, community leaders. From these interviews, some tentative impressions and conclusions were suggested.

1—**The workers** interviewed were uprooted farm people, with insecurity, accentuated by varying degrees of social isolation, their chief characteristic.

Their basic insecurity and lack of well-developed social organization encourages dependence upon the employer and promotes fear of any change.

The task of organizing—of setting forth the picture of a different existence encompassing less dependence upon the employer—becomes most difficult in the face of such circumstances.

In the minds of these workers, fear concepts and value laden words like strikes, picket lines, violence are associated with unions in general, and organizing campaigns in particular.

When induced to talk about unions, they often described organizers as outsider-agitators who arrive, conduct a campaign, stir up local troublemakers, make promises, collect dues, and then disappear leaving the workers to cope with an antagonized employer.

Yet, few of the workers interviewed admitted having seen or talked to a union organizer or having had any direct experience or contact with a union. If they were responding truthfully in this regard, it must be concluded that they had accepted the stereotyped portrait of unions and union organizers painted for them by management, gleaned from memories of the Thirties, or gathered from hearsay.

That this should be so is not surprising for this type of worker in the circumstances in which he lives. It merely is another indication of the general attitude reported by the survey team of dependence on the boss, apathy, and a feeling of being alone, exposed and helpless.

It gives evidence, as well, of the element of fear that is all pervasive in many industrial plants in various locations throughout the South.

2—**Community leaders and businessmen** interviewed by the survey members seem to be committed to a low wage policy. Southern towns bid against each other for plants. Exploitation of local labor is a real factor in such biddings.

Opinion-makers in these communities appear convinced that payrolls—any kind of payroll—comprise the solution to their local problems. Hence, anything that obstructs, interferes with, or threatens the payroll, actual or hoped for, is to be fought and defeated, with no holds barred. Unions, and organizing campaigns, are classed as particularly obnoxious threats by many of the leading lights of Southern towns.

There was great ignorance on the part of community leaders and businessmen concerning unions, their aims and objectives. They

reported very little face-to-face contact with union leaders, practically no personal knowledge of union facilities or affairs. But where such contact was reported attitudes were almost always more favorable than the attitudes expressed by those who *had not* had such contacts with organizers.

Statements by a hostile press and judgments of anti-labor political leaders furnish the average community leader interviewed with his idea of the labor movement and its personnel.

The conclusions tentatively reached by extension of some of the findings in the scouting study may be summarized in the suggestion that basic education in group participation may be necessary before customary organizing techniques can be applied effectively among such workers. Those conclusions and their implications provoked a lively discussion among conference delegates.

A Program for Today's South

Before the floor discussion began, however, George Googe, Secretary-treasurer of the Printing Pressmen, and for many years southern director for the American Federation of Labor, dealt with the survey report in the opening comments of his panel address.

The study, he declared, presented a factual analysis of conditions in certain specific locations. The findings, however, particularly where they suggested almost a complete social disorganization, could not be accepted as the whole picture. At best, it was a fragment.

In support of this analysis, some of the high points of labor history in the South were related, including the contribution of the southern labor movement in training and developing outstanding leaders of our national movement, and incidents that testify to the militancy and effectiveness of successful organizing in various segments of southern industry.

Some disintegration of the trade union movement in the southern states featured recent years, however, it was stated. The split in the labor movement contributed greatly to this, both as to the vast amount of energy expended in civil strife, and the marking time that took place waiting for merger to be consummated and perfected.

But the forward move is noticeable again, despite the impact of McClellan Committee activities and the abnormal stresses of the civil rights issue. The time is ripe for new, striking advances, he stated.

To bring to actuality the potential for organizing in the South, several measures were recommended:

(1) Of prime importance is the re-establishment of close coordination among international union representatives in the South. That the

regional offices of the AFL-CIO Department of Organization become the organizational center for all international organizers working within the region, was described as essential.

(2) Building and strengthening of local and state central bodies was another key point in the suggested program for successful organizing in the South today. Every local union should be affiliated with the local central body in whose territorial jurisdiction it is located as well as with the state central body. Local central bodies and the state central organization would be in better position then to assist each other in the pursuit of their major responsibilities.

AFL-CIO regional staff members and organizing staff members of AFL-CIO unions in the area can play key roles in building up the membership and structure of the central bodies. In turn, the central bodies would become more effective sources of organizing assistance.

(3) Even more specifically, the policy of seeking direct assistance, in leadership capacity, of local trade unionists was advocated, to enthusiastic response of the conference delegates.

Known figures from labor in their home territory, the representatives of labor in front positions in local civic and community affairs, these local union leaders were described as the logical persons to lead the organizing parade.

Adoption of such practices would result in a coordinated, smoothly operating trade union movement — central bodies, local leaders, international union representatives and AFL-CIO regional staff members — all working together toward strengthening of the movement in every phase of modern trade union life.

The organizing benefits that would flow from this form of cooperation would be dramatic.

Delegates Hit the Floor

Spirited discussion took place upon conclusion of the panel presentation. Speakers representing both major textile unions, and unions in transport service, hoisery, glass and packinghouse industries and operating engineers spoke on personal and organizational experiences.

Point of departure for most of the delegates was their disagreement with the speculations and seemingly grim conclusions of the scouting study. Each speaker acknowledged his acquaintanceship with situations comparable to those the reporter described, but then proceeded to affirm faith in the ability of the southern worker to organize.

Because the size of the panel for this evening session was smaller than that of other conference panels, and the time schedule not pressing, floor discussion was of greater duration.

Representative excerpts from the discussion are presented below, but without speaker designation:

Delegate A: (International Union President)

The idea that one southerner doesn't co-mingle with the other just doesn't square with the facts as I know them. I know that we have had strikes in the South—in Danville and Gastonia, in North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama, where we walked picket lines side by side for as high as 18 months; and I have never seen a more cohesive, more determined, more brave people in all my life than in the South.

We have successfully mobilized all of our enemies and we have not organized our strength — that's our weakness!

In terms of unions, sure we're losing elections. I'm not convinced that it is because of the people — maybe we're premature. Maybe we go for election with cards instead of organized people.

One of the greatest problems is not the inadequacies of the human being; it's the tremendous fear complex that exists in the minds of those workers because of the fear of losing their jobs, their homes, everything.

Delegate B: (International Union Organizing Director)

I found in 11 years of organizing that the best people to work with were in the South. I found the greatest trouble in the South was not that the people were against unionization, but it was the tactics that the companies were able to use against organizing.

Delegate C: (International Union President)

We had good fighting organizations in the South and still do. I'll stack our Athens, Georgia local against any northern locals so far as good unionists are concerned.

We did fairly well during the period 1935 to 1948. But from the time that Taft-Hartley was placed on the books, our organizing progress slowed down to the point where we are at an absolute standstill in the South—and I make no apologies for our efforts or know-how.

As long as we have the shackles, the provisions of Taft-Hartley, about us, we are not going to make organizational progress in my union.

Delegate D: (International Union Secretary-Treasurer)

I've had a little experience in the South, too. And I don't think the problems there organizationally are any different than they were in other parts of the country 10 to 25 years ago. It's a proven fact that workers can be organized in the South — even in textile areas. We have a history where people in specific areas have gone out on strike for many, many months and stuck together. Some of the strikes they have won; some they have lost. Win or lose, they have stuck together.

More economic, political, and social pressure can be put on workers in the textile community than probably any other community in the South. They are located, by and large, in rural areas and their entire livelihood, in too many instances, depends entirely upon the whims of the boss man.

There is nothing wrong with the southern worker, or any other worker, that a decent law, and a climate that would allow people to organize with reasonable security, couldn't cure.

Delegate E: (International Union Secretary-Treasurer)

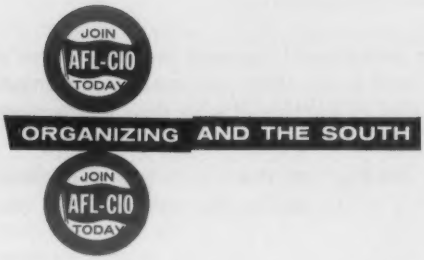
Now over the years — I might say actually for the last 25 years, I spent most of my labor life in the South. I don't agree that organizing in the South is one whit different than organizing in any other part of the country, and I've done some of all. You do have additional problems there which I don't think you find in many cosmopolitan areas of this nation, but those are problems which are recognized as being there, and people should go prepared to meet those kinds of problems.

There is no utopian way of organizing either in the South, or, in my experience, anywhere. It takes just down to earth work to get it done. You won't do it any other way. The only way you're going to organize the South is to get people tramping from door to door, night after night, and talking to those workers and getting them to drive the "boss" out of them to the extent that they feel that they have confidence in the workers and in the unions that they represent.

Delegate F: (National Director of Organization)

Wage rates in the South in unorganized segments are low. There is no question about that. But there is one thing you must keep in mind. Many of the people there, instead of thinking of what their hourly wage rate is, think of what the over-all family income is.

I am as convinced as I am standing here that it is as easy to organize the people in the South as it is in any part of the country, if the employer just keeps his nose out of it!



ideas came out

● Establish a personal relationship with the workers. This is essential to inspire the kind of confidence and faith in the organizer sufficient to overcome the tendency to depend completely upon the employer.

● Organizers must carry out a conscious and planned effort to create a new and different image of the union — an image that includes the worker as a part of the union, rather than an outside observer. Hammer away at the theme that the union is something workers create, control and use.

● To create this new image the organizer ideally should become a part of the community, known and respected for his constructive and responsible part in civic affairs.

● Exercise special care in selecting key campaign personnel. This is probably more important in the South than anywhere else. The worker the organizer perceives as a strong local supporter of the union may happen to be the person the rest of the workers view as a chronic local trouble maker.

● The impact of the distorted picture of the union as a bar to community industrial progress — as a threat to new payrolls moving in — can be toned down if citizens of the community find labor spokesmen and leaders helping out in the common fight to better the community.

● Follow organizing efforts with political education. The full vicious impact of Taft-Hartley is felt in the South more sharply than elsewhere. Compulsory open shop laws cover the South. These inhibitions to organizing require the joining of our organizing and political hands.

● In the South, perhaps to a greater degree than other sections of the country, state and local central bodies are instruments of great

potential organizing power. Organizing committees based on these bodies know more about proper methods of organizing any given situation than any other group. Jurisdictional problems can more easily be settled at the beginning of these campaigns if they are handled by such local committees. The workers being organized are certain to be impressed by local people, "home folks," in positions of leadership. Anti-union forces in the community do not have the same opportunity to invoke charges of outside invasion under such circumstances.

- Organizing among Southern workers, in those areas where there is a long history of company domination and malicious paternalism, requires the spending of more time with individual workers.

- Employers in the South will continue to use the racial issue, cynically, to frustrate organizing efforts. Don't wait for the last minute onslaught from the company playing upon the fears and feelings of the local scene. Anticipate the attack, and expose it for what it is—an attempt to divide the workers, to keep them separated—and weak.



ORGANIZING AND WHITE COLLAR



the panel

ALAN KISTLER
AFL-CIO Department of Organization
Moderator

RUSSELL STEPHENS, *President*
American Federation of Technical Engineers,
AFL-CIO

"The anti-union propaganda and brain-washing campaigns concocted and funnelled into professional and technical workers today by the so-called professional "societies" in many cases outrank those of the NAM and the Chamber of Commerce. To meet the challenge of offsetting that propaganda is to succeed in the organization of the professional and technical worker."

RAY HACKNEY, *Vice President*
Communications Workers of America, AFL-CIO

"I always ask "independent" unionists . . . 'When was the last time you cooperated with other working people to help your community, your state, or your nation?' If they're honest that answer will usually be 'Never.' I tell them the American labor movement is strong because it works together. It's good and it's healthy. They aren't part of it and they should be!"

BEN CROSSLER, *Vice President*
Retail Clerks International Association, AFL-CIO

"The emphasis which union organizing today places on personal salesmanship is greater than ever before. Unions today must stress with their organizing personnel the importance of good grooming, cleanliness and pleasant manners, with cigar-smoking and the glass of beer reserved for that time of day when personal contacts are completed."

HENDERSON DOUGLAS, *Director of Organization*
Office Employees International Union, AFL-CIO

"Our organizational program is based upon one philosophy. We don't think we know all of the answers. We think we have a program that will eventually find most, if not all, of the answers. We'll try anything new that looks like it might work. If it doesn't work we discard it or modify it. If it works it becomes part of our regular curriculum."

THOMAS MORGAN, *Director of Organization*
American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employes, AFL-CIO

"For a long time organized public employes have had to make progress through what we have called the processes of "collective begging" because of various state and municipal laws and ordinances restricting organized programs. Collective bargaining is coming into its own in some of the government areas. We have made progress in real collective bargaining, but it is not being accepted readily by government officials, who, like the paternalistic boss, jealously guard their rights as elected officials to control their employees."

NORMAN MATTHEWS, *Vice President*
United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers, AFL-CIO

"The things to be spelled out to the white collar worker are grievance procedure in detail; arbitration—particularly where the strike is being emphasized so much; the free and democratic nature of elections and the local union autonomy; the financial structure, including full and factual information on dues and initiation fees. On the subject of these 'assessments,' which are bandied about so much as anti-union propaganda, show them the constitution and the procedures and safeguards."



how it is

"White collar worker" is a term of many meanings to many people. There may be debate on who they are or what they are, but as to where they are there is certainty—they are everywhere, and they are many.

Estimates on the number of white collar workers in the national work force vary. There is some disagreement as to what groups constitute the "white collar" work force. Applying a narrow white collar definition can easily result in a total national figure several million below what will result from the application of a broad definition.

Unaffected by these differences is the significant *fact* that the rate by which the white collar work force is increasing far exceeds the rate of increase for blue collar workers. It is entirely reasonable to place the total white collar work force at 40 percent of the present national work force with every indication that this percentage will exceed 46 percent by 1975.

White Collar Takes Numerical Lead

Today, for the first time in our history, white collar workers outnumber blue collar workers. The numerical edge is small, but it is a dramatic development when we consider that only 10 years ago blue collar workers exceeded white collar by three and a half million.

Reducing these numbers to that portion which is eligible for union organization reveals greater shrinkage in white collar because of the greater number of those not eligible for union organization such as lawyers, doctors, dentists, executives, etc. Again, estimates on the unionizable figure will vary somewhat based upon the breadth of definition. Most statistical studies reach agreement on the size of the potential union membership within the white collar work force as around 16 to

17 million. It is argued by some that this figure today might be as high as 18 million.

Of greater importance than the reconciling of these varying figures is the *fact* that under any measurement, with a little over two million white collar workers in bona fide unions, there is a gigantic organizational challenge from this direction.

For every white collar worker with a union card in his pocket there are about seven with pockets in which there should be one, but isn't.

Changes in the Nation's Work Force

It might even be better to talk about putting union cards in purses, as well as pockets, for today two-thirds of the nation's clerical workers are women. Among sales workers and salaried professional-technical workers two out of every five are women.

Another group within the total work force which has undergone radical recent growth is the professional-technical worker. In the past 10 years this group has experienced an increase in its size of over 60 percent, possibly the greatest growth of any identifiable group within the national work force.

The significance of these figures is not restricted simply to the fact that there are more of them than there were previously. More important, from an organizing standpoint, is the fact that these specific groups are growing, and will continue to increase in size and importance, as our economy and technology progress.

New Needs — New Answers

Workers falling in these categories develop needs for which unionization can provide answers. Many of these needs will be similar to those of other work groups where unions have been helpful, and therefore successful. Many of these needs, however, will be new needs calling for new answers if organizing and union progress are to be accomplished.

For an example, one panelist pointed out that where professional and technical employes are concerned, collective bargaining agreements will have to deal with the problem of patent rights. Contracts covering such workers will have to provide protection and a guarantee of proper equity for members whose professional endeavors as employees may well result in discovery and/or invention.

Another panelist described specific studies made by his union regarding the work force of women. They took into consideration the age

levels where women tend most to be actively employed, how long they work, etc. These were related to their marital status and family responsibilities and therefore their anticipation with respect to remaining in the work force as well as the importance of their paycheck as a means of survival. It was discovered that certain parts of the union's collective bargaining program, popular and effective generally, had little appeal or application to the women workers. As a result, that union has been able to work out collective bargaining alternatives which, without distorting the effect of the general program, offer additional benefits to this group of women workers.

Studies of increases in the women work force, based on age groups, show that for the past ten years there has been virtually no change in numbers for those in the age groups up to age 25. In the same period there has been a 13 percent increase for those in the 25-44 age group and a 35 percent increase in the 45-64 group. In the same period the increase among married women in the work force showed 9.3 percent, widows and divorcees 8.3 percent, while the number of single women increased but 5.1 percent.

Today there are about 22 million women workers in the nation. This is an increase of 14 million since 1910 with almost nine million of that increase occurring since 1940.

One union has found that the problems of part-time or seasonal workers confront them with an entire set of considerations which cannot be properly dealt with through general programs or practices. A collective bargaining program which overlooks these special problems will result in organizational programs which will have an equally reduced appeal to that group.

Automation Transforming Relationships

Technological change, particularly of the type known as automation, has had profound effect upon the white collar work force. Certain phases of this effect are significant in analyzing the organizational future. More than any single thing it is responsible for the shift in numerical balance between white collar and blue collar. It has placed added emphasis on the professional-technical group.

Mechanized practices in many places are depersonalizing many of the white collar occupations where individualism and closeness-to-the-boss previously tended to discourage organizing.

Public employes constitute a substantial segment of the white collar work force. There are about eight million public employes in the nation. About 2.4 million are federal employes with approximately 5.7 million on state and local government payrolls. A major portion of these are blue collar workers. Estimating the division is again subject to a definition of what is white collar. It is reasonable to establish the white collar level in public employment at a little over 40 percent or approximately three and a half million.

There are some 850,000 public employes in AFL-CIO unions. Of this number, somewhere in the neighborhood of 300,000 can be considered as among the white collar group, assuming that half of the postal employes—predominantly members of well-established AFL-CIO unions —fall within the white collar class and that the proportion holds true among the AFL-CIO membership.

The impact of public white collar employment on the total white collar organizational challenge is revealed as more than substantial in light of the fact that *the number of unorganized white collar workers within the field of public employment exceeds even the most generous estimates of the present national total of unionized white collar workers.*

Public Employees Share All White Collar Problems

Probably no group of white collar workers demands more exacting consideration for their special problems than those in public employment. Within this group is found all of the problems which are generally applicable to white collar workers. There are large numbers of women workers; there are many part-time workers; the professional-technical groups are large.

About a million public workers belong to company unions in the form of "independent associations." Paternalism flourishes and is marked by political overtones in many cases, confronting the union organizer with the need for the most discreet organizational procedure.

Economic advances for these people often involve upward adjustment in the tax structure, hardly a popular issue to advocate or be blamed for.

White Collar Organizing—Custom-Tailoring

It becomes abundantly obvious that there are many basic considerations in union programming for white collar groups which are different from the general run of problems which confront organizational efforts. They call for careful study. They caution the organizer to know and understand them as they exist in each organizational endeavor confronting him. They must be known, recognized, understood, and appreciated. The means for meeting them must be tailor-made into union programs.

Underlying this detail of specific considerations in white collar organizing is the broad general problem of attitudes and obstacles which have historically formed the framework of resistance to union organization among white collar groups. This is the set of circumstances which flow from the fact that white collar workers traditionally were in more immediate personal contact with the employer, and tended to identify their interest with his.

Much has been done to create the white collar as the badge of respectability and to equate any desire to unionize with an admission of personal weakness on the part of a white collar individual. The image of personal success, which is developed in most minds early in life, is usually adorned in a white collar.

White Collar Superiority—Myth or Fact?

All the components of the myth-making machinery have concentrated on the concept of individuality in the white collar situation. The white collar worker has been flooded throughout his work period, and even in his pre-employment days, with the notion that the ideal white collar environment encourages, protects and advances his individual freedom and gives the greatest opportunity for his personal success.

The predominant growth of unions in the blue collar field has tended to identify unionism as something exclusively related to blue collar workers. With those who consider the white collar as a greater badge of distinction than the blue collar and, at the same time, consider unionism to be a blue collar operation, it follows that there will be a tendency to feel that unionizing is a going backward in individual and independent status.

It is probably the widespread effectiveness of the anti-union campaign to promote these general attitudes that creates the kind of climate among the white collar work force in which paternalism and "independent" unions and associations flourish.

Paternalism was described by one panel member who rearranged its dictionary definition of "paternal care and/or control" to "control and possibly a little incidental care." Paternalism, as practiced by modern managements, is the near-science of making workers satisfied with conditions they should resent.

Paternalism: the Near-Science of "Benevolent" Control

It starts at the point of determining exactly how much and what must be given to the workers "from the goodness of the boss' heart" to prevent them from becoming susceptible to unionism. From that determination must flow a method of giving which suggests subtly but definitely that the boss is the "best guy in the world," "you don't need a union" and besides "if you form an AFL-CIO union it will break the boss' heart."

Company-dominated associations or "independent" unions become one of the best devices in the world for accomplishing this. No one wishes to be obviously guilty of being paternalistic wards in their personal economics and job status. "Independent" unions provide an effective smoke screen in these cases and oftentimes some of the finest union leadership has been developed from "independent" union leaders who were honestly blinded for a while by that smoke screen.

It is estimated that if the membership among white collar workers within "independent" unions and associations were today converted into bona fide unions it would possibly double the present bona fide total.

Question: How? Answer: Ask!

The question which is implicit in this panel presentation is, "How do we bring into union membership this vast white collar segment of our national work force?"

One of the most intriguing answers to this question came during the discussion period when one delegate suggested, "Maybe we should ask them." It suggests that perhaps we have talked too much about what might be done with not enough actual effort toward doing it.

More careful examination would reveal other potent suggestions. The process of "asking them" is, of course, the process of organizing as it embraces great planning and programming, study and understanding, preparation and application. The short answer therefore proposes a great deal more than the act of asking a white collar worker to become a union member. It means knowing him, his job, his job problems, the

relationship of his job requirements and conditions to his security, his status and all of the other things which are necessary in successful organizational efforts today. Finally, it seems to say: "Have a union program which fits him and his needs. Show him where others with similar problems have advanced. The good things that have happened to others through union organization can happen to him." It is near-useless to "ask him" without knowledge and preparation. It is equally useless to develop knowledge and preparation and then fail to "ask him."

It is entirely possible that the effectiveness among white collar workers of the old management chestnut of "promoting people to third vice-president at a slight cut in pay" has been effective because unions have not told these same workers the story of advancement with security and stability under a union program, in aggressive and attractive styles. The unorganized junior accountant at $80 a week is finding out more and more how tough it is to buy beefsteak with prestige and promises. When he knows of white collar union contracts where mail boys receive $340 a month plus $30 monthly cost of living along with the other union benefits, and when he knows the union has a program for him, the union organization effort in white collar fields will be on the road to success.





ideas came out

● The only organizers who can sell unionism to white collar workers are those who, above everything else, honestly and sincerely believe that a good union is something that will be good for them, something they need.

● Know the people and their problems. Your image of working conditions, etc., for certain groups of white collar workers may be drastically out of date. Things have changed. Keep up with the times.

● White collar work operations are often very complex. Office worker unions often negotiate for as high as 1,800 different classifications. It's hard work to understand the complexities but it's a must for successful white collar organizing.

● Never assume you have all the answers. A union program is right for all workers, but the program may need tailoring. Different situations require different methods. Don't be afraid to try something new. If it works, put it in the "tool kit." If it flops, benefit from the experience.

● Don't be afraid to think in terms of new ideas. Vision and ingenuity on the part of an organizer are especially attractive to many segments of the white collar work force.

● Visualize collective bargaining answers to problems that may be unique to the group you are organizing. Example: Professional workers often need to continue their schooling after going to work. Time off, and assistance with tuition, for advanced studies and graduate work is a reasonable program for inclusion in a collective bargaining agreement covering such workers.

● Among women workers, severance pay plans often have greater attraction than pension programs.

● One "white collar" union made a survey among unorganized women workers. They were asked what qualities they would prefer to see in union representatives approaching them in unionizing campaigns. Qualities most often emphasized in the answers were: Experience, intelligence, stability, businesslike, pleasant and good-natured, and good grooming. Remember—that's what *they* say.

● White collar workers generally require more detailing of "how the union works." Such things as grievance procedures, arbitration, constitutional provisions on dues and strikes must be thoroughly and carefully explained. White collar workers will settle for nothing less than intelligent understanding of the kinds of things that concern them on a day to day basis.

● Personal contact organizing and "chain-reaction" is apt to be most effective in white collar organizing. Workers' problems are less apt to be "common" than in blue collar organizing. They therefore take much more individual attention and personal "selling" when organizing.

● Facilities for meetings may have to be tailored to the needs of the group. Halls which are adequate, despite the surroundings, in blue collar organization, may be a detriment in white collar organizing.

● Since many on the white collar force are college trained, develop means of reaching them and affecting their attitudes toward unionism during their undergraduate period.

● Never miss a chance to speak before a college group or a professional group. Take on the anti-union spokesmen in debates, where possible, or in panels or addresses. The union story stands up. Be proud of it. Tell it effectively, directly and often!

● Just because "independent" unions are phony don't make the mistake of taking for granted that officers of such unions are also "phony." Often they are sincere and dedicated people—confused, and mislead. *You* can make the difference with regard to the direction they apply their union impulses.

● In taking on the "independents," don't be trapped into arguing "bargain basement unionism." Often the wage and benefit levels don't offer good targets. Talk about their being part of the community . . .

joining forces with others for broad representation in city and state government, etc. Point out the role of AFL-CIO unions, through joint efforts, in improved community conditions, fighting to raise wage minimums, unemployment compensation. Even the foreign relations program of this nation and the fight against communism show AFL-CIO helping while the "independents" do nothing.

- Analyze benefit programs that flow from a paternalistic management. They are nearly always full of "bugs." Find the best comparable program in a union contract. Put 'em side by side and let the workers see them.

- Find effective ways of exposing paternalism. Most workers have sufficient self-respect to resent paternalism when they can recognize it in its true light.

- Statistical studies and analysis are not enough. We have a good product. Find attractive ways of presenting it and then work hard at the job of selling it.

- Above all, don't forget to "ask them."



ORGANIZING NUMBER ONE OBJECTIVE



by GEORGE MEANY

I feel that the subject matter of these conferences in which you have been meeting here for the past few days is still the most important aspect of the trade union movement.

At the very beginning of the national trade union centers, almost a hundred years ago, the necessity to organize workers was recognized as the No. 1 objective of the movement.

If you read the records of the old Knights of Labor, the organization that preceded the AFL, you will find that the No. 1 objective was always to organize, on the very simple and practical theory that the No. 1 obstacle to the advancement of those who were organized was the fellow who was not organized. He was the No. 1 competitor.

We recall back in the days when we were fighting in the courts for the right to picket, that the right to picket non-union shops — the right to picket shops where there were no members of the union — was upheld in a very famous decision in which the judge said that the protection of the gains made by those organized, as well as their possibility for further advancement, must of necessity depend upon organizing those who stood in the way of their advancement.

It was quite obvious that this necessity was so great that the courts *had* to uphold the right of free speech through the use of picket lines calling attention to the fact that some workers were unorganized and therefore were obstacles in the way of further advancement for those who were organized.

I say to you that this goal of bringing into the trade union movement those who stand in the way of further advancement is just as important today. It still should be the No. 1 objective of the trade union movement!

The opponents of trade unionism understand this well, of course. Over the years they have concentrated on the non-union worker to convince him that there was something wrong with unions — that unions were not for him, that unions were interested only in collecting dues.

The answer to all that has been given by the record of the movement.

Proud Record

That record of achievement is so great that it is difficult to understand why it has not registered with more workers. The percentage of organized workers here is not nearly so high as in some countries whose trade union movements have been less effective than ours in raising standards.

Of course, in the very fact of our success we may find the answer. Here, in America, the achievements of the trade union movement have been so enormous and widespread that they have influenced the conditions under which non-union people work. Our very success, benefiting the entire nation, may contribute to the failure of many workers to take their place in Labor's ranks.

Developments Since Merger

I'd like to take a look now at the organizing situation since the merger. If you read the record of the merger convention, or if you were there, you know that a great deal of emphasis was placed on this prime objective of organizing. It was certainly not laid aside. It was certainly not neglected. It was certainly recognized by those in the merger committee that this was still a No. 1 objective — that the surest way to succeed in the trade union movement is to organize.

Well, we had great hopes from the merger. We felt that the impact of the merger would bring us some new members, that it would change the atmosphere. We soon found, however, that we were confronted with some major obstacles.

(a) Supreme Court Decision

First the impact of the Supreme Court decision of May 1954 on

school integration was just beginning to be felt in the South. In every organizing campaign beginning in 1956 and for some time — in fact right up to the present time — this decision and the attitude of the trade union movement in endorsing it, and standing firm on our policy of non-discrimination, has been used by the employer time and again in the South to defeat organizing efforts.

It would be ridiculous to say that we have not been hindered by this obstacle. This thing has hurt, not to the extent that those in opposition to us had hoped, but it did hurt.

(b) Corruption Exposed

Then, beginning in early 1957 and continuing practically up till the present time, we have had another major obstacle, and that is the record of corruption which was spread on the front pages of newspapers all over the country and used by those in opposition to us to discourage organization — used as evidence confirming their advice to unorganized workers that trade unions were not the proper instrumentality for them.

This too has hurt us during these years.

(c) Recession

Despite these obstacles, however, and despite the effects of a major recession, the figures that we have in our office show that organizing has continued, that we have not slipped backward.

General Improvement Noted in Organizing Climate

And from here on in, we're going to do better in the field of organizing, because there is a definite change in the general atmosphere.

Looking at the overall picture, in round figures there are 25 million people still eligible for organization for whom organization can bring certain advances and who should be responsive to organization.

Recent developments are creating additional reasons for workers to seek the protection of the trade union movement, therefore creating organizing opportunities for us.

The recession with its unemployment and the new sense of uncertainty that has been created in the minds of workers; the questions workers are asking about what the new age of science is going to bring—what automation may mean, what it may mean to their jobs, what it may mean in requiring workers to have additional skills — these are the factors that are going to encourage more and more workers to turn to the unions for the answers.

There are some very disturbing figures that I'm sure are not lost on the workers. As of today, seventy-five percent of the industrial capacity has been recovered from the low point of the recession some eight or nine months ago. But only 26 percent of those who were unemployed because of the recession have had their jobs restored. These are very disturbing figures, because they raise in our minds the specter of permanent unemployment for tens of thousands of workers.

The results of last November's elections show conclusively that the nation's workers feel something should be done here in Washington other than to sit in the high seats of government and listen to the advice of the so-called big bankers of America — that something should be done for the workers — that something should be done to maintain our high standard of living and to maintain America's place as the leading industrial nation of the world in order to combat Communism.

Especially in the states where we had the "right-to-work" issue, the election indicated that our membership and workers generally are interested in advancing. And I think they are interested in using the instrumentality of the trade union in order to advance.

I'm quite positive of that in Ohio and California, because we could not possibly have gotten the vote that we got in those states without the support of hose who work for wages but are not now part of the trade union movement.

So I am convinced, all things considered, that the opportunities for organizing are going to be greater in the months ahead.

Organize! Organize! Organize!

The importance of organization, the importance of bringing in the great mass of white collar workers and others still unorganized — and there are still a good many, of course, in the industrial field — cannot be over-estimated. It still is as important as it was 50 or 60 years ago.

If you read the records of the old AFL you will find that Samuel Gompers never made a speech of any importance to workers for ten years, without closing his speech by repeating the word—organize! organize! organize! He emphasized that as the most important aspect of the trade union movement.

Look at any other activity — in the legislative field, political. If we're to be considered as a pressure group under this system we have here in America then we must conclude that *organizing is important not only to eliminate what we would term the unfair competition of the low-paid,*

unorganized worker but also to bring into our ranks more and more of those who vote, more and more of those who would have influence in the seats of government in the states and in the nation.

We have not made the progress that we hoped for two or three years ago, that is true. We have to be realistic, and honest. But we have moved forward—forward, despite the situations we were confronted with: despite the corruption issue, the school integration issue, the economic depression.

Wheat and Cockle

I feel that the greatest obstacle now to organization we might find right in our own ranks, in the kind of inter-union rivalry that not only expends the workers' money in a wasteful way but actually prevents organizing, and plays into the hands of the employer who is opposed to organization.

If this conference of national union representatives, representatives of the various departments, and the regional directors of our Organizing Department, under the chairmanship of Jack Livingston does just a little bit toward eliminating that spirit of harmful rivalry and replacing it with some sort of fraternal cooperation, then a great contribution will have been made in this most important field of organization.

strong links

The experiences and ideas which come out of a conference such as this can be drawn together to constitute a pretty fair kit of organizational tools, but hardly any organizer could be expected to possess or master all of those tools.

This would indicate that successful organizing today can use all of the assistance it can get. It is apparent also that with the service requirements of the present union membership, unions are hard-pressed to provide the manpower to meet the heavy demands of new organization. Under such circumstances it is natural that auxiliary facilities should be sought.

Key Role of Central Bodies

It was amazing to note the manner in which discussion of effective auxiliary forces invariably emphasized the role which central bodies in states and localities can play. Almost every speaker included in his presentation some reference to the present-day importance of these groups. It would have been an inspiration to every state and local central body to have heard the stress which the speakers, national leaders in their respective unions, placed upon the significance of such groups.

Service to the Community: Service to the Union

One of the themes apparent throughout the discussions was the need to make the union button a "badge of distinction within the community." Since the "public" tends to see unionism as reflected by the local labor

movement, central bodies are most fortunately situated to aid organizational growth by affecting community attitudes through participation in public service endeavors.

Active participation in programs to develop better housing, promote recreational facilities, combat juvenile delinquency, improve group relationships, fight against improper conditions affecting minorities, and many, many others, is justified on the basis of service to the community as well as to the membership. A good job done in this respect cannot help but improve the general climate within which workers now unorganized are urged to join ranks with their fellow working citizens under the banner of AFL-CIO.

Because these things are more important today than ever before, the role of the local and state central body has also become more important than ever before. The very nature of their structure brings together, for common endeavors, the full strength of the organized labor movement in regions or localities.

As a general proposition, collective bargaining is not within their realm. But the broader field of service to the total local labor movement through service to the community provides unlimited helpful activity.

Public Service Appeal to "Independents"

Ray Hackney, Vice President of the CWA, in his remarks concerning organizational obstacles presented by "independent" unionism, declared that one of the most effective devices for appealing to such "independent" leadership is to cite the great service the labor movement provides for the community through such mutual efforts as flow from central bodies. He stated that this has a deep impression, particularly where there has been an active united labor program in a state or locality.

> "They knew they were not taking part in civic or community affairs; they knew they had no part in raising the minimum wage or participating in helpful legislative endeavors. And they therefore knew that they didn't have the respect of their fellow workers in the state."

That such unions are independent only in the sense that they are separated from the common endeavors of organized working people becomes pronounced in those areas where, through central bodies particularly, the labor movement is a vital force in community affairs.

Direct Organizing Assistance

Beyond the work of state and local central bodies in conditioning general atmosphere through community activity, there are more direct areas of organizational assistance wherein they can perform extremely helpful acts.

Many references were made to the type of helpful role these state and county groups can play in the direct work of organizing.

George Googe, secretary-treasurer of the Printing Pressmen and one of labor's real veterans in the organizing fie'd, pointed out the manner in which much of the success of the anti-labor forces campaign to prevent new workers from joining and forming unions is based upon "local appeal."

Frequently, organizing drives are conducted by unions whose principle locations and headquarters may be far removed from the place in which the campaign is conducted. Often this factor permits local union-hating forces to talk effectively about "outsiders" and to drive a wedge between the organizing union and the local community. It is in cases like this that local central bodies can be extremely effective.

> "Use the central body as the local center. If there is to be publicity then let it flow from the local sources and let the local leadership names appear in the publicity. This makes the community ties strong, as they should be, and what is even more important, it will encourage more and more voluntary assistance from the rest of the local labor movement."

Leadership Recruitment

The use of central bodies to develop new local leadership for organizing gain was also stressed. New blood, taking active interest in their union, may find but few outlets for leadership at the local union level at a given time and as a result may become discouraged and permanently incative. Central bodies can provide broad programs wherein active roles for such new enthusiasts can be played. In this respect, it was said that one of the most important things that can be done to aid successful organization today is for the "central bodies to go out and get the younger people who come into the local union, who would like a 'place in the sun', and get them in the central bodies and use the central bodies as the driving local force in assisting organizing work."

Russell Stephens, president of the American Federation of Technical Engineers, spoke of the organizational challenges among professional-

technical groups in the white collar work force, fastest growing group in the national work force in terms of percentage growth. He pointed out the manner in which these workers, many of them college trained, are conditioned against unionism, while undergraduates, through the anti-union efforts of professional societies which have undergraduate branches or chapters.

Meeting Professionalism Where It Starts

Combatting this at the undergraduate level might best be done by central bodies through the development of programs that will give students ammunition from the other side of the fence so that they can have a better basis for withstanding the "brain-washing" that becomes so effective in the absence of the true side of the union story.

> "Our central bodies especially have a great challenge in getting into these schools one way or another, speaking to these students, and teaching them that from the bread-and-butter facts of life they will be much more secure, even as professionals, by developing a more positive attitude about unions."

There was much said regarding merger that has significance for central bodies. Time after time speakers pointed out the extent to which the growth of AFL-CIO has not measured up to the anticipations which came with merger because some within union leadership have not devoted themselves fully enough to the cause of unity.

There are areas, for example, where local central body merger has yet to become a reality, or where it has taken place in form only.

Central Body Merger: Aid to Organizing

In terms of organizing goals, this is not good. The record shows that the existence of a merged central body, pursuing its programs in genuine spirit of unity, is a potent factor in forming an environment favorable to organization.

In terms of broader effect on trade unionism the harmful effect of such withholding of complete adherence to the principles and purpose of labor unity can be evaluated by anyone who reads Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler's comments when discussing recent Senate "exposures" which

labor's enemies tried to use to characterize all union leadership:

> "The possible damage to the entire labor movement that might have resulted from these sensational disclosures was lessened by the kind of reputation enjoyed by the overwhelming majority of trade union leaders in their local communities."

"Brothers and Sisters"

President Meany's closing remarks to the conference provide a useful yardstick for any group to use in evaluating the way it is standing up to its share of responsibility in the days ahead:

> "I feel that the greatest obstacle now to organization we might find right in our own ranks . . . eliminate that spirit of harmful rivalry and replace it with . . . fraternal cooperation."

"Number One Objective", the title of this booklet, relates to the task of organizing the unorganized. Central bodies are obviously one of the prime factors which will determine the rate of organizational progress in the years ahead. They need to recognize their importance as strong links in this chain of forward movement.



Policies for Economic Growth

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND
CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

American Federation of Labor and
Congress of Industrial Organizations

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Policies For Economic Growth



Testimony presented on behalf of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations to the Joint Economic Committee of Congress by Walter P. Reuther, Chairman of the AFL-CIO Economic Policy Committee on February 9, 1959

Introduction

America cannot afford to do less than meet its economic and social needs, especially when the necessary manpower, machines and material are available. Rapid economic growth is fundamental to our progress. Intelligent and bold action to insure that growth can make the difference between world leadership and internal despair. Continued losses from inaction can cost the well-being of the entire population and America's standing as a nation.

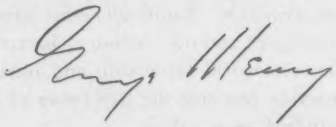
Solving these problems depends on looking at what we can and must do in contrast to what we have not done. On one side, productive capacity is huge, manpower is sufficient, and resources can serve everyone's needs. But on the other hand, millions of men and women are unemployed, machines are idle, resources are not used. The economy, not geared to swift-paced developments, did not grow fast enough with enough balance to absorb results of changes. Unless America finds ways to correct this lack of balance between possibilities and accomplishments, it cannot provide for today's population, much less tomorrow's.

Already losses from years of insufficient economic growth and government inaction have totalled billions in production and countless hardships for millions of people. Yet so little has been done to spur growth that over half the nation's major labor market areas reported substantial unemployment as 1959 began. Many of these areas have had high unemployment in times of prosperity. Nothing has been done to help them.

The AFL-CIO knows America can and must end such waste. Neither impossible effort nor enormous sums are necessary. Determined, honest actions to promote full employment and economic growth can build economic balance and insure continued, rapid growth. The stakes are too high to choose any other path. There is not time to wait any longer.

The AFL-CIO expressed its concern with these economic problems to the United States Congress and has proposed solutions in keeping with the nation's abilities and needs. Appearing before the Joint Economic Committee of the Congress on behalf of the AFL-CIO, Walter P. Reuther,

Chairman of the AFL-CIO Economic Policy Committee, Vice President of the AFL-CIO and President of the UAW, presented detailed information describing the economic problems of today and outlining a program to assure full employment and economic growth. Because these problems are of concern to all Americans, the AFL-CIO has made his testimony available to the public in this pamphlet.



President

THESE HEARINGS are being held at a time when our failure to restore the economy to health and growth is not only causing needless hardship and suffering for millions of American families, but has brought us to a critical point in the worldwide struggle between freedom and tyranny.

Our difficulties, both at home and abroad, arise out of no lack of physical or human resources. Our problems flow from a lack of vision and determination—a failure to appreciate the vast growth possibilities of the American economy, an absence of determination to translate those possibilities into reality. We are in trouble not because we lack the means to solve our problems but because we are not trying.

At home, our failure to achieve a rate of economic growth in accordance with our potential has meant long months of unemployment for millions of men and women. It has brought tragic hardship to many families, forcing the curtailment of their spending on food and other necessities, and dissipating their savings. As savings and unemployment compensation benefits were exhausted, unemployment has brought mounting welfare rolls to states and local governments. While men and women search vainly for jobs that do not exist, our nation has suffered the loss of tens of billions of dollars in goods and services that idle hands and idle machines could and should have produced.

U. S. Leadership Threatened

At the same time, our position of international leadership is threatened by the same failure of our economy to match actual growth with its possibilities for growth. In recent weeks and months, we have been forced to recognize that in certain areas of scientific achievement and the military potential flowing from it, the United States no longer enjoys the commanding lead we once held over the Soviet Union. Even in terms of general economic strength, although we are still ahead, the Communists are rapidly closing the gap between us. The failure of the United States economy in recent years to grow as it can and should is one of our major sources of weakness. It has weakened us not only in terms of physical strength, but in the struggle for men's minds, and hearts, and loyalties.

It is urgently necessary that we find prompt and effective answers to our economic problems. Failure to do so means acceptance of the suffering and loss that unemployment and economic stagnation cause for our own people, an acceptance of hardships as unjustifiable as they are unnecessary. In addition, our position as a leader among the forces of freedom requires that we prove, through example, that full employment, full utilization of productive resources and steady economic growth can be achieved at least as effectively within the framework of freedom as under a Communist dictatorship.

In the present crisis we need to understand and to act in the knowledge that halfway and halfhearted measures, and policies of too little and too late will not meet the infinitely complex challenge of peace, as we have always understood that they are not equal to the challenge of war. Hundreds of thousands of unemployed workers in great industrial centers like Detroit, Pittsburgh and Chicago, who manned the defense plants during the war, are asking the question to which America must find an answer. They ask: "Why is it that America can demonstrate the courage, the good sense and the know-how to achieve full employment and full production making the weapons of war and destruction, but does not have the comparable will and courage and good sense to achieve full employment and full production making the good things of life for people in peacetime?"

Higher Growth Rate Needed

I earnestly hope that this Committee will have the vision and the courage to face unpleasant facts boldly and to recommend to the Administration and the Congress vigorous, effective action designed to restore our economy to health and to stimulate a resumption of economic growth at the high rate of which it is potentially capable.

The facts of our relative decline cannot be denied. The total production of goods and services in the United States, for example, may still seem far ahead of that of the Soviet Union; we are probably still producing a little more than twice as much as they are. But economic growth in the Soviet Union is advancing four or five times as fast as our lagging economy has grown in recent years. If both economies continue simply to grow at the same pace as they have done respectively since 1950, it will be a mere 17 or 18 years until Soviet production can match and surpass ours in volume, and from that point forward it is they who will threaten to take a commanding lead.

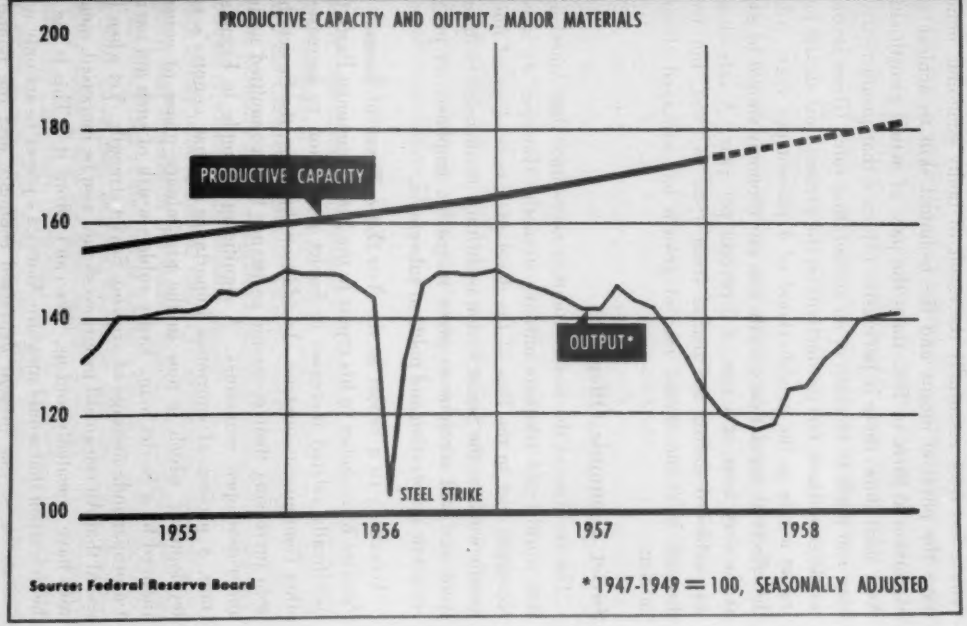
If we should lose this race, it will not be primarily because Russia has surged ahead so fast, but because we have lagged so far behind. Our failure has been essentially the result of faulty economic policies. We have the physical means and the technical skill to achieve continued expansion at three or four times the pace of actual growth since 1953. As I shall show, there is persuasive evidence that productivity over the long run tends to increase at an accelerating rate. Given favorable economic conditions, our productivity at the present time should be increasing at a rate in the neighborhood of 4 percent per year. Add to this the effects of population growth, and our economy should be expanding, at the very least, at a rate of 5 percent per year. A rate close to that was achieved during the period from 1947 to 1953, but from 1953 through 1958 the annual rate of growth has averaged closer to 1½ percent.

Soviet Economic Offensive

The realities of the world situation necessitate that America and the free world build adequate military strength. However, we must clearly recognize that in the face of the developing technology of nuclear and missile warfare, the Soviet Union is shifting its offensive to the economic front and will continue to place increasing emphasis on programs of economic penetration and political subversion.

According to a report in the *New York Times* of January 30 last, Premier Khrushchev in his report to the 21st Communist Party Congress specifically related increases in Soviet production to increased aid to other Communist countries. In addition, however, the Soviets have also been increasing their economic assistance to uncommitted nations with under-developed economies. A significant example is Egypt's Aswan Dam, a project of enormous importance to that country's economic development, which is now in the preliminary phase of construction, financed by a Soviet loan. Every ruble's worth of such aid carries with it a propaganda message of growing Soviet strength. Yet when it is suggested that American aid programs should also be increased, men of little faith have repeatedly told us, "We can't afford it." This is the voice of the defeatism that would measure America's power to act only within the limitations of our present depressed economy and the boundaries of narrow vision. We must realize that only by following policies based on confidence in America's potential economic strength can we transform economic promise into practical economic fulfillment. Only by adopting

The Economy is Operating Far Below Capacity



programs, at home and abroad, which will expand our power to consume and make new demands on our power to produce can we stimulate the economy to respond to those demands and achieve the full utilization of our productive capacity.

Employment and Production Lag

The need for such a stimulus is painfully evident. While the forces that threaten our freedom have been building up their economic strength, our economy has been allowed to lag, to stagnate, and even to slip backward. Employment in the United States today is less than it was three years ago. There are 1.7 million fewer non-farm jobs than when the recession started. Even after some industrial recovery, approximately 22 percent of the nation's productive capacity still stands idle.

Tens of billions of dollars of goods and services that could and should have been produced have been lost in the past year alone. Over the past five years, the difference between what our halting economy has actually produced and what we could have had with full production, full employment and full realization of our potentialities for growth, would come to more than $200 billion. This production that we have now forever lost could well have spelled the difference between an unchallenged continuation of United States world leadership and the threatened, uneasy position in which we find ourselves today.

The unrealized economic growth and the economic abundance that it would have made possible are not only the margin of economic prosperity and higher living standards. In this period of world challenge they are the margin of survival.

Economic distress has been enveloping an increasing number of industrial centers. Hundreds of thousands of people in these distressed communities have lost their jobs and are without hope of finding useful employment unless the federal government provides effective and adequate leadership to get the American economy into high gear and to achieve full employment and full production. State and local government revenues have been affected, while welfare needs have risen, threatening many states and local governments with an inability to meet operating expenses.

According to the Labor Department's report of a few days ago, 76 of the nation's 149 major labor markets and 183 smaller industrial centers report substantial unemployment. This compares with substantial unemployment in 24 major and 61 smaller labor market areas in July 1957,

just before the recession started. The 1959 outlook for most of the present distressed areas is bleak, unless there is decisive action to adopt national policies which will quickly stimulate economic growth and restore full employment.

While the economy has been drifting without direction and so much of our productive capacity has been idle, vast private and public needs of our people, as well as a large part of our responsibilities as a leader among nations, have been left unmet.

According to the Bureau of the Census, in 1957 there were still almost 25 percent of American families, not counting single persons living alone, with incomes below $3,000. One need not have a Ph.D. in economics to know that in these more than ten million families there exists a vast reservoir of needs which simply cannot be satisfied on an income of less than $3,000—needs which, if they were to be met, would keep our factories operating at full capacity for years to come.

In fact, the picture of poverty in America is even darker. There are 6.5 million families, over 15 percent of the total, with incomes under $2,000, including 2.8 million with incomes below $1,000. The elimination of such poverty still presents a tremendous and pressing challenge to America.

Public Needs

As a nation, we have hardly begun to meet the public needs of our growing population—as witness the critical shortage of educational facilities in most communities, the vital need for more hospital beds, the continued existence of slums and substandard housing, both urban and rural, the inadequacy of our highways and the continuing deterioration of industrial and commercial properties to be found at the core of many of our cities. In many important areas of our country, we are tragically neglecting the development of our resources, upon which both the security and the prosperity of our country depend.

In informed quarters, serious doubts have also been expressed as to whether our vital defense requirements are not being subordinated to the demand for a balanced budget.

I have already referred to the expansion of Soviet aid to underdeveloped countries—a challenge which so far we have failed to comprehend fully, but which we must face if we are to avoid the tragic result of hundreds of millions of uncommitted people coming under the domination of the Soviets. We are losing ground dangerously in the contest

for the hearts and minds of the peoples of the economically underdeveloped countries, who, in the long run, will tip the balance in favor of freedom or tyranny. America is losing this struggle today, not because our system of freedom is unequal to the challenge. We are losing, unfortunately, because we are not trying.

One of the imperatives of world leadership today is that we recognize the rapidity with which people around the world are emerging from colonialism, political or economic, into full-fledged nationhood. As they find their way upward, they seek not only political independence, but a rapid improvement in standards of living which can be achieved only if they can obtain from more advanced countries substantial assistance in economic and industrial development.

We in America will be guilty of criminal short-sightedness if our reply to their appeal is, "We can't afford it." We will be creating ideal conditions for the Soviet propagandists who will move boldly to fill the vacuum created by our failures.

We Cannot Afford Losses

The most optimistic spokesmen of the steel industry estimate that a substantial proportion of its productive capacity will be idle during 1959. Continuing idle capacity will be found in our machine tool and machinery industries, in our farm implement industry, in our truck manufacturing industry—in all the plants whose products the underdevloped countries so badly need. Are we to say that we cannot afford to get those industries back into operation? Are we to say that as a free people we lack the will and the know-how to put the unemployed Americans back at work to meet those compelling needs? If we have any intention at all to demonstrate the superiority of a free society over a Communist dictatorship, we must insist that we cannot afford not to. We cannot afford to give the Soviet propagandists an opportunity to say to the peoples of these new nations, "America has idle plants and unemployed workers enough to meet all your needs—but their economy is so faulty that these resources must lie unused." What answer to such attacks can we find, except to make them untrue by demonstrating the power of democratic performance.

These issues, upon which the destiny of the world may be decided in this half of the Twentieth Century, are not discussed in the President's Economic Report. They were ignored in the Administration's budget

presentation to Congress, which proposed curbs and cuts in essential national programs.

The Administration's obsession with balancing the budget at low levels of receipts and expenditures, which is to say at low levels of national output, is an invitation to continuing economic stagnation at home and to loss of prestige and leadership abroad.

The slow rate of growth with which the Administration seems content contrasts sharply with the concept of a dynamic, expanding economy, and also with the vast potentialities for growth which are inherent in our advancing technology. The President's obsession with balancing the budget has blinded him to the economic truth that a balanced budget is possible only as a by-product of an economy balanced at full employment and full production.

Extent of Decline and Pick-Up

THE EFFECTS of the recession are still present. The pick-up that started last May has not solved the problem of unemployment and idle productive capacity, by any means. A relatively slow improvement in 1959—such as most observers expect—will leave a persistent and serious problem at the close of the year.

The recession came after several years of relative stagnation. From the middle of 1953 to mid-1957, the nation's real total output, including services, rose at an annual rate of 2.2 percent. The population increased at a faster rate than the 1.6 percent yearly advance of the output of factories and mines.

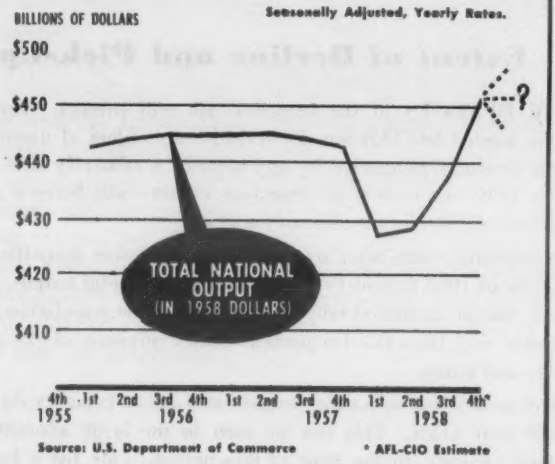
The economy was operating considerably below capacity during most of those four years. This can be seen in the large amounts of idle industrial capacity during most of this period—only for a few months at the end of 1955 and in early 1956 was industrial output at high-level capacity operation. It can be seen, too, in unemployment—the number of jobless was 5.6 percent of the labor force in 1954, 4.4 percent in 1955, 4.2 percent in 1956, and 4.1 percent in the first half of 1957.

Recession Losses

The sharp economic decline between the summer of 1957 and April 1958 wiped out some three years of snail's pace advance. At the recession low-point, the volume of national output, which had dropped almost 6 percent, was back at the level it had reached in the first half of 1955. Industrial production had fallen over 13 percent and was back to where it had been in the fall of 1954. Non-farm jobs were cut 2.4 million—almost 4.6 percent—and were at the level of the late spring of 1955. Working hours were cut back drastically, lower than any level since the end of the war. Industry, generally, was utilizing merely 65 percent of its capacity to produce; 35 percent of capacity was idle. The number of jobless rose to 5.2 million, or 7½ percent of the labor force, seasonally adjusted.

By the end of 1958, after eight months of pick-up, production was almost back to the pre-recession levels of mid-1957, but employment lagged far behind. Real national product had almost returned to where it had been when the recession started. Industrial production had recov-

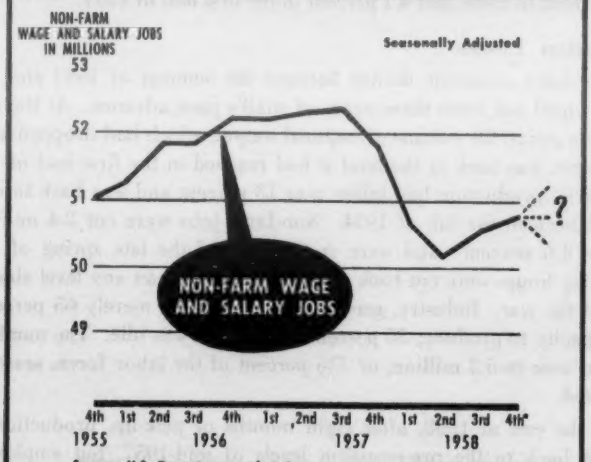
Output Has Turned Up Rapidly . . .



Source: U.S. Department of Commerce

* AFL-CIO Estimate

But Employment Lags Far Behind



Source: U.S. Department of Labor

* AFL-CIO Estimate

ered 85 percent of the recession's decline. Corporate profits were almost back to pre-recession peaks. But non-farm wage and salary jobs recovered merely 30 percent of the recession loss, between April and September, and, then, remained the same through December, except for seasonal changes. The number of non-farm wage and salary jobs recovered only to where it had been in the fall of 1955. In December 1958, there were 1.7 million fewer non-farm wage and salary jobs than in July and August, 1957. About 22 percent of industrial capacity was idle. The number of jobless was over 6 percent of the labor force.

Employment Lags Far Behind Output

	Gross National Product (Annual Rate in 1958 Dollars)	Industrial Production (1947-1949 = 100)	Non-Farm Wage and Salary Jobs
1956			
First Quarter	$443.4 billion	143	51.3 million
Second Quarter	444.1 "	142	51.8 "
Third Quarter	445.1 "	141	51.8 "
Fourth Quarter	451.5 "	145	52.2 "
1957			
First Quarter	452.4 "	145	52.2 "
Second Quarter	453.7 "	144	52.3 "
Third Quarter	453.3 "	145	52.4 "
Fourth Quarter	444.4 "	139	51.8 "
1958			
First Quarter	429.2 "	130	50.7 "
Second Quarter	430.4 "	129	50.2 "
Third Quarter	439.4 "	136	50.6 "
Fourth Quarter	451.6 "	140	50.7 "

SOURCE: Council of Economic Advisers, Federal Reserve Board, and Department of Labor.

If we look at the record of manufacturing industries, alone, since the recession low-point, we find a somewhat slower rate of recovery of the production decline than in upturns from previous recessions and a much slower recovery of the job loss. From the April 1958 low-point to December 1958, 84 percent of the recession manufacturing produc-

tion loss was regained, compared to a 26 percent recovery of the manufacturing job loss. It required a recovery of 3.23 percent of the production loss to regain 1 percent recovery of the job loss. In the similar period of upturn from the 1954 recession, recovery of 2.33 percent of the production loss was enough to restore 1 percent of the employment loss; and in the pick-up from the 1949 recession, a 1.78 percent recovery of the production decline was sufficient to wipe out 1 percent of the job loss.

Comparison of Upturns from Postwar Recessions
Recovery of Recession Loss—8 Months from Low-Point
Manufacturing Industries

8 Months after Low-Point	Recovery of Production Loss	Recovery of Employment Loss	Percent of Recovered Production Loss per 1% Recovery of Job Loss
Oct. 1949-June 1950	128%	72%	1.78%
Aug. 1954-Apr. 1955	93%	40%	2.33%
Apr. 1958-Dec. 1958	84%	26%	3.23%

Percentage changes are based on seasonally adjusted data for manufacturing production and employment.

SOURCE: Department of Commerce, Business Statistics; Council of Economic Advisers, Economic Indicators.

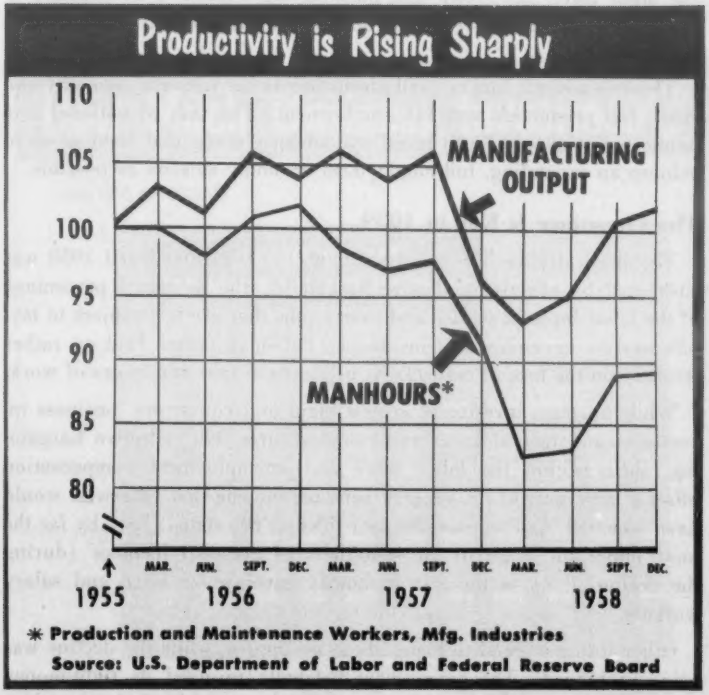
This comparison indicates a significant difference between the current upturn and pick-ups from previous postwar recessions—the growing impact in manufacturing industries of automation and rapid technological change. It indicates too, the seriousness of the employment lag.

When we examine the entire period since the end of the Korean War—from mid-1953 to the end of 1958—we find a record of shocking stagnation. In those 5½ years, real national output of all goods and services rose at an average yearly rate of under 1.6 percent. As for the basic industrial part of the economy, the output of factories and mines increased at a rate of merely 7/10 of 1 percent per year.

The pick-up in output since the recession low-point is accounted for largely by a rapid rise in productivity, following a decline that occurred during and was caused by the downturn. The great gap between the upturn in production and the slow pick-up in jobs can be only partly

explained by an improvement in working hours. In manufacturing, for example, the length of the workweek rose from 38.3 hours in April 1958 to 39.9 hours in September 1958, followed by a small seasonal increase to 40.2 hours in December. The major part of the gap between the rise in output and the substantial lag in jobs can be explained only by a rapid advance in output per manhour.

The sharp rise in productivity has meant lower labor costs in many industries and, when combined with the upturn in production, it has meant increased profit margins. Corporate profits, along with productivity, have risen sharply in the past nine months, from the recession low-point.



Where is the national economy at present? Output has returned to about the level of mid-1957, leaving a substantial amount of unused

capacity. Non-farm employment has recovered only to where it was more than three years ago and more than 6 percent of the labor force is jobless. Despite the pick-up since last April, economic activity is still no greater than it was two to three years ago.

Long Road to Full Production and Employment

There is a long road ahead, before employment can reach pre-recession levels. It will take a substantial and continuing rise in sales and output to produce 1.7 million new non-farm wage and salary jobs.

Serious problems will remain, however, even when employment returns to pre-recession levels of mid-1957. In the past year and one-half, the labor force has grown and business has expanded its capacity to produce. There are more people able and willing to work and seeking jobs.

There is a much longer road ahead before the national economy can reach full production and full employment. The task of national economic policy should be to speed our advance along that road so as to achieve an expanding, full employment economy as soon as possible.

The Consumer Is Key in 1959

The sharp decline between the summer of 1957 and April 1958 was cushioned by effective collective bargaining, the increased percentage of the labor force in service and salary jobs that are less subject to layoffs, and by unemployment insurance. Personal income held up rather strongly, in the face of cutbacks of production, jobs and hours of work.

While business investment in new plant and equipment, business inventories and federal government expenditures fell, collective bargaining, shifts within the labor force and unemployment compensation offset a large part of the drop in personal income that otherwise would have occurred. As Professor Sumner Slichter has stated: ". . . by far the most important cause of the steadiness of personal incomes (during the decline) . . . is the rise in hourly earnings of wage and salary workers."

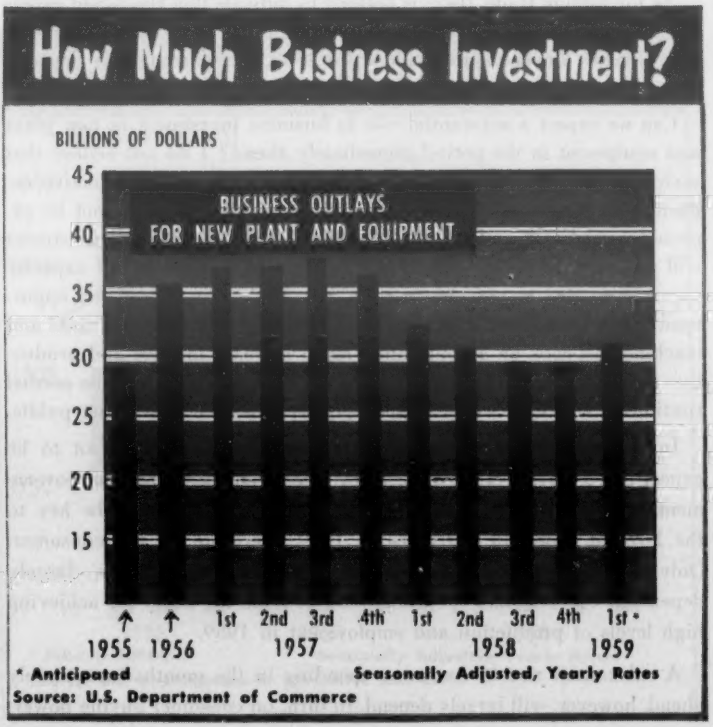
Other forces worked to bring about an upturn, while the decline was being cushioned. The government belatedly reversed its tight-money policy in the fall of 1957. State and local governments continued to increase expenditures, particularly for roads and schools. Congress adopted measures to make available additional funds for mortgages for

moderate-priced homes and to step up roadbuilding. The Administration sharply increased orders for defense goods, after having cut back such orders severely in the first half of 1957.

Prospects for Economic Growth

What factors, however, can be expected to raise output, sales and employment in the months ahead?

Much less push is expected from the federal government than in the past year. If the Administration has its way, the federal government will be, to an increasing extent, a depressing factor on the level of economic activities in 1959, by curbing and cutting its programs. Even if the Administration does not fully succeed in its effort, there is a danger that the federal government may be a restrictive factor in the second half of



1959, through curbs and eliminations of some current federal programs. Furthermore, the government resumed its tight money policy last summer. This tight money policy may restrain economic growth, as 1959 moves on, particularly in the field of residental construction.

State and local government expenditures are expected to continue to increase in 1959, adding moderately to sales, output and jobs—particularly in highway and school construction and education services. But this continued rise is not assured, by any means. The recession and the persistence of large-scale unemployment have created financial difficulties for many states and critical conditions in several of them. In addition, the federal government's tight-money policy makes it more expensive for state and local governments to borrow money, thus raising costs, which may result in the postponement of expenditure programs.

As for foreign trade, there is nothing to indicate that the recent excess of exports over imports will increase significantly in the months immediately ahead. The economic outlook for 1959, therefore, largely depends on business and consumer activities.

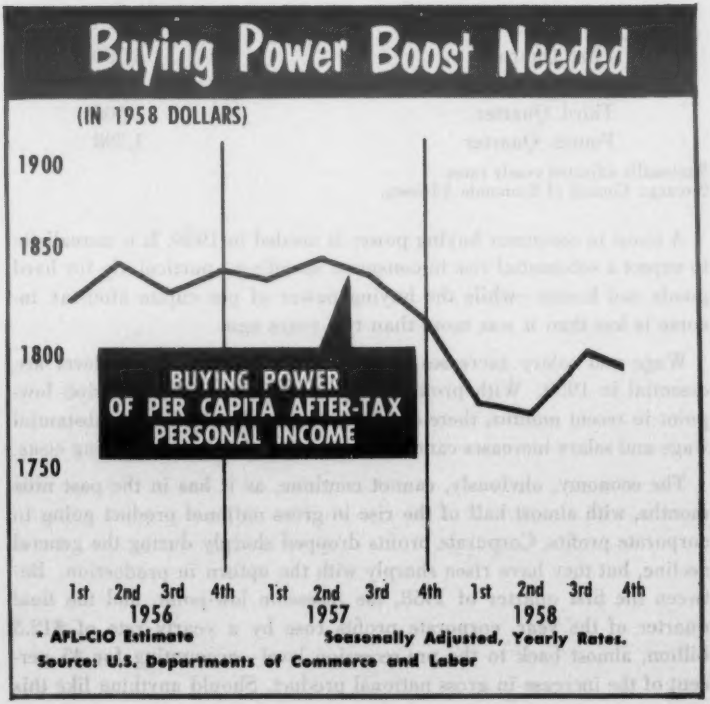
Can we expect a substantial rise in business investment in new plant and equipment in the period immediately ahead? I do not believe that such expectation is realistic. With about 22 percent of productive capacity still idle, a substantial rise in business investment cannot be expected immediately. Much of any early increase in business investment will probably be for modernization, rather than expansion of capacity —programs that would reduce costs, but would also reduce job opportunities. A significant increase in business spending for new plants and machines depends on a continuing, rapid increase in sales and production that will enable business to operate at maximum levels. The needed continuing rise in sales must come mainly from the consuming public.

In the light of merely a moderate rise in sales and output to be expected from the combined activities of federal, state and local government expenditures, business investment and foreign trade, the key to the level of economic activities in 1959, therefore, is the consumer. Only a continuing and rapid increase in production and sales—largely dependent on consumer spending—can provide the basis for achieving high levels of production and employment in 1959.

A substantial rise in consumer spending in the months immediately ahead, however, will largely depend, in turn, on consumer buying power.

An improved balance between the economy's ability to produce and its ability to consume is essential in the months immediately ahead. The current lack of economic balance can be seen in recent trends of consumer buying power and productive capacity: Between 1955 and the end of 1958, the buying power of total after-tax personal income rose only 6.4 percent, compared with a 17 percent increase in industrial capacity. The rise in productive capacity was more than 2½ times greater than the increase in consumer buying power.

While total consumer buying power has increased at a snail's pace in recent years, the population has continued to grow. The buying power of per capita after-tax personal income, at the end of 1958, was less than it was in 1956. Many families have been compelled to reduce their living standards or to use their meager savings in the past three years.



Buying Power of Per Capita After-Tax Personal Income

	Annual Rate in 1958 Dollars
1956	
First Quarter	$1,826
Second Quarter	1,842
Third Quarter	1,831
Fourth Quarter	1,840
1957	
First Quarter	1,836
Second Quarter	1,846
Third Quarter	1,836
Fourth Quarter	1,811
1958	
First Quarter	1,780
Second Quarter	1,777
Third Quarter	1,802
Fourth Quarter	1,798

Seasonally adjusted yearly rates.
SOURCE: Council of Economic Advisers.

A boost in consumer buying power is needed in 1959. It is unrealistic to expect a substantial rise in consumer spending—particularly for hard goods and homes—while the buying power of per capita after-tax income is less than it was more than two years ago.

Wage and salary increases and a reasonably stable price level are essential in 1959. With profits rising rapidly from the recession low-point in recent months, there can be no rational reason why substantial wage and salary increases cannot be granted without raising living costs.

The economy, obviously, cannot continue, as it has in the past nine months, with almost half of the rise in gross national product going to corporate profits. Corporate profits dropped sharply during the general decline, but they have risen sharply with the upturn in production. Between the first quarter of 1958, the recession low-point, and the final quarter of the year, corporate profits rose by a yearly rate of $12.3 billion, almost back to the pre-recession level—accounting for 45 percent of the increase in gross national product. Should anything like this

condition continue in 1959, the pick-up from the recession will be rapidly undermined.

An improved balance is needed quickly between the economy's ability to produce and its ability to consume. Consumer buying power must be raised sufficiently in the months ahead to provide the basis for a substantial increase of consumer purchases of goods, services and homes. Government policies must encourage balanced economic growth rather than discourage expansion towards full employment and full production.

The Administration's Defeatism

CURRENT ASSUMPTIONS of the Administration and business spokesmen are that the nation's total output of goods and services will rise about 6 percent between the fourth quarter of 1958 and the same period of 1959, as the economy pulls out of the recession. Unless definite steps are taken to encourage this increase, even a 6 percent rise may be too optimistic. But if we assume such a 6 percent increase, then, we are likewise assuming a continuation of high unemployment and idle productive capacity. The current assumptions of business and government leaders about economic trends in 1959 bespeak pessimism and defeatism.

In the fourth quarter of 1958, the gross national product was at a yearly rate of $453 billion. Non-farm employment in those final months of last year was 1.7 million less than when the recession started. The number of jobless was 3.9 million or 6.4 percent of the labor force.

A 6 percent rise in total output would bring the gross national product to $480 billion. If this 6 percent rise represents the real volume of goods and services, without any increase in the price level, it means that unemployment by the end of the year will still be as high as 5 to 5½ percent of the labor force. It means that about 20 percent of industrial capacity will remain idle.

A rise in output is produced by some combination of increased employment, and increased output per manhour, and coming out of a recession, by a pick-up in working hours. How would a 6 percent rise in real national output affect these factors?

Effects of 6% Output Rise

Productivity has been rising rapidly since early last year. If output continues to pick up in 1959, productivity can be expected to rise at a rapid pace. Even if the rate of productivity advance slows down during 1959, it is probable that output per manhour in the fourth quarter of 1959 will be about 4 percent greater than in the final months of last year—approximately equal to the average yearly advance in output per manhour during the 1947-1956 decade. This would mean that about

two-thirds of the expected increase in real national product would probably be accounted for by the rise in output per manhour.

The remainder of the 6 percent rise in real total output would result from a pick-up in working hours and employment. A 4 percent rise in productivity and a modest rise in working hours to pre-recession levels would mean less than a 2 percent rise in jobs. If non-farm wage and salary employment should increase by 2 percent, however, that would mean a rise of one million jobs. Should it increase by as much as 3 percent, it would bring non-farm wage and salary jobs up by only 1.5 million. It is possible, therefore, that even by the fourth quarter of 1959, non-farm wage and salary employment may be somewhat less than when the recession started.

In the meantime, however, the labor force is expanding. Commissioner Clague of the Bureau of Labor Statistics told this Committee that the labor force may grow by one million persons this year, following two years of very slow growth, which resulted from economic stagnation. Even if the labor force grows by only 800,000 serious unemployment will persist.

The assumption of merely a 6 percent increase in real national product, as the economy moves out of the recession between the fourth quarter of 1958 and the final months of 1959, points to approximately 3 to 3½ million unemployed towards the end of this year—5 to 5½ percent of the labor force, after accounting for seasonal changes.

Since productive capacity is continuing to expand, as the labor force is continuing to grow, a 6 percent rise in real national output would leave about 20 percent of productive capacity idle towards the end of 1959, compared with 22 percent in the fourth quarter of last year.

A 6 percent rise in real national output from a full-employment level would represent a substantial gain. From the slack level of the end of 1958, however, a 6 percent increase in the volume of the nation's total output is a very small improvement, indeed.

Furthermore, most observers do not expect a consistent rise in output throughout the year. A higher rate of increase is generally expected in the first half of the year, as business expands its inventories, and a slower pace of increase in the second part of 1959, on the basis of current trends. A slowing down of the upturn in the second half of the year would carry over into 1960. It means a continuation of high unemployment and great amounts of idle capacity in the years ahead.

Joblessness at 5 to 5½ percent of the labor force is an improvement over 6.4 percent. Twenty percent of capacity idle is better than 22 percent. But these improvements, based on business and government assumptions, are petty, compared to the size of the problem. They indicate the willingness of government and business spokesmen to accept large-scale unemployment and idle capacity as an inescapable price of our free economy.

Government's Responsibility

When the Employment Act of 1946 was adopted it expressed the will and the determination of the American people to reject the negative and defeatist concept that a free society could not deal rationally and effectively with the blind forces of the market place. The Act's passage reflected repudiation by the nation that unemployment is the price of a free economy. The Employment Act of 1946 charged the President with the responsibility of proposing to Congress and the people programs and policies needed to achieve maximum employment, production and purchasing power.

It was widely accepted by most people at the time the Employment Act was adopted that maximum employment in the American economy meant a minimum of joblessness at any particular time, representing seasonal layoffs and persons who are temporarily shifting from one job to another in a dynamic economy. This would mean an unemployment rate of 3 percent or less. Between 1953 and the present, however, the economy has operated at lower levels of manpower utilization—unemployment was over 4 percent in the period before the recession started. The prospect for the period ahead, based on Administration and business assumptions seems to be a still higher unemployment level—about 5 percent or more of the labor force jobless.

This picture of economic trends in the period ahead represents defeatism—a continuation of drift and the waste of idle manpower and productive capacity. It is a violation of the intent of the Employment Act. It is not responsive to our national needs in the middle of the Twentieth Century. It shows a total lack of comprehension of the enormous growth possibilities of the American economy.

Accelerating Productivity Pace

THE GROWTH POTENTIAL of any economy is the combined result of increases in its labor force and the rate at which productivity advances. In the past, many economists have conceived of productivity in the United States as increasing at a fixed average rate per year. It was recognized that due to a wide variety of causes there were inevitably changes in the rate of advance from year to year, but it was generally assumed that these changes would average out to a simple annual percentage—figures ranging from 2 to 2½ percent increase per year have been the most widely used.

Even on this assumption, the rate of growth of our total production for the past five or six years has been less than the "normal" increase in productivity, although to create new jobs for the added number of workers entering the labor force, the rate of economic growth should exceed the rate of productivity advance. Each year, workers not only produce more with an average hour's work, but there are more workers available to help swell the flow of production.

The concept of a fixed average rate of productivity advance, however, does not accord with the facts. It has, in fact, been implicitly rejected for some years by many business executives on the basis of knowledge arising out of their own intimate experience with the facts of industrial life. Thus, for example, Harlow Curtice, then President of General Motors, said at the end of 1954:

> **". . . our rate of technological advance is constantly accelerating, which means that every year we can build better cars and build cars better than we could build them before; and second, that the market for automobiles is expanding steadily."**

Unfortunately General Motors' price-profit policies were not as forward-looking as their production policies, so that the market did not keep on expanding very long; but that was partly due to a failure of judgment in not adopting price policies which took into account this accelerating rate of technological advance.

In the same year, 1954, Henry Ford II, speaking in Cologne, Germany, to a group of industrialists and government officials, said:

> **"Rising American living standards have always been closely tied to our increasing industrial productivty. And productivity does not necessarily depend upon abundant materials, upon large existing markets, or even upon prosperity. Our productivity has improved in bad times as well as good.**
>
> **"In recent years, it has grown at an ever quicker pace . . ."**

Recognition of technological acceleration has been expressed outside as well as inside the automobile industry. David Sarnoff, chairman of the Radio Corporation of America, stated in a pamphlet entitled *The Fabulous Future:*

> **"The quantity of new powers and products and processes at man's disposal is important; but even more important is the increasing speed at which these things have come. It is not a case of continued increase but of continued acceleration of increase. We need only project the trend into the future to realize that we are merely on the threshold of the technological age."**

The conclusion of industrial executives that the pace of technological advance is accelerating is supported by statistical analysis of long-term overall rates of productivity advance in the economy. In connection with automobile industry negotiations in 1958, technicians on the staff of the UAW made a careful statistical analysis of the rate of productivity advance in the past half century in the whole private economy. One of the important results of that analysis was the emergence of impressive evidence that productivity has tended to advance at an accelerating rate over time. The nature of this analysis is described in the Appendix to this statement.

What the analysis showed was a definite trend toward speeding up the rate of productivity advance, to the extent of something more than one-tenth of a percentage point every two years. While this rate of acceleration may seem small, what it has meant in practice is that the trend

rate of productivity growth has speeded up from 0.9 percent per year in 1910 to 3.9 percent per year in 1956.

The latter figure of 3.9 percent corresponds with the same figure published in the Economic Report of the President, January 1958, as representing the average annual rate of productivity increase for the years 1947-1956. Although the exact correspondence is coincidental, since one represents the trend at a single point and the other represents the average for a period, it was to be expected that the two figures should not be very far apart.

This is not the first discovery of a trend toward acceleration in the pace of productivity advance. For example, John Kendrick of the National Bureau of Economic Research, who pioneered in the development of measures of productivity change in the national economy, wrote in a paper published by the Bureau in 1956:

> **". . . One striking fact stands out: there has been a significant acceleration of productivity advance since the end of World War I as compared with the prior two decades. The acceleration is most pronounced in the output-capital ratio, but it is also unmistakable in the output-labor ratio."**

Writing in *Sales Management Magazine* in November 1955, Professor Sumner H. Slichter of Harvard University said:

> **"Let us sum up briefly the outlook for the next decade.**
>
> **"In the first place, we can look forward with considerable confidence to a more rapid growth in productivity mainly because of the increasing scale of industrial research and the prospective improvement in the art of management."**

While the statistical analysis indicates a persistent accelerating tendency over the past half century, the forces which have contributed to it over the past twenty years or so are most readily apparent. For example, as Professor Slichter points out, ever-increasing amounts are being spent by government, industry and the universities on research and development which directly or indirectly stimulates the growth of productivity. Such expenditures increased from $900 million in 1941 to $8¼ billion in 1957.

Largely in consequence of this increased research, there have been in recent years a number of major breakthroughs in our technologies of production. They include important advances in automation, electronics, the use of plastics and other synthetic materials, new metals, the use of radioactive materials in industry and important beginnings in the use of atomic and solar energy.

Many of the new technologies are of particular significance, especially in terms of the probable continuing acceleration of productivity advance, because they have wide applicability. These are not inventions whose use is limited to a single process or even a single industry, but whole new technologies which can be applied in a wide variety of fields. In this respect they are comparable to the steam engine that gave birth to the First Industrial Revolution, or to the assembly line principle which opened the door to modern mass production methods.

It is also significant that today's technological revolution is spreading into new fields which in the past were relatively untouched—for example, the substantial penetration of automation into many fields of clerical activity. In a recent article John Kendrick of the National Bureau of Economic Research noted "the speeding up of technological advance applicable to service." He wrote:

> **"Since the service area now employs more than half our labor force, a further acceleration would mean a noticeably faster rate of productivity advance in the economy as a whole, assuming that the commodity-producing industries maintain their past rates of advance."**

Wide New Possibilities Open

This new understanding of the accelerating pace of productivity advance compels us to think in wholly new dimensions both as to our economic possibilities and our problems. For example:

1. It is apparent that a substantially faster rate of growth in our economy is possible than has been generally supposed.
2. This faster rate of growth also makes possible more rapid progress in eliminating poverty, increasing leisure through a progressive reduction of the work-week and raising living standards generally, in meeting our public needs and in providing assistance to other lands.

3. Realization of our potential growth rate should minimize the danger of demand inflation, although it will not solve the problem of administered price inflation.
4. Continuation of this higher growth rate will give us new assurance of our ability to win our economic race with the Communist world.
5. Recognition of the magnitude of our potential growth rate gives us a new yardstick against which to measure the cost of our failure to achieve full employment and full production.
6. While a high rate of technological advance permits more rapid growth, we must also reognize that it makes more rapid growth essential, if increasing productivity is not merely to mean spreading unemployment. National economic policies must be framed with this in mind.

Faster Growth Rate Possible

AS I HAVE already indicated, the rate of growth of our economy must normally exceed the rate of productivity advance, because growth results not only from increasing productivity but from additions to the labor force as well. An annual productivity increase of 3.9 percent, should produce economic growth at a rate of about 5 percent. Many of us in the past have viewed this goal as one to be achieved only with considerable effort. The recent report issued by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, *The Challenge to America,* says for example:

> **"As was pointed out earlier, our growth trend in the long period from 1870 to 1930 worked out to 3 percent per annum. In the past decade we have been following a 4 percent per annum upward trend. This record of growth lends confidence to the view that, if we act effectively and purposefully, we may reasonably expect a continuation of a growth rate of 3 to 4 percent per year over the next decade and beyond. In fact, *a growth rate of 5 percent is possible if we realize fully our impressive opportunities for economic expansion.* If the problems of growth are formidable, we have also found the impetus of our economy enormous." (Emphasis added)**

What the new productivity figures mean in effect is that a growth rate of 5 percent can now be considered a normal expectation, with still higher goals possible if we make the fullest use of our potentialities. I do not wish for a moment to suggest that a growth rate of 5 percent can be achieved automatically, or that it can be expected to develop out of policies of the kind which have produced so many obstructions to growth during the past half decade. It can be achieved only if we exercise both vigor and vision, through programs and policies which look forward to the future, not back to the past. But given those essential qualities of leadership, a five percent growth rate should constitute part of our normal expectation of healthy economic development.

Regular achievement of a 5 percent growth rate will open wide many

doors to social progress which up to now have only with difficulty been kept from slamming shut. The Rockefeller Fund Report put the problem in these terms:

> **"These projections also emphasize the fact that the high and rising level of defense expenditures is a major factor in holding back our progress on other more constructive fronts. We can afford the defense programs essential for survival. In doing so, however, *unless we achieve a 5 percent growth rate, we shall have to hold back otherwise desirable expenditures in the government field and keep the growth of private expenditures below a level commensurate with our aspirations.*" (Emphasis added)**

In other words the rate of growth in our economy, after allowing for the needs of a growing population, represents the margin by which we have more for all purposes each year than we had the years before, the margin available for social progress. If we are faced with the necessity of high defense expenditures, then the rate of growth must be that much greater to allow an adequate margin for progress in meeting other needs. The Rockefeller Fund Report suggests that a 5 percent growth rate is essential if we are to make the progress to which we aspire.

Even without the element of continuing acceleration, the cumulative effect of a 5 percent growth rate is most impressive. It means that we can virtually double our production of goods and services every 14 years. By achieving that goal we can rapidly eliminate poverty from this country, provide a constantly rising living standard with increased leisure for all, catch up rapidly with our unmet needs in such fields as schools, hospitals, homes, highways and resource development, and at the same time make a contribution worthy of the world's wealthiest country to the economic development of those in economically less advanced countries.

The Most Effective Way to Fight Inflation

Achievement of a 5 percent growth rate can be a most effective weapon in minimizing the dangers of a return of demand inflation. Since this is the form of inflation which results from "too much money

chasing after too little goods", it becomes apparent that steady, rapid growth of the volume of goods is the best answer to it.

This does not mean, unfortunately, that achievement of a 5 percent growth rate will solve all our inflationary problems. It should help meet the problem of demand inflation, but there is no assurance that it will be of great assistance in meeting the greater problem of administered price inflation. Since this is a form of inflation unrelated to questions of supply and demand, related rather to the ability of a relatively small number of key corporations to insulate themselves from the forces of the market and set their own level of prices, determined only by considerations of private interest, we must find new and appropriate means of dealing with it. But it must be a solution based on the nature of this new kind of inflationary force, not one which is appropriate only to something entirely different.

Apart from the special problem of administered prices, however, achievement of a high rate of growth should provide much of the answer to our fears of inflation. We have the means at hand today—as our idle productive capacity indicates—to satisfy a far greater effective economic demand than at present exists, and far from producing an increase in prices, such an improvement in demand, by enabling us to use our productive power more efficiently, should make possible some concurrent price reductions.

Achievement and maintenance of a 5 percent growth rate should make it possible for all groups in society to satisfy their legitimate aspirations for steadily rising standards of living, without the social conflicts that result from efforts to cut up too small a pie, or the hurling of charges that any one group is trying to improve its position at the expense of others.

In passing may I note that in recent months, in addition to the usual false charge that labor is responsible for inflation at home, a number of corporate spokesmen are now claiming that labor is driving American business out of the world markets. I was pleased to note that the Economic Report of the President, this year, while not answering such charges directly, did provide in some detail the reasons why some important American industries are having export difficulties, none of which have any relation at all to the wages paid their employees. As the Report says:

> **"In summary, the relatively sharp decline in United States exports after the middle of 1957 is accounted for by a combination of factors: the disappearance of certain special circumstances which had, for a time, raised shipments of petroleum, cotton and wheat to exceptionally high levels; and cyclical shifts which had also lifted certain exports, such as steel and other metals, to unusually high levels but which now leave them temporarily depressed."**

The Report also points out that the United States was not the only nation to experience inflation, nor the worst sufferer from it.

I hope that the corporation board chairmen and other executives who are always eager to make labor the whipping boy for all their difficulties will read and digest the entire section in the President's Economic Report covering our export trade.

We Can Win the Economic Race

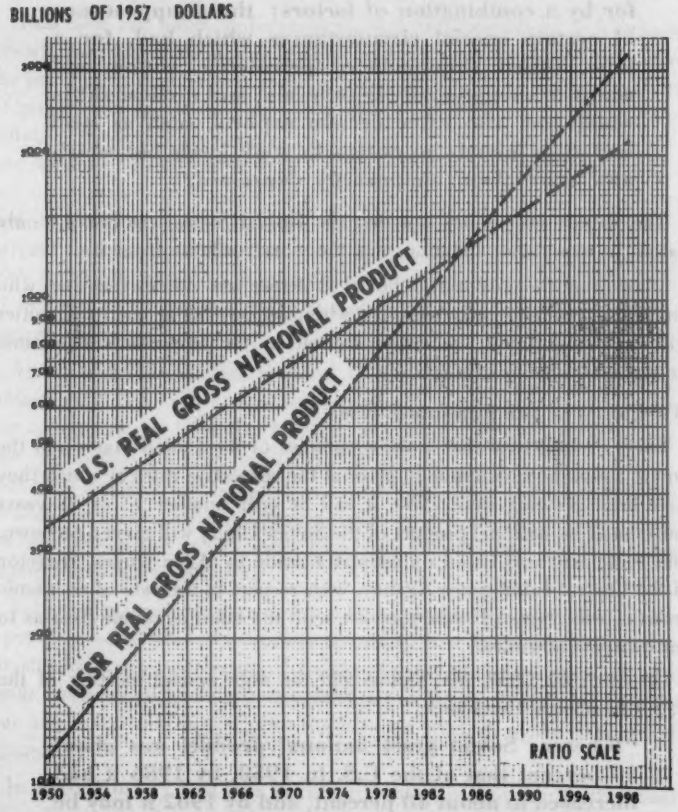
Earlier I indicated that if the economies of the United States and the Soviet Union both continue to grow at the respective rates at which they have been growing since 1950, it will be only another 17 or 18 years until the gross national product of the Soviet Union will exceed our own. That statement was based on estimates made by Allen Dulles, Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, with respect to the rate of economic growth in the Soviet Union, together with the latest available data as to our own rate of growth.

On April 29, 1958, Mr. Dulles told the 46th annual meeting of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce:

> **"Whereas Soviet gross national product was about 33 percent that of the U.S. in 1950, by 1956 it had increased to about 40 percent, and by 1962 it may be about 50 percent of our own. *This means that the Soviet economy has been growing, and is expected to continue to grow through 1962, at a rate roughly twice that of the economy of the United States.*" (Emphasis added)**

Since that time the Soviet Union has claimed to have achieved an even higher rate of growth. The rate implied by Mr. Dulles' figures would come to about 7 percent per year. On January 27, 1959, Premier

Rough Projection of Comparative Growth, American and Russian Economies



(as suggested in Remarks of Allen Dulles)

Khrushchev told the Communist Party Congress that during the next 7 years the Soviet economy would continue to grow at a rate of about 8.6 percent per year, on which statement, a New York Times analyst commented, "Judging from recent performance, he may not be far wrong," and contrasted it with a rate of growth in this country since the end of the Korean War of 1.5 percent per year.

Taking into account the possibility that Mr. Khrushchev may have raised his figures a bit for purposes of both domestic and international propaganda, it would seem that Mr. Dulles' estimates are worth consideration as a reasonable and realistic forecast.

At the same time, as a result of the recession, even the modest rate of growth which the United States economy averaged between 1950 and 1956 has not been maintained. Between 1956 and 1958 it failed to grow at all. As a result, the average annual rate of growth betwen 1950 and 1958 comes to only about 2.8 percent per year.

If the respective rates of growth of the American and Soviet economies are projected forward, it becomes ominously apparent how significant these differences are. In spite of the fact that United States total production is still probably a little more than double that of the Soviet Union, if they had both continued to grow at the same rate as between 1950 and 1956, the Russians would catch up with us by about 1985.

Low Growth Rate Dangerous

However, if you assume further repetitions of our current recession, and project future growth of the United States economy at the still lower rate which represents the annual average for the period 1950 to 1958, the Soviets will have matched and surpassed us by 1977. It means that unless America provides the dynamic leadership and the effective implementation of bold programs to reverse this trend, the margin of survival between the forces of freedom and of tyranny may soon be reduced to the point of disaster.

Our position would be far less disquieting if we achieve, as we can and should, the 5 percent annual growth rate that is within our power, even if we make no allowance for continued acceleration of the rate of productivity advance.

With the Soviets expanding their economy at an assumed rate of 7 percent per year they would still catch up with us eventually—in terms of total although not per capita output. But the date would be postponed until about 1996, rather than 1977.

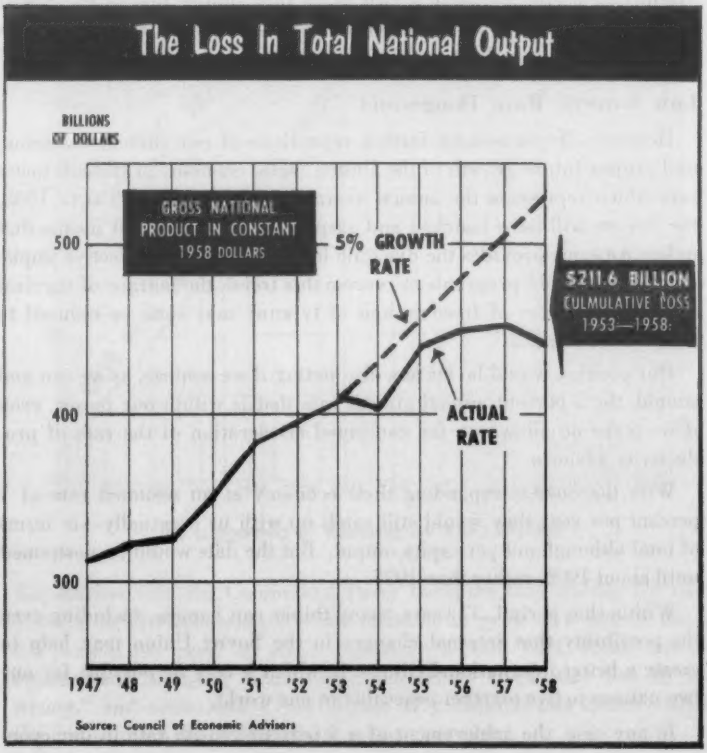
Within that period, 37 years, many things can happen, including even the possibility that internal changes in the Soviet Union may help to create a better international climate in which it may be possible for our two nations to live together peaceably in one world.

In any case, the achievement of a 5 percent growth rate in our econ-

omy would give us many precious years of additional time in which to find our answers to the problem of world peace, without having to face the additional problems certain to be thrown at us by a regimented, hostile Soviet economy which had grown greater and more powerful than our own.

Failure to Achieve Our Potential Has Cost Us Dearly

Our economy suffered a recession in 1953-1954 and another in 1957-1958, with only a partial recovery in between. If instead, we had maintained full production, full employment and full utilization of our technological skills, with a steady growth of production at the annual rate of 5 percent, which we could have achieved under those circumstances,



the total value of goods and services we would have produced over that period, expressed in dollars of 1958 buying power, would have been approximately $212 billion greater than it actually was.

That is the measure of the loss we have suffered between 1953 and 1958—$212 billion worth of food, clothing, homes, household goods, schools, hospitals, factories, power dams, economic aid and all the other goods, services and facilities that would have helped create abundance.

If we had maintained that rate of growth since 1953, our national production in 1958 alone would have been about $525 billion, or $87 billion more than it actually was—sufficient to have allowed an increase of 20 percent in every item of expenditures, public and private. This we could have divided among personal and family spending, health, education and other government services, national defense, help to our friends in other lands and new plants and equipment to meet our future growing needs.

We Must Achieve Our Full Potential

The high potential for economic growth which is inherent in our economy holds out to us the promise of a fuller, more abundant future, but it also holds the threat of economic disaster if we continue to fail, as we have in recent years, to achieve that potential. A high rate of technological advance, combined with a growing labor force, means that an increasing number of workers each year are able to produce a still more rapidly increasing volume of goods and services. But the other side of that coin is, that unless our increased wealth is fairly shared, and adequate provision made for those common needs which can best be met through public effort, we will find the stream of purchasing power wholly inadequate to sustain a full employment economy. Then, instead of an increasing number of workers, each producing more each year, the number of jobs would begin to shrink so that a smaller number of workers would be producing the same amount or even a smaller volume of goods.

Managing Abundance

That is exactly the experience we have had in the current recession, and the experience we have had in earlier recessions. It is an experience that we will suffer again in future years, unless we learn the lesson that our economy can be maintained in a state of health and growth only as we learn to expand the purchasing power of the people to match the full

potentiality of our economic growth. This is essentially the task of learning to manage abundance by learning to share it. This should be the major objective of national economic policy. Our free economic system has the potentiality for elimination of poverty—but only if we take steps to gear its potential abundance to the needs of all the people. Our system has the potentiality to raise the living standards of us all—but only if we insure a commensurate rise in consumer purchasing power. Our system has the potentiality to produce all the homes, schools, hospitals, and other public facilities our people need—but only if we carry out programs to build homes, schools, hospitals, etc. Our system has the potentiality to produce additional goods and services which can help build the economies of our friends and neighbors around the world —but only if we initiate programs to provide that assistance.

Potentialities for growth are not enough by themselves. There must be effective programs which will permit those potentialities to become reality. If the programs are not there, what could have been a potentiality for great abundance becomes instead the potentiality of unemployment, hardship and economic loss.

We Can Have Stable Price Level

THE PROBLEM OF a rising price level has been used by anti-labor propagandists to attack the American system of collective bargaining, and by conservatives generally as an argument for restrictive economic policies and cuts in federal programs. They are dangerously wrong and the policies they suggest would be disastrous.

The creeping price rises between mid-1955 and mid-1958 were due to a number of factors, including: the ability of giant corporations in key industries to raise prices despite declining sales, business and government policies that raised industrial costs, crop and weather conditions that affected food prices, and continuing increases in the demand for services that are related to population growth, changing patterns of consumer demand and the spread of suburban living.

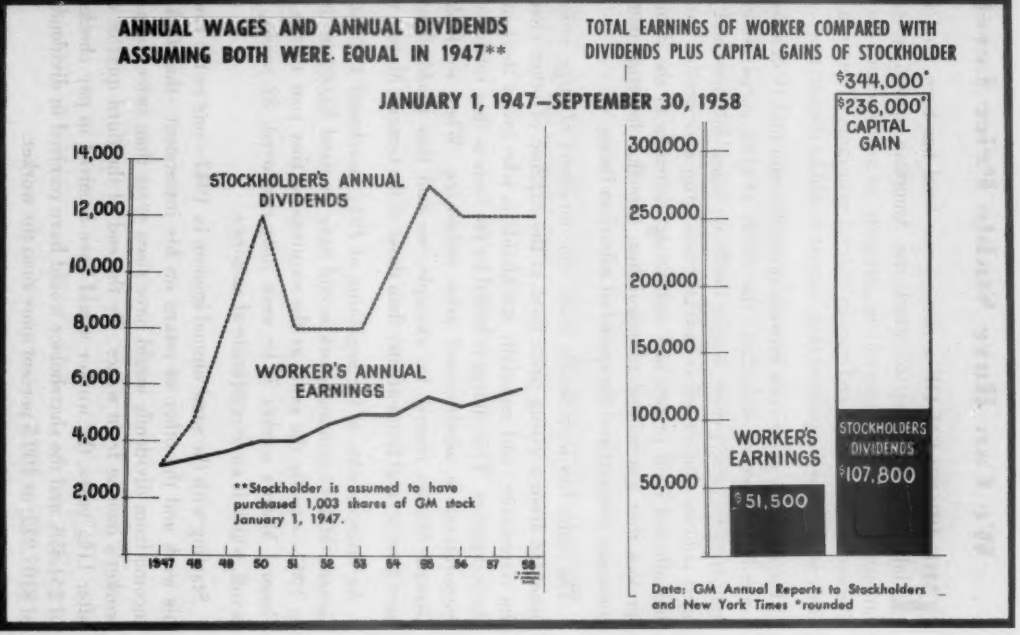
The claim has been loudly made that members of large unions have benefited from a rising price level at the expense of other elements in the community, and especially stockholders, who invest their money in the companies. This charge is belied by the facts as they relate to leading corporations in administered price industries. When we look at the General Motors record, for example, we find that stockholders' gains have been several times greater than those of the General Motors worker.

An investor who, at the beginning of 1947, purchased 1,003 shares of General Motors common stock would have received $3,009 in dividends in 1947—exactly the same as the earnings in that year of the average General Motors worker if he were fully employed, 52 weeks, without layoff, which is an overestimate of earnings.

Starting with the same annual income in 1947—one as the reward for his work and the other as return on his investment—the stockholder's income from dividends would have risen more than twice as fast as the worker's income from wages. By the end of the third quarter of 1958, after 11¾ years, the worker would have received in pay checks a total of $51,458, and the shareholder would have received in dividends a total of $107,822, or 109.5 percent more than the worker.

But that is only part of the story. As dividends grew, the corporation's retained earnings increased and the market value of the stockholder's

General Motors Hourly Rated Worker And General Motors Stockholder



shares also increased, a capital gain he can realize at any time. Based on the average market value of General Motors common stock on the first day of business in 1947, the shareholder's 1,003 shares would have cost him $52,846. By September 30, 1958, as a result of two stock splits, these 1,003 shares would have become 6,018 shares, worth about $48 per share, or $288,864. If the shareholder sold his stock at this price, he would have enjoyed a capital gain of $236,018. Added to his $107,822 in dividends, this would have given him a total benefit from his stock ownership of $343,840—nearly seven times as much as the General Motors worker's earnings from his labor during the same period.

The same facts can be put in another way. If the stockholder in 1947 had invested only $7,909, he would have received, in dividends and eventual capital gain, the same amount as the worker earned. In other words, a worker's sweat and toil and the investment of almost 12 years of his life produced for him the same return as an investment of $7,909 in General Motors' stock.

This illustration points to the utter lack of fact or justice in the barrage of anti-labor attacks on American workers as the instigators and beneficiaries of price increases. It also points to one of the nation's important social and economic problems—the ability of key industries, whose prices are administered by huge corporations, to raise prices and cut break-even points to 50% or less of capacity to produce.

The record since mid-1955 clearly indicates the power of industries such as steel, auto and aluminum to protect their markets from price competition. Prices in such key industries are established by the executives of the dominant corporations to produce high rates of return on investment.

The Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee report on automobile industry pricing states the following concerning General Motors, the industry's dominant corporation:

> **"In the past ten years, 1948-57, the company's average annual return, after taxes, on its stockholders' investment has been an impressive 25 percent. In the worst of these years, 1957, the rate of return on average stockholders' investment was over 17 percent, a figure which any public utility would regard with some awe. At the other extreme, the com-**

pany was able to earn a return of 37.5 percent in 1950, an exceptionally good year."

The facts brought out by the Subcommittee clearly indicate that it was the quest for these very high profits, rather than wage demands on the part of labor, that were primarily responsible for rising auto prices. In its findings the Subcommittee reported:

". . . it is hard to escape the conclusion that prices and unit profits have risen much more rapidly than unit costs in the past two decades."

The same Senate Subcommittee investigated the pricing policies of the basic steel industry and found that:

"the break-even point for both the steel industry as a whole and the U.S. Steel Corporation individually is . . . slightly below an operating rate of 40 percent. This is to say, the industry and the corporation tend to move out of the 'red' into the black when production, as a percent of capacity, reaches a level of just under 40 percent."

This means that the dominant U. S. Steel Corporation and the steel industry generally have succeeded in raising prices to the point where they can still make profits with over 50 percent of their plants and machines idle. In the first half of 1958, for example, U. S. Steel earned $271.65 million before taxes and $135.65 million in after-tax profits, when operating at less than 54 percent of capacity.

If we are to make any serious effort to achieve a relatively stable price level, we must attempt to find a solution to this problem. Some way must be found to curb the price-raising ability of giant corporations in key industries, in which there is no effective price competition.

Any serious attempt to achieve a reasonably stable price level must also, I believe, be based on a more rapid rate of economic growth than we have had in recent years. Rapidly rising total output makes possible rapid increases in productivity and lower production costs. It also makes possible a large supply of goods and eases the pressures among competing social and economic groups—it is considerably easier to solve the problems of who is to receive what share of the net product if the economic pie is large, than if it is small.

In addition, it would be well for the government to assist in the development of methods to increase productivity and reduce costs, particularly in those parts of the economy, such as the services, where the great possibilities that exist for improvement in productivity can be realized more rapidly through organized effort. In the low-wage service industries, the stimulus that wage increases provide for increasing efficiency can be aided by a rise in the federal minimum wage and extension of that law's coverage to workers in the services.

A reasonably stable price level can be achieved. But it can be achieved only if the propaganda warfare ceases and the realities are squarely faced. A rapidly growing economy is needed to provide the general environment for relative price stability. Special problems, such as the price-raising ability of the giant corporations in key industries, must be solved on the basis of the obvious facts.

What is needed in this area is less heat and propaganda and more light on the economic facts. Congress should make a comprehensive study of the administered price problem in an effort to find an effective and rational way of protecting American consumers and the American economy from the inflationary pressures created by the pricing policies of a few giant corporations in critical sectors of the American economy.

During the recent hearings of the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee, I proposed for my own Union, the UAW, that any company which controls, say, more than 20 or 25 percent of the sales in its industry be required to give advance notice and public justification of price increases it proposes to put into effect, through a public hearing before a government agency which would have access to all the relevant data, and after the hearing would publish the facts as they had been brought out.

In a free society an enlightened public can create the moral pressures essential to make private economic decisions publicly responsible. As I said before the Subcommittee, "In a democratic society, there is always everything to be gained, and never anything to be lost, by giving the people the facts they need in order to make their judgment of the conduct of those whose decisions affect the life and welfare of every man and woman."

Policies for Economic Growth

THERE IS URGENT need for a decisive change in economic policies. Instead of drift and stagnation, we need leadership and a clear statement of goals that are responsive to national requirements in a time of population growth, rapid technological change, cold war, and the economic aspirations of peoples emerging from colonial dependency to national independence.

We have followed a national policy of drift so long, and our economy has stagnated for so many years, that we cannot hope to fulfill unmet national needs in a few months or even years. We can and should, however, make a beginning immediately and start to meet our needs.

There is urgent need for setting forth a program of national priorities in which we begin to put first things first and commit our resources to the achievement of those national priorities.

The requirement at present is to begin to move rapidly and decisively toward an expanding full-employment economy. There is no single pattern for this achievement. A number of steps are essential.

In particular, a decisive change in attitude and direction is needed in regard to federal expenditures and programs. The major test as to whether or not they are worthwhile should not be cost or budget balancing, but their need. National needs must be met, in the light of the requirements of the middle of the Twentieth Century.

A Program to Get America Back to Work

1. Distressed Areas—Federal government assistance for economically distressed communities is essential. The experience of recent years clearly indicates that the changing location of industry and the decline of some industries leave pockets of unemployment, even when most of the nation is fairly prosperous. This problem has grown in size and seriousness, not only because of the recession, but also because of automation and rapid technological change. There is substantial unemployment at present in more than half of the nation's major industrial centers and in 183 smaller labor markets, with the probability that the current economic distress represents a hard-core, chronic condition in many, if

not most of them. A concerted program of federal government aid, through loans and grants, is urgently needed to aid these communities to bring in new industries, to retrain workers, and to assist workers to move to new comunities where jobs are available.

2. Minimum Federal Standards for Unemployment Insurance—The unemployment insurance system should be permanently improved by additional federal standards to extend duration and raise benefit payments to unemployed workers. Harsh disqualification provisions should also be removed. As the President's Economic Report recognizes, the unemployment insurance system has proven its great, but limited, effectiveness in offsetting economic declines. The system should be strengthened and improved.

3. Community Facilities—Many communities would be happy to relieve local unemployment and at the same time create new or improved facilities for education, health, recreation, police and fire protection, civil defense, parking or other public needs, if they had the necessary means. Amendments to the Housing Act in 1955 did establish a $100 million revolving fund to provide loans for construction of water, gas and sewer systems, but the scope of this measure is far too restricted and the funds entirely inadequate. Congress should pass new community facilities legislation which would provide authority and funds to assist municipalities in the provision of a wide variety of necessary facilities.

4. Government Contracts for Distressed Communities—One of the most obvious ways in which the federal government can give immediate aid to communities distressed with serious unemployment is by placing defense and other government contracts in such areas. For some years now, the Administration has given lip service to this principle, but in practice little has been done except to give some priority to such areas when all other procurement considerations are equal. This is not enough. Government procurement policies should be based on the principle that reasonable additional costs involved in placing contracts in distressed areas will be offset by resulting avoidance of the heavy financial costs and other tragic consequences of unemployment, both to such communities and to the nation.

5. Minimum Wage—Congress should extend the coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act to millions of workers in retail and wholesale trade

and in services, and should raise the minimum wage under the Act from the present $1.00 to $1.25 an hour. Such action would not only aid in increasing consumer buying power, it would also be a step towards eliminating poverty from the American scene.

6. Social Security—The Social Security Act should be improved through increased benefits, liberalized eligibility and medical care provisions for those receiving Social Security benefits.

7. Committee on Technological Change—We must devise social and economic programs to cushion the dislocations that result from automation and rapid technological change. For several years, now, we have been living through a silent revolution in the United States—a revolutionary change in production and distribution processes, manpower requirements, composition of the work force and location of industry. This silent revolution is continuing and, in the not too distant future, there will be the widespread introduction of nuclear energy for peacetime uses, with the possibility of a vast impact on the location of industry, on opportunities for employment and on the skills of the labor force.

It is irrational to move blindly, without direction or information, through a period of radical technological change. Information is needed to help guide government and private groups in devising policies that can minimize social and economic dislocations.

This Committee of the Congress has made a start in this direction. Much more information and examination of varying policy proposals are needed. The Committee should be composed of representatives of labor, farmers, management, consumers and government, to keep under continuing review developments in automation, atomic and solar energy, and other technological innovations, and make recommendations to Congress and the President to assure that the fruits of technological advance are fairly shared and full employment sustained.

8. Progressive Reduction of the Workweek—The Fair Labor Standards Act should be amended to provide for a progressive reduction of the standard workweek, with provision for periodic review by the Joint Economic Committee, so that, as our technology continues to advance, workers can enjoy, through a shorter workweek, an increasing measure of creative and purposeful leisure instead of suffering the tragic and wasteful idleness of unemployment.

Historically, we in America have always taken part of the fruits of advancing technology in the form of reductions of working hours, while at the same time increasing our supply of goods and services. The accelerating rate of productivity advance makes it possible to progress faster in both respects.

The rate of reduction of the standard workweek should take into account both the rate of technological advance and the extent to which our growing power to produce is actually being used to raise living standards, to meet our national needs for more and improved homes, schools, hospitals, highways and resource development, and to provide for generous international economic aid and an adequate defense. When workers are unemployed, or suffering short workweeks, or faced with the threat of unemployment, they can scarcely be asked to accept the argument that a 40-hour week is needed to attain our national objectives while their government takes no steps to assure that their available working hours are fully utilized.

9. Aid to Education—There is a growing need for federal aid for education to strengthen the basic human resources of our country. This should mean, not only aid for school construction, but also a federal scholarship program.

10. Housing—A national housing program is needed to provide good homes in decent neighborhoods for all American families. The program should provide adequately for public housing for low-income families, slum clearance, and urban redevelopment, and low-interest, long-term mortgages for privately constructed moderate-priced homes and apartment developments. In this connection, too, a federal loan program for the improvement of community facilities is needed.

11. Hospitals, Highways, Resource Development—Other essential federal programs include hospitals and other medical facilities, highways and natural resource conservation and development. These, and similar programs to strengthen our human resources and to promote more efficient use of our material resources, contribute to full employment, facilitate economic growth, and add to national security in a troubled world.

12. Adequate Defense—The national defense effort is in need of careful examination in terms of the military requirements for the defense of freedom. The U. S. lag behind the Russians in some areas is obvious

even to a layman. Informed experts have challenged the adequacy of the President's defense budget proposals. Defense expenditures should be stepped up wherever necessary, to meet our national security needs.

13. Economic Aid—Economic and technical aid for the peoples that are emerging from colonialism should be considered as a major aspect of national policy. Such programs of loans and grants—both directly and through international agencies—should be greatly expanded as part of a long-term effort by the United States to assist the economically underdeveloped nations.

14. Consumer Buying Power—Consumer buying power must be raised substantially in order to lift sales and output in the months ahead. Wage and salary increases, and a reasonably stable price level, therefore, are essential. The President and the Congress should declare their essentiality, as part of a concerted effort to eliminate the waste of idle manpower and machines.

15. Tight Money—The government should indicate its support for a policy of rapid economic growth to full employment and full production by halting the tight money policy which is generally restrictive. Instead of attempting to restrain the entire economy while over 6 percent of the labor force is unemployed because prices in one economic sector, the stock market, have risen, the government should use specific measures to curb excessive stock market speculation. A step in this direction would be the effective enforcement of the elimination of margins on all stock purchases.

16. International Trade—International economic and trade policies of the United States likewise require bold and realistic measures to meet the needs of the times. Vice-President Nixon's experience last year in South America dramatized, for example, the need to move in the direction of stabilizing raw material prices on an international basis.

17. International Fair Labor Standards—The United States must build its trade relations with other countries, particularly since we need a wide variety of imports as well as foreign markets. But we cannot avoid the problem of unfair competition with some American products from low-wage, highly efficient foreign producers. In this connection, the United States should propose, through the International Labor Organization, the creation of international fair labor standards provisions on

wages and other labor conditions in export industries directed at raising wages in such industries, step by step, to levels justified by productivity. This would bring to an end unfair international competition based entirely on depriving workers of their fair share of the fruits of their labor.

18. Fair Employment Practices—Opportunities should be opened for members of minority groups to contribute fully to and share fairly in social and economic growth through enactment of federal Fair Employment Practices legislation.

19. Meeting the Cost—Admittedly, not all of these programs can be gotten under way in time to affect the level of economic activities in 1959. But their initiation now would change the direction and tone from defeatism to optimistic faith in the ability of the national economy to move forward in response to the needs of our times.

We have been told often—and it will be repeated in the future—that this nation cannot afford to meet both the defense and public service needs of the middle of the Twentieth Century. The truth is, first, that under dynamic leadership the means at hand are ample not only to meet our needs in both areas but also sufficient to make up rapidly for time already lost in meeting them and, second, that what we can afford least of all is to fail to meet them.

A more rapid rate of economic growth—higher employment and increased utilization of productive capacity—will, in itself, generate personal and business incomes and federal revenues. A large part of the increased expenditures for expanded government programs can arise from an increased rate of economic growth.

Still more additional federal revenues are available, without raising tax rates, by closing current loopholes in the tax structure. As much as $9 billion in additional revenue can be raised if these numerous loopholes were closed. Certain immediate steps in this direction would raise about one-third of that amount of additional revenue by closing the following loopholes of special privilege for wealthy families and corporations. To gain this much revenue we need merely:

(a) Repeal the favored tax treatment granted to dividend income from stocks by the Revenue Act of 1954.

(b) Require withholding taxes on the payment of dividends and interest, similar to the present system of withholding taxes on wages and salaries.

(c) Repeal excessive depletion allowances such as those for oil and gas and remove such tax privileges from many of the metals and minerals now covered.

(d) Tighten the capital gains structure by lengthening the holding period for long-range gains and increasing the current 25 percent tax rate.

(e) Remove from capital gains treatment the many types of income not originally included.

Full employment, a more rapid rate of economic growth, and steps toward closing the numerous tax loopholes can raise more than enough revenue to cover the increased federal expenditures to meet our national needs.

* * * * *

Above all, this nation needs leadership and direction to move out of stagnating, rudderless drift into a firm faith in the future of our free society. We have the human resources, skills and ingenuity. We have the productive equipment. What we need is a decisive change in national policies that are firmly rooted in an optimistic conviction about our nation's ability to grow and to solve its many problems.

History has thrust world responsibility upon America and we have become the custodians of human freedom. No nation is better equipped to meet these new and challenging responsibilities, for we are blessed with tremendous economic and human resources and a great democratic heritage.

The American economy is the most productive in the world. It is freedom's greatest material asset and if its potential abundance is fully mobilized and intelligently and responsibly distributed, it is equal to the challenge we face.

We must reject the counsel of the men of little faith who would sell America short by preventing the realization of the full growth and the maximum potential of the American economy. As a people and as a nation we must act in the knowledge that we are engaged in a struggle for peace and our very survival, and that the challenge of peace is

equally compelling and costly but more complex than the challenge of war.

The American people and the American economy responded to affirmative leadership following Pearl Harbor. The challenge today is no less imperative and the American people and the American economy will once again respond to bold and imaginative leadership.

We cannot hope to overcome our fiscal deficit until we first overcome our leadership deficit. We need bold leadership and direction to move out of economic stagnation and drift. We need leadership with a firm faith in the future of our free society that can call into play our great human resources and skill and our ingenuity and our productive capacity.

Policy Priorities for Peace and Survival

We need decisive changes in our national policies that are firmly rooted in the conviction that our nation has the ability and the capacity to grow and expand and find answers to these challenging problems.

We need first of all to overcome the crippling and corrupting influence of complacency.

We need to comprehend more fully the dimensions of the Soviet challenge and the totality of the threat with which we are confronted.

I share the concern expressed by General Omar Bradley when he said: "I am sometimes discouraged not by the magnitude of the problem but our colossal indifference to it."

As a people and as a nation we need to get our values in sharper focus. We need to think through together the values that we are defending and trying to extend in the world.

We need a list of national priorities for peace and survival, and we need the will to commit our resources, both human and material, in total effort to achieve these national priorities. We have to put first things first so that we do not dissipate our time, our energies and our resources.

We need to recognize that new problems and new challenges will require new concepts and new approaches, and we need to dare to try such new concepts and new approaches, for we cannot solve tomorrow's problems with yesterday's tools.

We need above all a sense of national urgency out of which we can achieve the same measure of national unity and singleness of purpose to win the peace that we demonstrated in winning the war.

We must recognize that business-as-usual, whether in government, industry or labor, will not make us equal to the challenge before us.

I have unlimited faith in the capacity of free men to win over those who slave under systems of tyranny. In the words of Abraham Lincoln, "If we could first know where we are, and whither we are tending, we could then better judge what to do and how to do it."

Appendix

MEASURING THE ACCELERATING PRODUCTIVITY TREND

THE TENDENCY OF productivity in the United States to advance at an accelerating rather than a constant rate has long been recognized by many economists as well as by corporate executives familiar at first hand with the facts of industrial life.[1]

Nevertheless, those who have attempted statistical measurement of the productivity trend have generally assumed that the annual percentage rate of advance is constant. One noteworthy exception is J. Frederic Dewhurst, who, in the Twentieth Century Fund study entitled *America's Needs and Resources*, presented computations showing a long term tendency for productivity to advance at an increasing rate.[2]

The assumption of a constant rate of productivity advance predetermines the results of those statisticians who accept it. They compute their trend lines on the basis of first degree least squares logarithmic equations. Such equations, by their very nature, would not show acceleration no matter how strong the acceleration might actually be in the underlying data. Trend lines computed on the basis of such equations, when plotted on semi-logarithmic paper necessarily yield straight lines reflecting what they assume—a constant annual percentage rate of change.

The resources of statistical science, however, provide a wide variety of trend equations from among which the statistician may choose, depending upon the nature of the data involved. While the choice of a trend equation frequently confronts the statistician with difficult prob-

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[1] A few examples of expressions of such recognition appear in the main body of this statement.

[2] Dewhurst's results are somewhat different from those described in this statement, although his method is the same, because he used different data for a different period. His calculations are based on national income estimates for every tenth year starting with 1850. Thus his trend equation is based on 11 points in all and the data for the earlier years in particular are subject to substantial margins of error. The calculations here presented are based on better data (the productivity estimates, based on private gross national product, of the staff of the Congressional Joint Economic Committee for the years 1909 through 1937 and the BLS estimates thereafter) for all years from 1909 through 1956 except the war years 1941-46 for which BLS has published no figures.

lems, the standard statistics textbooks do present certain "objective tests" which he may summon to his aid.[3]

For purposes of measurement of the productivity trend, it is readily apparent from examination of the long term data that the choice lies between a first degree logarithmic least squares equation (the equation most commonly used) and a second degree equation of the same type (the equation used by Dr. Dewhurst).

The second degree equation would reflect acceleration if it is present in the underlying data. But, where there is no significant acceleration in the data, the trend line plotted on the basis of the second degree equation will tend to approach a straight line, i.e., will tend to take approximately the same form as the line computed from the first degree equation.

The objective test for choosing between these two types of equations consists of "smoothing" the data and comparing the "first differences" of the logarithms with the "second differences." As stated in one of the standard texts:

> "If the first differences of the logarithms are constant, use an exponential. (Fit a straight line to the logarithms.)
>
> "If the second differences of the logarithms are constant, fit a second degree curve to the logarithms."[4]

The data used in the UAW computations presented in 1958 negotiations consisted of the productivtiy indexes prepared by the Joint Economic Committee's staff for the years 1909-1937 linked to Bureau of Labor Statistics indexes for the years 1937-1947 and to the indexes presented in President Eisenhower's 1958 Economic Report for the years 1947-1956.[5]

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[3] See, for example, Frederick C. Mills, *Statistical Methods Applied to Economics and Business*, revised edition (Henry Holt and Company, 1938) pp. 274ff.; and Frederick E. Croxton and Dudley J. Cowden, *Applied General Statistics* (Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939) p. 461.

[4] Croxton and Cowden, *op. cit.*, p. 462. The texts also indicate that in the analysis of economic data these tests will rarely, if ever, be met perfectly. See, for example, Mills, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

[5] The Joint Economic Committee indexes are from *Productivity Prices and Incomes*, p. 89; and the BLS indexes, from *Postwar Productivity Growth in the United States;* the indexes drawn from the President's Economic Report are those which measure productivity in terms of hours worked and were also computed by BLS. Splicing these indexes is proper because all of them are based on the man-hours worked concept. The BLS indexes were used for the period since 1937 because the manhours' data on which they are based are clearly superior to those used by the staff of the Joint Economic Committee. There were no BLS indexes, however, for the war years 1941-46 and these years, therefore, were omitted from the computations. The analysis stopped with the year 1956 since at the time the trend was computed only a preliminary index was available for 1957.

When these data were smoothed with moving averages, the first differences showed a marked tendency to increase from year to year. In fact, they were roughly twice as great toward the end of the period covered by the moving averages as they were at the beginning. The second differences, on the other hand, fluctuated within a relatively narrow range, i.e., they tended to approach constancy.

Thus the objective tests indicated the use of the second degree equation. This finding was supported by examination of the index numbers for the individual years of the perior covered, plotted as points on a semi-logarithmic chart.[6] The points clearly tended to follow a curve rather than a straight line.

In fact, a trend line computed on the basis of a first degree equation highlighted the curvilinear nature of the data by revealing that the plotted points representing the actual indexes were above the line for all of the earliest as well as for all of the most recent years of the 1909-56 period. The straight line was seen to rise much more steeply than the points in the early years, indicating that the first degree equation overstated the actual rate of increase in those years, while, in the later years, the points rose much more steeply than the line, indicating that the first degree equation understated the actual rate of increase in those years.

Statisticians would attach particular significance to one other indication that the second degree trend line fits the data better than the first degree. That is the fact that the deviations of the logarithms of the actual index numbers for individual years from the logarithms of the index numbers computed on the basis of the equations approximate a normal distribution in the case of the second degree equation but not in the case of the other.

Since the productivity indexes for the earlier years of the 1909-56 period are less reliable than the indexes for later years because of the inadequacies of the basic data from which they are computed, an additional test was applied to determine whether differences in the reliability of the indexes for different periods might have influenced the trend rate of growth derived from the second degree equation for the entire period. Second degree trends were computed for periods beginning

[6] Such examination is one of the methods which the texts suggest for choice of a trend equation. See, for example, Croxton and Cowden, *op. cit.*, p. 462.

respectively with 1919 and 1935[7] and ending, in both cases, with 1956.

Both yielded computed rates of productivity advance for 1955-56 remarkably close to the 3.9 percent computed on the basis of the entire period 1909-56. The computed 1955-56 rates were 4.1 percent based on the period 1919-56, and 4.0 percent based on the period 1935-56.

A comparison of the actual annual indexes of productivity with those computed on the basis of the second degree equation is presented in the attached table which also shows the equation. The close correspondence between the actual and computed indexes is readily apparent. Substantial deviations of the actual from the computed indexes appear for only three periods—the World War I years, the 1920s, and the Great Depression. The direction of the deviations in each of these cases is that which would be expected. The actual are below the computed indexes during World War I and the depression. The actual are above the computed indexes during the prosperous '20s.

The rise of the actual indexes above the trend line during the 1920s, coupled with similar though smaller deviations during the first half of the present decade, reflect the fact that productivity growth is facilitated under conditions of relatively full employment. These deviations strongly suggest that the trend rate of productivity advance computed on the basis of a half century's experience that includes wars, depressions, repeated recessions, and periods of economic stagnation, is an understatement of the rate that would be attained under conditions of continuing full employment.

In addition, there is strong reason to believe that the productivity indexes understate our actual, experienced rate of productivity advance. Statisticians are still wrestling with certain defects in the data and methods used to measure productivity. While these defects lead to errors in both directions, those tending to bias the productivity indexes in an upward direction are few and have negligible effect. A greater number of the known defects tend to cause downward bias, in several cases to a significant extent.

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[7] These years were selected as starting points because their respective productivity indexes indicated a return to something approximating "normal" situations after periods during which productivity had been depressed in World War I, in the first instance, and in the Great Depression, in the other.

OUTPUT PER MANHOUR IN THE TOTAL PRIVATE ECONOMY

1909-1956

Comparison of Actual and Computed Indexes
(with Actual Index for 1947 = 100)

Year	Actual Index [a]	Computed Index [b]	
		Annual	Percent Change from Preceding Year [c]
1909	46.7	46.8	----
1910	46.7	47.2	0.9%
1911	48.3	47.6	0.9
1912	50.0	48.1	1.0
1913	50.0	48.6	1.1
1914	49.4	49.2	1.1
1915	48.5	49.8	1.2
1916	49.7	50.4	1.3
1917	45.8	51.1	1.3
1918	47.0	51.8	1.4
1919	52.7	52.6	1.4
1920	51.6	53.4	1.5
1921	53.3	54.2	1.6
1922	57.1	55.1	1.7
1923	59.3	56.1	1.7
1924	61.0	57.1	1.8
1925	63.6	58.1	1.8
1926	64.5	59.2	1.9
1927	64.6	60.4	2.0
1928	64.2	61.6	2.0
1929	65.5	62.9	2.1
1930	63.6	64.3	2.2
1931	65.4	65.7	2.2
1932	62.6	67.2	2.3
1933	61.1	68.8	2.4
1934	66.8	70.5	2.4
1935	71.7	72.2	2.5
1936	73.7	74.1	2.6

1937	75.8	76.0	2.6
1938	76.6	78.1	2.7
1939	80.0	80.2	2.8
1940	84.5	82.5	2.8
1941	——	84.8	2.9
1942	——	87.3	2.9
1943	——	90.0	3.0
1944	——	92.7	3.1
1945	——	95.7	3.2
1946	——	98.7	3.2
1947	100.0	102.0	3.3
1948	104.2	105.3	3.3
1949	105.4	108.9	3.4
1950	114.5	112.7	3.5
1951	118.8	116.7	3.5
1952	123.2	120.9	3.6
1953	127.8	125.3	3.7
1954	131.5	130.0	3.7
1955	136.3	134.9	3.8
1956	137.9	140.2	3.9

[a] Sources:

1909-37, Joint Economic Committee, *Productivity, Prices and Incomes*, p. 89.

1937-47, BLS, *Postwar Productivity Growth in the U. S.* (years 1941-46 omitted)

1947-56, President's Economic Report, 1958

[b] Computed from the following least squares curve, second degree, based on the actual index numbers:

$$\log y = 1.66658 + 0.00341x + 0.0001373x^2$$

where y is the computed index number and x is the year number, 1909 being year 1.

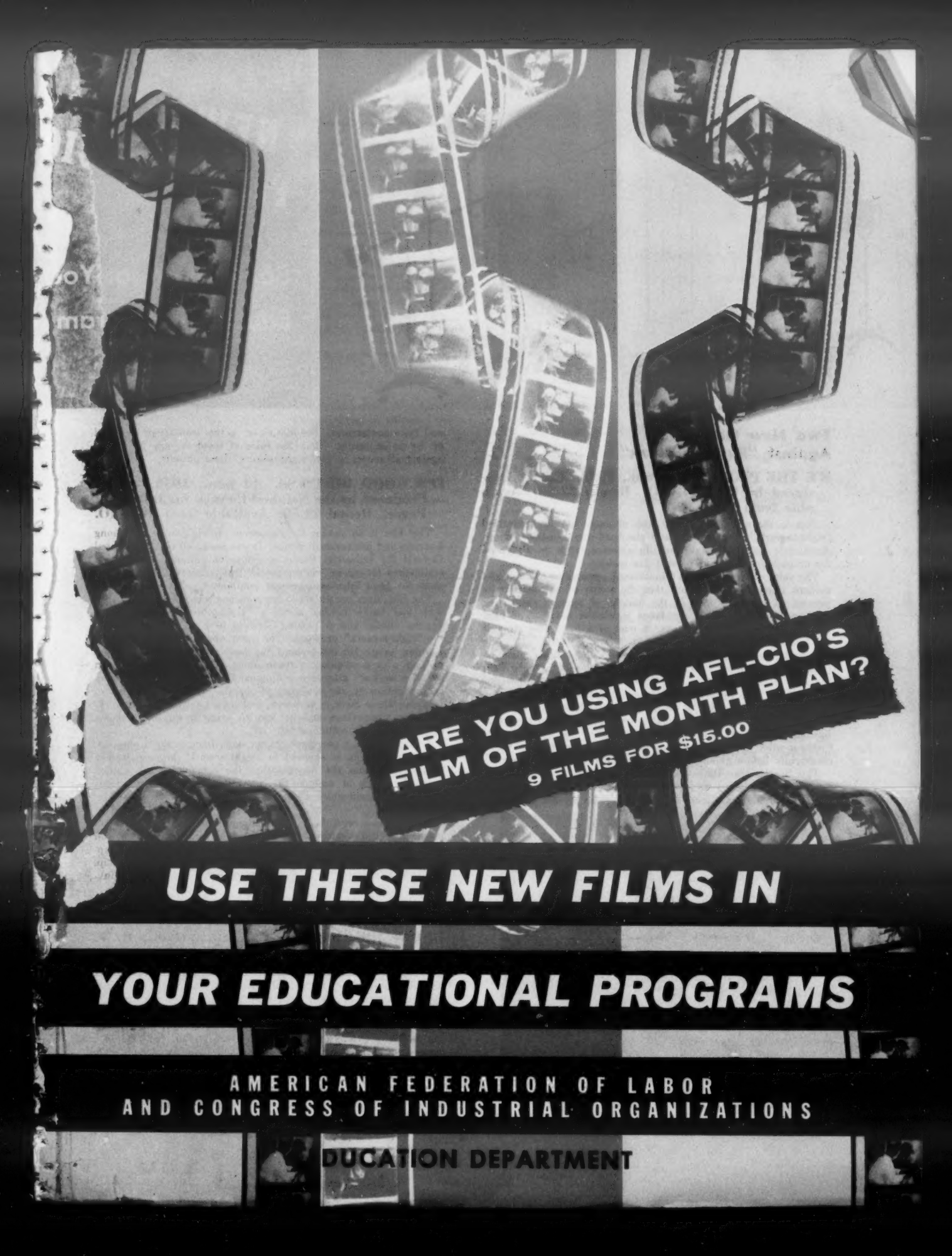
[c] Computed from logarithms of the index numbers.

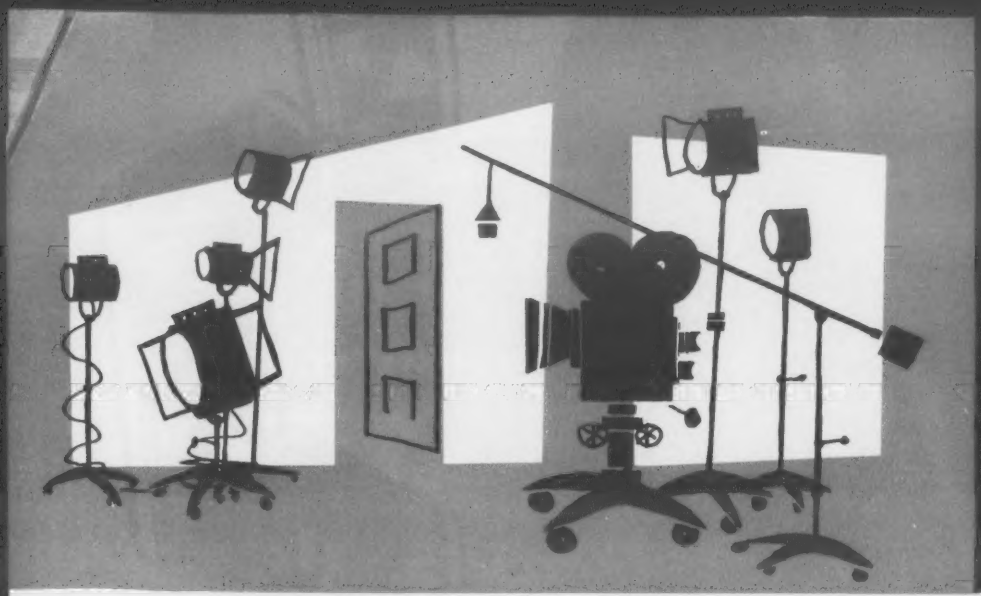
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Two New Films Against "Right-to-Work"

WE THE PEOPLE. 14 min., 1958. Color. Produced by the AFL-CIO. Rental $2.50. Available from AFL-CIO.

This is the second AFL-CIO film prepared on the subject of "right-to-work." This film relates the hard-won freedoms of our democratic ways as established in colonial times to the need for union security in our present day society.

The voice of freedom (the minuteman) appears in colonial and modern times. He points out that the words of anti-democratic persons in colonial times fit the mouths of persons supporting "right-to-work" and other anti-labor legislation today. The fight against "right-to-work," he says, is part of a long time struggle for freedom.

Specific questions about "right-to-work" and unions come up in the film at a town meeting when a union leader is praised for the work he and the union have done in helping to make possible the building of a town hall. Questions are directed to the union leader. They come from all walks of life—a housewife, a farmer, a businessman and professionals. One particularly important businessman stands up in front and states his opposition to "right-to-work" by recalling how bad things were for the whole community before unions had gained widespread membership.

This businessman states frankly that he supports strong unions because they help get workers higher wages and this means more business for him as a local businessman—also for the distributor and the manufacturer. The film closes as this man clasps the hand of the union leader. Then the voice of freedom calls for action against all moves to get "right-to-work" laws passed.



Historic Second Biannual Convention of AFL-CIO is reported on in new AFL-CIO movie, "Union Democracy."

IT'S GOOD BUSINESS. 14 min., 1958. Color. Produced by the National Council for Industrial Peace. Rental $2.50. Available from AFL-CIO.

This film is an answer to proponents of "right-to-work" among business and professional groups. It was produced by the National Council for Industrial Peace, a non-profit national organization established to oppose "right-to-work" legislation in the states and work for good labor-management relations.

The film story presents two businessmen who meet in a barber shop and begin talking about a "right-to-work" law. One is against unions and is looking forward to a chance to vote for the "right-to-work" proposal. The other operates a business with a union shop. He talks about the benefits he has gained from dealing with a responsible trade union. He tells of the way in which a worker's grievance is handled in his shop without a stop in production or any lowering of morale. He compares this to business where there is no union, and points out that when workers have a grievance and no way to bring it up they become disgruntled and production falls off.

A third person, a newspaper editor, then joins in the discussion. He states that he is opposed to "right-to-work" because it is a fraud. He traces the benefits that the community has gained from the work of unions—the way in which the union participates in community chest, the blood bank, recreation programs, etc.

The film ends with the barber reading an article from a national magazine by a wealthy businessman who supports unions and states his reasons for supporting them. The "right-to-work" supporter leaves his chair, pays his bill and walks out of the shop. He doesn't indicate that he has changed his mind, but he is thinking about the discussion.

AFL-CIO Convention Film

UNION DEMOCRACY. 28 min. 1958. B/W. Rental $3. Available from AFL-CIO.

The AFL-CIO has taken newsreel and TV footage of its second biennial convention held in Atlantic City, December, 1957, and put together an unusually good summary of events from the Convention.

The film opens with AFL-CIO President George Meany reporting on the activities of the first two years of the AFL-CIO. He speaks on the problem of corruption and indicates delegates to the AFL-CIO Convention will meet the challenge of this problem.

The most dramatic moments of the Convention are shown when the discussions to expell or place on probation five AFL-CIO unions took place. The first move under this heading was the

Both "We the People" and "It's Good Business" can be ordered on long-term lease from the AFL-CIO Education Department for $95 each. The AFL-CIO film, "Union Democracy," may be ordered for $60.

motion to expel the Teamsters Union. A vice president of the IBT states the official positions of the union from the convention platform after the report of the Appeals Committee was read to the Convention. John English, national secretary-treasurer of the Teamsters, pleads from the floor of the Convention against expulsion of the IBT. Delegates speak on both sides of the question. Then President Meany closes debate with a summary of the steps taken by the AFL-CIO in attempting to solve the Teamsters' problem. The delegates are shown voting on a roll call and the Teamsters are expelled by a margin of 5 to 1.

The film quickly shows the action taken against the old Bakery Workers and the Laundry Workers.

The film shows convention delegates hammering out a national legislative and economic program. Walter Reuther's warning on hard times in the midst of plenty while prices are going up is featured. Reuther says that this is further proof that a few corporations control the market without regard to the law of supply and demand.

It ends with President Meany accepting his re-election. Meany emphasizes that we must "continue to build on simple basic traditions . . . organize well . . . bargain well . . . and from this will flow benefits to the community, the nation and the free peoples of the world."

What About Automation

PUSH BUTTONS AND PEOPLE. 18 min., 1958. Produced by the United Automobile Workers, AFL-CIO. B&W. Rental $2.50. Available from AFL-CIO.

This film shows the relationship between legislation and economics. It features scenes of an actual hearing before the Senate Subcommittee on Anti-Trust and Monopoly.

The film opens with Walter Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers of America and vice-president of the AFL-CIO, testifying before the Committee. You hear the voices of the Senators asking questions about production costs, wages, business incentives, prices, profits and their relationship to automation.

The Senators' questions and Reuther's answers are emphasized



New automation film, "Push Buttons and People," shows scenes of new plant processes.

to the film viewer with actual scenes of automobile production in the 'twenties and now in the fully automated Ford engine plant near Cleveland, Ohio. The combination of jostling between the Senators and Reuther with factory scenes as a backdrop gives this film a special flavor.

The questions that the Senators ask and the answers that Mr. Reuther offers bring out clearly the need for some real political decisions to meet the on-rushing economic facts of automation. Reuther leaves little doubt in his remarks that we need to face up to a new industrial revolution. He suggests that we need to prepare to meet the problems of abundance and should decide who will push the buttons.

Most of the setting of the new film "It's Good Business" takes place in a barber shop where two businessmen, a local editor and a barber discuss "right-to-work" laws. The editor stresses the fact that when unions are weakened, you also weaken the contribution they make to community welfare, such as; working with scouts, developing recreation programs, Community Chest, etc.









"The Skilled Worker" has more than a job. His skills run deep and they can't be turned off with a switch. Just watching (left) an unskilled hand touch his tool, hurts, and though the union (above) helps ease the change, the worker is sure things will not be the same.

OTHER RECENT FILMS

OPERATION CAMERON. 28 mins. B&W or Color. Produced by the Louisiana State Labor Council, AFL-CIO. Available from AFL-CIO Film Division. Rental, $3.00.

This is the story of labor's role in helping Cameron, Louisiana, dig out and rebuild after the hurricane of 1957. It is a story of an area wide AFL-CIO volunteer effort. It is the first such labor story to be put on film.

"Operation Cameron" shows the many volunteers, especially from the building trades unions, who gave their time and skills to help a neighbor in distress. Homes were rebuilt, people in trouble were helped.

This is the story of one of the great contributions of the labor movement which will not be headlined by newspapers that prefer to headline the McClellan Committee hearings. It should be shown widely to non-labor groups so that they may better understand the American labor movement.

* * *

PRICES, PAYCHECKS AND PROSPERITY. 18 min. B & W. 1958. Produced by the Conference on Economic Progress. Available from the AFL-CIO. Rental $2.50.

Could your family use $2,000?

Leon Keyserling, director of the Conference on Economic Progress and former chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers under President Truman points out in *Prices, Paychecks and Prosperity* that this is what the lag in full consumption and full prosperity has cost the average American family over the past five years. Furthermore, he points out in answer to yet another question that it is still possible for each family to enjoy that much more by 1964 if we get a change in economic direction.

Mr. Keyserling tries in answering a series of questions from wage earners, housewives and others about inflation, to bring about understanding of "full prosperity." His answers to questions are illustrated with charts.

In answer to the final question raised in the film, ". . . what should we do to help all American families enjoy full prosperity?" Keyserling calls for a more vigorous anti-monopoly program, higher outlays for defense, education, health, and resource development. He says also it is time to change our farm program and revise our tax burdens as further stimulants to consumption.

The film can be useful in discussing why "the spenders" in Congress support this kind of program—and the $2,000 per family increase by 1964.

* * *

TO ALL CONCERNED. 10 mins. B&W. Produced by the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association. Available from the AFL-CIO Film Division. Rental, $2.00.

Addressed to the GBBA membership, this film explains their new contract provisions. It discusses economic problems like unemployment, reduced work weeks, soft markets, etc., which existed when the contract was negotiated. It reminds the members that their union has not only a responsibility to them but to the industry and the community. It points out that a long-term contract would help management plan its production costs over a longer period to meet market competition.

* * *

THIS IS YOUR UNION. 20 min. Color. 1958. Produced by the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association, 226 South 16th Philadelphia 2, Pa. Available from AFL-CIO Film Division. Rental, $2.50.

How this union operates is told by their International President, Lee Minton, to a new member named Bill. Bill is shown starting to work in one of the many plants under a Glass Bottle Blowers' contract.

Although the union structure and the grievance handling procedures described are peculiar to the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association, the high standard of photography and simplicity of the story should make this film useful to groups that want to know about how unions function.

How the Supreme Court Interprets the Constitution

The two following films are from a new series produced by the Center for Mass Communication of Columbia University Press entitled "Decision: The Constitution in Action." Each film ends with a Supreme Court decision of modern times, involving a question of Constitutional interpretation. The films show how the Constitution has remained a living, growing document.

THE CONSTITUTION AND EMPLOYMENT STANDARDS. 28 mins. 1958. B&W. Produced by the Center for Mass Communication of Columbia University Press. Available from AFL-CIO Film Division. Rental, $3.00.

This film closes with the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court in 1941 in the case of the U. S. v. Darby Lumber Company. The Court ruled that Congress did have the right to set minimum wages, limit child labor, and in other respects legislate employment standards. The film reconstructs the case and is valuable for showing how through our form of government laws are passed by Congress, signed by the President (or passed over his veto), and the Supreme Court decides whether they are in keeping with the Constitution.

* * *

THE CONSTITUTION AND THE RIGHT TO VOTE. 28 mins. 1958. B&W. Produced by the Center for Mass Communication of Columbia University Press. Available from AFL-CIO Film Division. Rental, $3.00.

This film, shot in Houston, Tex., is based on two cases in which the "white primary" was challenged: Grovey v. Townsend and

Smith v. Allwright. The film traces the steps by which the aggrieved party took his case into the courts and was eventually upheld by the Supreme Court of the United States. This film could be useful not only for a discussion on how Negroes are gaining the right to vote in the South because of the Supreme Court decision but to promote a discussion of the Civil Rights law passed in the 85th Congress.

* * *

Two New Canadian Films on "Nature of Work"

The two following films are from the new Canadian series, "The Nature of Work." They examine some of the problems of working in a modern industrial society and provide some keen insights into the problems that ought to make for a pretty rewarding discussion in a union class.

THE SKILLED WORKER. 30 mins. B&W. Produced by the National Film Board of Canada. Available from AFL-CIO Film Division. Rental, $3.00.

This is an excellent film dealing with a Ukranian immigrant machinist who takes great pride in his work. Production methods are changed in the plant and he is offered a transfer to the assembly line. There are some excellent discussions between both his son and his son-in-law who do not understand the older man's pride in his work and emphasize that his pension and pay are more important than his "skill." The union representative watches for contract violations and the best deal for the workers concerned.

An excellent film for discussing some of the problems Harvey Swados has raised in his book *On the Line.* Must be used with discussion.

MAN ON THE ASSEMBLY LINE. 30 mins. B&W. Produced by the National Film Board of Canada. Available from AFL-CIO Film Division. Rental, $3.00.

This film deals with the tensions that are created in our modern industrial plants where motors are produced and men are disintegrated. The worker on the assembly line who has been promised a chance to leave the line and make a phone call about the delivery of a swing for his child finally "blows his top" because the foreman unwittingly doesn't carry through his promise.

A vivid scene closes the film where a group being taken through the factory stops to watch "The Man on the Assembly Line." While the guide describes "how happy our workers are," the worker reaches into his bin, grabs the bolts that he has been using for mounting the door of the truck, and throws them high into the air.

Again, an excellent film for discussing what happens to the man who tightens bolt No. 462. Must be used with discussion.



"Man on the Assembly Line" reminds us that people work on the line—people with feelings and problems not always covered by the contract. Here he gives vent to his feelings by tossing a handful of bolts in the air while visitors are touring the plant.



Robert Young, of "Father Knows Best," and his TV family star in the new Treasury Department film.

TWENTY-FOUR HOURS IN TYRANTLAND. 30 min., B.&W. 1958. Produced by the U. S. Treasury Dept. with the cooperation of the AFL-CIO. Available from AFL-CIO Film Division. Rental, $1.00.

AFL-CIO has joined hands with the U. S. Treasury Department to sponsor the production of a half-hour movie supporting the U. S. Savings Bond Program.

Twenty-Four Hours in Tyrantland stars the cast of the popular TV series, "Father Knows best." AFL-CIO President George Meany appears at the end of the film to give support for the program.

The film story opens as "Father" comes home for dinner and announces to the family that he has been asked to act as chairman of the Share-in America Savings Bond Campaign for their town. But, he wants his family's support in the program before he takes the job.

The children are reluctant, but "Father" works out a bet. Beginning that night, and for twenty-four hours, they will live under a mock dictatorship, in which the children are pawns of the state—their parents. They are put through a stiff routine of household chores, inspections and long hours. Their desire to win the bet keeps them from giving up until the very end—but when they do, they say they have a better understanding of freedom and the privileges that are a part of our democratic way. Once they understand, they are more than willing to help—all of which proves **"Father Knows Best."**

Prints of **Twenty-Four Hours in Tyrantland** are also available free at state offices, U. S. Savings Bond Division.

* * *

REVOLT IN HUNGARY. 33 min. B&W. 1958. Produced by Prudential Insurance Company. Available free from Public Relations and Advertising, Prudential Insurance Company, Newark 1, N. J.

This kinescope is from the "Twentieth Century" TV series presented by the Prudential Insurance Company and narrated by Walter Cronkite. The picture shows the 1956 revolt that started as a student demonstration. Footage smuggled out of Hungary gives conclusive evidence that thousands of people responded to long pent-up feelings against Russian occupation. The fury of the fighting that resulted is captured on film. The tragedy of this defeat is emphatic.

It is unfortunate the film includes the TV commercials.

* * *

YOUR SOCIAL SECURITY FUND IN OPERATION. 18 min. Color. 1958. Produced by the Distillery, Rectifying and Wine Workers International Union, AFL-CIO. Available from AFL-CIO Film Division. Rental, $2.50.

This is a film report to the 50,000 members of the Distillery, Rectifying and Wine Workers Union. The jointly administered "social security fund" covers accidents, sickness and death benefits. The relationship of this "fund" to the Federal Social Security —Old Age and Survivors Insurance, Unemployment Compensation and Workmen's Compensation is not mentioned. To this extent the film's title is misleading.

ARE YOU USING THE FILM-OF-THE-MONTH PLAN?

Are your union members learning by looking?

By listening?

By discussing?

We are a nation of movie goers. With the coming of TV, union members spend a great deal of time watching TV programs in their homes. Many local unions, joint boards and central bodies have used labor films effectively. By hard work and proper planning, they have made use of one of the most powerful educational weapons of the 20th Century.

Between 150 and 200 affiliates have used the AFL-CIO "Film-A-Month" Plan. By carefully selecting films that will interest your audience—and by using them properly—you can build understanding of many of the issues of the day including the AFL-CIO's 12-point legislative program put before the 86th Congress.

Some of the films available to you under the "Film-A-Month" Plan are listed below. For a full selection of films available from the AFL-CIO Department of Education write for **Films for Labor** catalogue.

Here is how the AFL-CIO "Film-A-Month" Plan works.

1. You select a total of 9 films during a 12-month period. (In this way, you can omit three months during the year.)

2. Total payment for the series is $15.00 if you keep the film **for a single showing** each month. If you wish to keep each film **for two weeks** each month, the total cost of the nine films is $36.00. If you wish to keep the films **for one month,** the total cost of the series of nine films is $54.00.

Central bodies or regional offices or joint boards of international unions may wish to keep the film for two weeks or one month and make them available to local unions in the area, as well as church groups and school groups.

3. Nine categories of films are included here from which you may make your selection. The full listing of more than 200 films available for rental through the AFL-CIO Film Library is included in our catalogue, **Films for Labor.** In selecting your 9 films, choose films in different categories.

4. Because of the importance of previewing, the films are shipped to arrive a few days in advance of your showing date. Discussion guides and materials are also included. The responsibility for carrying through your film discussion program may be assigned to your local union education committee. In this case, the committee should preview the film and study the discussion materials before the showing. It should order additional materials to distribute at the film showing.

Start your program now by filling out a booking sheet. Indicate the date of each one of your meetings and indicate the film of your first choice and your second choice for each meeting. Indicate the date of the showing. If you are planning to keep the films for two weeks or one month, indicate the period of time you plan to keep each film.

Some changes probably will be necessary in your bookings. These will be submitted for your approval.

LABOR HISTORY

Together—40 minutes. Story of AFL-CIO merger convention, New York, 1955.

United Action for Victory—33 minutes. Scenes of activities and problems in the UAW Tool and Dye Makers strike in 1938-39 against General Motors.

With These Hands—50 minutes. Reviews struggle of the Ladies' Garment Workers to build their union, as seen through the eyes of a member.

POLITICAL EDUCATION

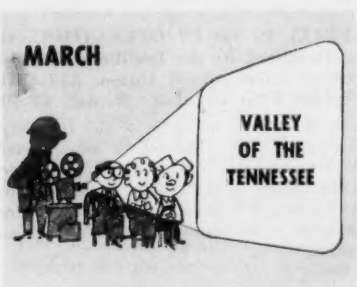
Clinton, A Political Story—13 minutes. Shows a local union political committee at work.

A Citizen Makes a Decision—22 minutes. Stresses need for studying issues and candidates before making a political decision.

You Can Win Elections—25 minutes. Emphasizes block workers and organized precinct work.

ANTI-DISCRIMINATION

Brotherhood of Man—10 minutes. Popular cartoon film stressing man's likeness regardless of race, creed or color.







For Fair Play—30 minutes. Pennsylvania State Commission film about a white machinist's concern for a Negro machinist who couldn't get a job.

Joe Davis, American—13 minutes. Discusses need for national Fair Employment Practices law. Features Senator Wayne Morse.

Segregation in the School—25 minutes. TV report on southern community reactions to Supreme Court school desegregation decision.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR

Breakthrough—18 minutes. Story of significance of Marshall Plan aid to union workers in Norway.

ILO—11 minutes. Describes structure, policies and program of United Nations International Labor Organization.

ICFTU Film Report No. 5—10 minutes. Reviews activities of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions for 1954.

A Union Goes to School—18 minutes. Story of an ICFTU leadership training school held in Europe.

UNION TRAINING

How to Conduct a Discussion—22 minutes. Explains discussion leadership techniques.

Parliamentary Procedure—18 minutes. Offers basic knowledge for those chairing a meeting.

Structure of Unions—10 minutes. Describes relationship of local unions to one another and to their international or national unions.

BUILDING UNIONISM

Local 100—32 minutes. Shows how a union is formed and improves working conditions.

Union and Community—18 minutes. Describes activities of local union Community Service Committees.

Union at Work—24 minutes. Good story of what a union (TWUA) does and how it operates.

A Watch for Joe—45 minutes. Shows how a union grievance procedure helps protect workers.

LEGISLATIVE ISSUES

Farewell Oak Street—20 minutes. Calls for slum clearance and public housing.

Our Nation's Health—13 minutes. Presents case for National Health Insurance program.

Valley of the Tennessee—30 minutes. Best film story about TVA. Shows how the people and the nation gained from this program.

We the People—14 minutes. Relates "right-to-work" fight to the long struggle in U. S. to develop political and economic freedom.

Who Will Teach Your Child—20 minutes. Stresses need for good teachers in our schools.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

The Challenge—28 minutes. Raises question of loyalty oaths for public school employees. Good discussion film.

Due Process of Law Denied—30 minutes. Western story about a lynching.

Freedom to Read—14 minutes. Film about attempts to censor public libraries.

INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING

Afghanistan Moves Ahead—10 minutes. Fine UN story of how technical assistance programs help people in under-developed countries.

The Grand Design—9 minutes. Reviews UN progress against mans' ancient enemies—poverty, hunger, disease, ignorance and war.

Out—25 minutes. UN documentary story of Hungarian refugees. Raises questions of what will we do to help these and other refugees living in camps.

Plan Your Film-of-the-Month Program *NOW!*

BOOKING SHEET

"FILM-A-Month" Plan

Month	Date	FILM CHOICES (All films are 16mm sound)
	1st	
Jan.	2nd	
	1st	
Feb.	2nd	
	1st	
Mar.	2nd	
	1st	
Apr.	2nd	
	1st	
May	2nd	
	1st	
June	2nd	
	1st	
	2nd	
	1st	
	2nd	
	1st	
Sept.	2nd	
	1st	
Oct.	2nd	
Nov.	1st	
	2nd	
Dec.	1st	
	2nd	

Check one

☐ Single showing ☐ Two weeks ☐ One month

Send to: Film Division, Department of Education, AFL-CIO, 815 Sixteenth Street, N.W. Washington 6, D. C.

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George Meany, *President* Wm. F. Schnitzler, *Secretary-Treasurer*

NEW AFL-CIO FILM

"WE THE PEOPLE"

HITS "RIGHT TO WORK" LAWS



Scenes from "We the People"

(1) Scene from AFL-CIO's new film shows an employer making a plea for passage of "right-to-work" laws. (2) Flash backs in the film show a labor spokesman as a Minute Man during the Revolutionary War. (3) The "right-to-work" issue is debated in the new town hall which union labor helped to build. (4) Flash backs show the employer as a Tory leader in the Revolutionary War. (5) Scene in colonial times shows workers meeting to discuss their demands.

"We the People" rents for $2.50 from the AFL-CIO Education Department. The 16mm, sound, color film is 14 minutes long.

responsabilidad obrera

La responsabilidad del AFL-CIO en servirle al desempleado es una cuestión de principios básicos.

Esto fué demostrado más recientemente el día 11 de febrero de 1958, cuando el Concilio Ejecutivo de la AFL-CIO adoptó la siguiente declaración como norma:—

> "Según la AFL-CIO se mueve en el frente económico, legislativo y político para evitar el desempleo, es también igualmente importante para nosotros ayudar a solucionar las necesidades inmediatas del desempleado.
> "Nosotros reconocemos que los gremios de oficio tienen una responsabilidad hacia los miembros desempleados que no pagan cuotas al igual que hacia los miembros empleados que pagan cuotas.
> "Para cumplir con esta responsabilidad, el Comité Local de Servicios a la Comunidad debe desarrollar, en cooperación con agencias públicas y voluntarias, un programa comprensivo de servicio efectivo para que ningún miembro desempleado o su familia se queden sin alimento, ropa, refugio y tratamiento médico."

trabajo - - - no ayuda caritativa

Compensación por desempleo, asistencia pública y otros servicios de bienestar no son substitutos de empleo. El objetivo del desempleado es siempre trabajar—no recibir ayuda caritativa.

En esta dirección, los miembros del CSC trabajando a través de los canales apropiados de los gremios obreros y la comunidad pueden ayudar a promover ambos, la búsqueda de trabajo y obras públicas.

El comité debe discutir con los oficiales públicos y otros líderes de la comunidad que estén interesados, la posibilidad de actuar conjuntamente para estimular nuevos negocios y desarrollar programas de obras públicas. AFL-CIO debe, por supuesto, estar representado en tales planes y debe hablar a favor del desarrollo adecuado de clínicas y hospitales, escuelas, facilidades de recreación, carreteras y otros proyectos de utilidad social—proveyendo así no solo la dignidad de empleo sino también el mejoramiento de facilidades locales que afectan la salud y el bienestar de la comunidad.

SERVICIOS
PARA EL
DESEMPLEADO



AFL-CIO ACTIVIDADES DE SERVICIOS COMUNALES
9 OESTE CALLE 40, NUEVA YORK 16, NY

Federacion Americana del Trabajo y
Congreso de Organizaciones Industriales

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algunas necesidades tipicas . . .

En último análisis, desempleo es una tragedia personal. Pocos problemas pueden preocupar y desanimar una persona tanto como un período de desempleo. Pérdida de trabajo puede ocasionar en el hogar toda clase de tensión y tirantez.

Desde el momento que se le notifica que queda cesante, el desempleado encontrara una variedad de problemas.

Primero, por supuesto, es saber cómo y cuándo solicitar compensación por desempleo y como proteger todos sus derechos bajo la ley. Cientos de miles de dólares se han perdido en reclamaciones por desempleo debido a tardanzas en solicitar e ignorancia de los reglamentos.

Existe el problema de si la compensación por desempleo proveerá tan siquiera un nivel mínimo de subsistencia para su familia y si la familia tiene derecho a ayuda pública suplementaria u otra ayuda adicional.

El puede necesitar ayuda para evitar un desahucio . . . para elaborar un presupuesto familiar efectivo, aunque reducido . . . para solucionar problemas especiales del bienestar del nino. La necesidad de atención médica y dental, servicios de hospital y tener crédito serán particularmente urgentes. Asi también los problemas de relaciones humanas que son severamente agravados por el desempleo.

Luego, si los pagos de compensación por desempleo llegan a su final—como ha ocurrido en crisis anteriores—el necesitara saber como solicitar ayuda del Departamento de Bienestar Público y otras agencias responsables de ayuda directa. A él se le debe asegurar que esta autorizado a tales servicios de la comunidad como una cuestión de derecho cuando esta necesitado. El algunos casos sera necesario que la unión gestione en su favor con tales agencias para asegurar que recibe un tratamiento y servicio justo y adecuado.

desempleo / una crisis personal

Para el hombre sin empleo y para la familia sin un futuro financiero, el desempleo no es una estadística, es una crisis personal.

En tal caso, es extremadamente importante que el miembro de la union desempleado tenga conocimiento que su union entiende su situacion, se preocupa por el y esta dispuesta a agotar toda posible ruta de accion para satisfacer sus necesidades básicas personales y familiares.

¿En qué forma estos problemas pueden trasarse mejor a través del Programa de la unión de servicios a la comunidad? Estos son algunos de los primeros pasos:—

1 Se debe hacer todo esfuerzo por ponerse en contacto con el miembro desempleado—mediante carta, tarjeta postal, anuncio o por notificación o noticia en el periódico local de la unión—informándole del programa de Servicios a la Comunidad y del mecanismo implantado por la unión local o el cuerpo obrero central para poner dicho programa en efecto.

2 Se deben hacer planes para tener un consejero de la unión de servicio en la oficina central de la local. El trabajador desempleado debe ser notificado de las horas específicas en que el consejero esta disponible para discutir sus problemas.

Si no existe un programa de orientación en la unión, el Comité de Servicios a la Comunidad debe emprender un programa de adiestramiento para consejeros inmediatamente, dándole especial importancia a la compensación por desempleo y asistencia pública. Material de programa definiendo el programa de orientación en detalle, más una variedad de material relacionado se puede obtener de la AFL-CIO-CSA Nacional.

3 Reclamaciones de compensación por desempleo deben ser protegidas y los pagos acelerados, pues estos proveen la principal fuente de ingreso al quedar cesante. Esto significa asegurarse de que cada miembro entiende la ley y sus requisitos, el lugar y tiempo en que debe radicar una solicitud y otros detalles. En algunos casos, el CSC puede ser de utilidad al requerir al negociado de desempleo que asigne personal a la sala de la unión para así acelerar la tramitación de las reclamaciones.

4 Será importante que los consejeros tengan todos los detalles sobre beneficios suplementarios que garantizan los contratos de convenio colectivo, para que así los miembros desempleados conozcan los procedimientos apropiados para obtener dichos beneficios.

5 En los casos en que la compensación es agotada, los cheques son retrasados, la reclamación es desaprobada, o la cantidad es demasiado pequeña para cubrir las necesidades básicas del miembro desempleado, diferentes recursos de ayuda deben ser explorados. Esto significa que el CSC local debe ayudar a obtener asistencia material en términos de comida, refugio, ropa y servicios médicos.

La principal fuente de ayuda es la pública o sea, agencias sostenidas por impuestos tales como la oficina de bienestar de la ciudad o distrito territorial. El CSC debe estudiar los requisitos de la agencia local, establecer contacto con ella en nombre de los miembros de la unión; e instituir un sistema apropiado de referir casos y un

¿En qué forma estos problemas pueden trasarse mejor a través del Programa de la unión de servicios a la comunidad? Estos son algunos de los primeros pasos:—

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procedimiento de verificar para así conseguir tratamiento apropiado y atención inmediata.

6 Como el desempleo es usualmente temporero, todo esfuerzo se debe hacer para que los funcionarios de bienestar faciliten los requisitos usuales de elegibilidad que frecuentemente envuelven el rendimiento de un drecho hipotecario contra la casa del solicitante o se le requiere que reduzca su póliza de seguro.

7 Será importante para los miembros del CSC saber qué arreglos han hecho los oficiales de la unión local en relación a como están cubiertos los miembros desempleados para propósitos de hospitalización. Esta información, por lo tanto, debe dársele a los miembros.

8 Un programa para la distribución de alimentos excedentes pueden ayudar a satisfacer ciertas necesidades urgentes. En cooperación con los oficiales públicos, el liderato de la unión puede trabajar con el Departamento de Agricultura de los Estados Unidos para implementar dicho programa.

9 Muy a menudo, la asistencia pública no puede proveer una defensa adecuada contra desastres económicos personales, particularmente en casos donde el requisito de residencia u otras restricciones impiden que las personas sean elegibles a recibir ayuda.

En situaciones como éstas, agencias voluntarias—muchas de ellas sostenidas por Fondos Comunales y campañas de Fondos Unidos—pueden proveer ayuda secundaria. Los nombres de estas agencias pueden variar, pero la mayoría de las grandes comunidades mantienen un conjunto de servicios voluntarios.

Según es aceptado que las necesidades básicas—alimento, refugio, ropa y tratamiento médico—son la responsabilidad de las agencias sostenidad por impuestos, las agencias voluntarias, dé acuerdo al alcance de su estado económico, deben proveer asistencia temporera o de emergencia a aquellos que no son elegibles para bienestar público.

10 El CSC debe convocar una reunión de las agencias sociales a través del concilio de Bienestar de la Comunidad para así determinar exactamente que clase de ayuda hay disponible y cual es el mejor método posible de cooperación agencia-unional en cuanto a entrevista y el proceso de referir miembros desempleados. Una reunión de esta clase puede explorar la posibilidad que las agencias privadas quieran ofrecer voluntariamente los servicios de su personal para entrevistar e investigar casos para el Departamente de Bienestar Público. Un préstamo de personal de esta clase permitiría a las agencias públicas aceptar un mayor número de casos evitándole a los solicitantes el tener que esperar por una entrevista.

algunas necesidades tipicas . . .

En último análisis, desempleo es una tragedia personal. Pocos problemas pueden preocupar y desanimar una persona tanto como un período de desempleo. Pérdida de trabajo puede ocasionar en el hogar toda clase de tensión y tirantez.

Desde el momento que se le notifica que queda cesante, el desempleado encontrara una variedad de problemas.

Primero, por supuesto, es saber cómo y cuándo solicitar compensación por desempleo y como proteger todos sus derechos bajo la ley. Cientos de miles de dólares se han perdido en reclamaciones por desempleo debido a tardanzas en solicitar e ignorancia de los reglamentos.

Existe el problema de si la compensación por desempleo proveerá tan siquiera un nivel mínimo de subsistencia para su familia y si la familia tiene derecho a ayuda pública suplementaria u otra ayuda adicional.

El puede necesitar ayuda para evitar un desahucio . . . para elaborar un presupuesto familiar efectivo, aunque reducido . . . para solucionar problemas especiales del bienestar del nino. La necesidad de atención médica y dental, servicios de hospital y tener crédito serán particularmente urgentes. Asi también los problemas de relaciones humanas que son severamente agravados por el desempleo.

Luego, si los pagos de compensación por desempleo llegan a su final—como ha ocurrido en crisis anteriores—el necesitara saber como solicitar ayuda del Departamento de Bienestar Público y otras agencias responsables de ayuda directa. A él se le debe asegurar que esta autorizado a tales servicios de la comunidad como una cuestión de derecho cuando esta necesitado. El algunos casos sera necesario que la unión gestione en su favor con tales agencias para asegurar que recibe un tratamiento y servicio justo y adecuado.

desempleo / una crisis personal

Para el hombre sin empleo y para la familia sin un futuro financiero, el desempleo no es una estadística, es una crisis personal.

En tal caso, es extremadamente importante que el miembro de la union desempleado tenga conocimiento que su union entiende su situacion, se preocupa por el y esta dispuesta a agotar toda posible ruta de accion para satisfacer sus necesidades básicas personales y familiares.

responsabilidad obrera

La responsabilidad del AFL-CIO en servirle al desempleado es una cuestión de principios básicos.

Esto fué demostrado más recientemente el día 11 de febrero de 1953, cuando el Concilio Ejecutivo de la AFL-CIO adoptó la siguiente declaración como norma:—

> "Según la AFL-CIO se mueve en el frente económico, legislativo y político para evitar el desempleo, es también igualmente importante para nosotros ayudar a solucionar las necesidades inmediatas del desempleado.
> "Nosotros reconocemos que los gremios de oficio tienen una responsabilidad hacia los miembros desempleados que no pagan cuotas al igual que hacia los miembros empleados que pagan cuotas.
> "Para cumplir con esta responsabilidad, el Comité Local de Servicios a la Comunidad debe desarrollar, en cooperación con agencias públicas y voluntarias, un programa comprensivo de servicio efectivo para que ningún miembro desempleado o su familia se queden sin alimento, ropa, refugio y tratamiento médico."

trabajo - - - no ayuda caritativa

Compensación por desempleo, asistencia pública y otros servicios de bienestar no son substitutos de empleo. El objetivo del desempleado es siempre trabajar—no recibir ayuda caritativa.

En esta dirección, los miembros del CSC trabajando a través de los canales apropiados de los gremios obreros y la comunidad pueden ayudar a promover ambos, la búsqueda de trabajo y obras públicas.

El comité debe discutir con los oficiales públicos y otros líderes de la comunidad que estén interesados, la posibilidad de actuar conjuntamente para estimular nuevos negocios y desarrollar programas de obras públicas. AFL-CIO debe, por supuesto, estar representado en tales planes y debe hablar a favor del desarrollo adecuado de clínicas y hospitales, escuelas, facilidades de recreación, carreteras y otros proyectos de utilidad social—proveyendo así no solo la dignidad de empleo sino también el mejoramiento de facilidades locales que afectan la salud y el bienestar de la comunidad.

Federacion Americana del Trabajo y
Congreso de Organizaciones Industriales

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UNESCO:

A Growing Force for Good

By FRANK FERNBACH

AFL-CIO Representative,
U.S. National Commission for UNESCO

NOT long ago eight hundred delegates to the tenth general conference of UNESCO—the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization—completed their work in Paris and departed for eighty-one different homelands. This writer was among them.

What had the delegates done? First of all, they scrutinized, revised and then voted their preferences from among the more than 150 UNESCO activities suggested by the director-general for 1959 and 1960. Then they debated and finally established a budget to finance the expanding UNESCO program. In addition, a new director-general and one-third of the international executive board—which governs UNESCO between general conferences—were selected.

While the delegates vigorously discussed all of the organization's strengths and weaknesses during this thirty-day conference at UNESCO's brand-new Paris headquarters, it was regretfully conceded that even the alphabetical symbol called U-N-E-S-C-O has, as yet, no meaning at all for most of the millions around the world.

In fact, the objectives and achievements of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization are probably less known than those of any of the other thirteen intergovernmental agencies now related to the United Nations.

What, in fact, does UNESCO do?

At the end of World War II the leaders of many countries realized that the maintenance of peace would require more from the new United Nations than the mere conduct of meetings for the airing of international differences.

They recognized that specialized United Nations agencies would also have to be set up to help member states resolve specific and urgent problems.

As a consequence, the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) was set up to help countries raise more nutritious food, the World Health Organization (WHO) to help attain the highest possible level of health and the International Bank to help obtain capital for industrial growth.

The International Labor Organization (ILO), which had been established after the First World War to raise the status of working people, became a specialized UN agency.

Through these and other specialized international agencies it was hoped that all countries would be helped to prosper and to live in peace.

Many statesmen, educators and cultural leaders also urged the creation of a specialized United Nations agency that would seek to increase mankind's store of knowledge, to disseminate it more widely and to open up new paths to understanding between the nations of the world.

At the end of the war the schools and scientific and cultural institutions of a score of countries lay in ruins. In many others—where, indeed, the majority of the world's population lives—these institutions were virtually non-existent. But aid in building schools, libraries, museums and laboratories clearly would not be enough.

After all, Hitler had had access to all the "tools" of knowledge but had subverted their use to warp the minds of a whole generation.

There would be needed a conscious and continuous international effort to strengthen the attitudes of tolerance and understanding among the peoples of all nations.

Out of an awareness of these needs, UNESCO was born in 1946. Its purpose, as officially stated in its constitution, is:

"* * * to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms which are affirmed for the peoples of the world, without distinction of race, sex, language or religion, by the Charter of the United Nations."

UNDER this broad mandate the task of UNESCO over the last twelve years has been to work toward realizable goals despite an extremely limited budget, divided counsels over what it should do first and impatience to show results to a world in which the techniques of international cooperation are only beginning to be learned. Yet much good is already being accomplished.

For example:

Faced with the fact that there are still over 200,000,000 children in the world for whom no school facilities exist, and recognizing that free schooling constitutes the foundation of genuine and lasting social and economic improvement, UNESCO has been spending a considerable part of its resources to help governments develop primary and secondary education.

Further, 55 per cent of all the persons in the world over ten years of age have never been to school. To help these illiterate adults, UNESCO is pioneering the development of an emergency substitute for formal schooling which is called fundamental education.

This activity aims to give the mini-

Frank Fernbach of AFL-CIO is man at right. He was a member of the American delegation at UNESCO's recent Paris conference.





Vittorino Veronese of Italy is the new director-general.



Villagers study an exhibit at fundamental education center at Patzcuaro, Mexico. The job of this center is to train teachers and develop techniques to speed the anti-illiteracy campaign.

mum knowledge necessary for unschooled people to begin the improvement of their living conditions.

In the effort to dispel ignorance through learning, UNESCO serves its member states through conferences, regional teacher training centers and the aid of experts from all parts of the world. The object is not merely to help children and adults acquire knowledge for its own sake, but to help them through new knowledge to improve their living standards and to become more responsible citizens.

Since economic development depends in large measure upon scientific research and scientifically trained manpower, many countries are also seeking UNESCO aid in developing the teaching of science in their schools and in establishing scientific libraries and institutes.

UNESCO also promotes scientific cooperation on a worldwide basis. For example, the UNESCO arid zone project is an effort to pool knowledge and research in a coordinated effort to hold back the deserts which already cover 25 per cent of the world's land surface and threaten the food supply of more than a score of nations.

Under the UNESCO social science program the causes of tension among different races and national groups are being explored, an investigation into the social dislocations caused by industrialization in newly developed lands is under way and, for the first time, an effort is being made to develop uniform statistical standards that can be used and understood by all nations in the process of measuring social and economic change.

To extend cultural opportunities, UNESCO specialists help develop libraries, museums and universities wherever their services are requested. With the cooperation of member governments, UNESCO is also helping to catalogue and preserve the artistic treasures of the world. Two years ago UNESCO also inaugurated a ten-year project aimed at helping to close the gap of ignorance between Asians and the people of the West regarding each other's contribution to the culture of mankind.

UNESCO is also hard at work breaking down barriers to the free flow of information and ideas, clearly a major cause of misunderstanding between nations. It furnishes technical advice to help countries improve their press, radio, film and television services. It provides assistance in

Middle East is another area where UNESCO is doing its part to help people to acquire knowledge for its own sake and, through new knowledge, to improve their standard of living.





Building greater appreciation of the contributions of Asia and the West to the culture of mankind is a major objective.

translating the great literature of all lands so it can become more widely read. It encourages the international distribution of periodicals, books, films and art exhibits.

The Universal Copyright Convention sponsored by UNESCO and already ratified by thirty-one countries, including the United States, will ultimately provide, it is hoped, worldwide protection for authors, composers and artists from the pirating of their creations. UNESCO is also seeking ratification of an international agreement to facilitate the exchange of educational, scientific and cultural materials.



Half the world's adults cannot read or write. UNESCO is developing new techniques in the battle against illiteracy.

UNESCO's role in encouraging the exchange of persons deserves special mention. Many travel grants are provided to scientists, teachers, youth leaders and workers. (In the last five years over 5,000 worker travel grants have been awarded by UNESCO.) In addition, UNESCO also serves as a clearing house to help all those who want to know about opportunities to travel abroad.

Obviously, all of UNESCO's activities cannot possibly be covered in this brief report. Only major undertakings have been listed to help indicate UNESCO's important role in the effort to strengthen international understanding.

As might be expected, UNESCO has also suffered from growing pains.

In the first place, some charge that UNESCO is trying to do too many things in the face of its extremely limited resources. Of course, others insist that UNESCO doesn't do nearly enough.

In addition, it is alleged that UNESCO is now too preoccupied with aid to the underdeveloped countries and is ignoring other important areas of responsibility. On the other hand, representatives of Asia, Africa and South America point to the tremendous need for help in developing scientific, educational and cultural institutions in their areas and argue that UNESCO's aid is disappointingly small.

Then, too, when the Soviet bloc joined UNESCO in 1954, other new problems emerged as it quickly became apparent that the major Communist interest would be the spreading of political propaganda.

Advancing the teaching of science in schools is another important objective of this agency of the United Nations.



How to build worldwide understanding and support for the

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization—in the face of widespread misunderstanding about its aims—has been a major concern of its supporters everywhere.

Before further discussion of the UNESCO program, it is important to realize that less than $35,000,000 will be available for it to spend on all activities during the course of the two years, 1959 and 1960. And this sum is called an "expanded" budget—the largest UNESCO has ever had.

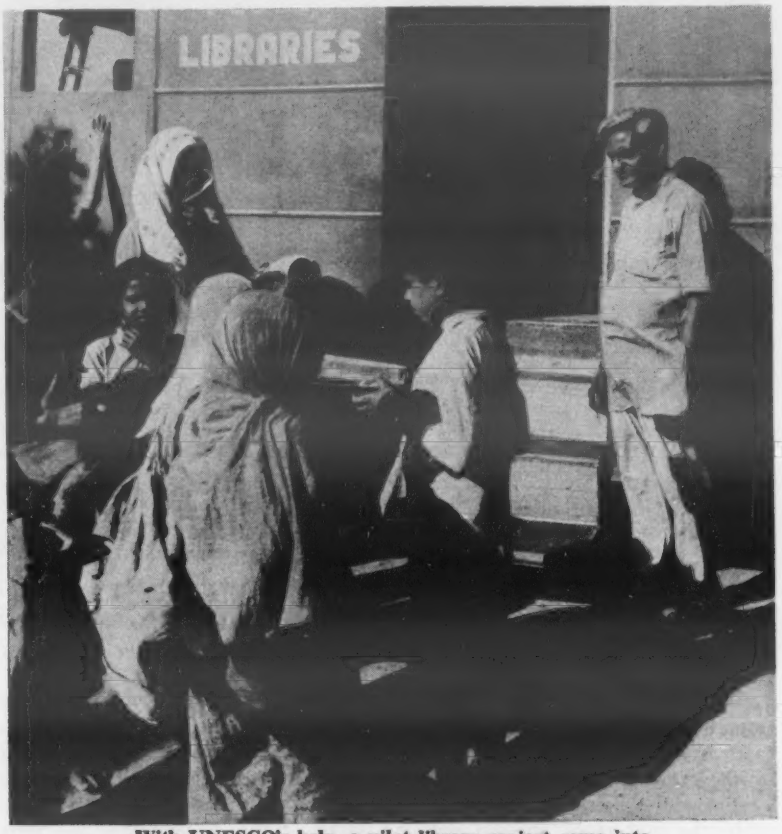
When one considers that the *yearly* outlay of a representative American university or of a public school system in a medium-sized American city is often considerably greater than UNESCO's total budget for the two years ahead, it can be understood how modest UNESCO resources to meet the demands of eighty-one member states really are.

UNESCO's impact, however, is far greater than the size of its budget would imply. This is primarily due to the fact that UNESCO seeks to avoid large operating projects of its own. On the contrary, it strives through careful planning to stimulate member states and international non-governmental organizations to attack pressing problems by themselves.

This is often done by providing small amounts of UNESCO money to prod others into action in behalf of a purpose UNESCO views as important. It is little known, for example, that a small UNESCO subvention to an international non-governmental scientific group helped initiate the planning that ultimately resulted in the great worldwide cooperative effort which became known as the International Geophysical Year.

In the same manner, UNESCO's aid to member states is viewed as an investment of "seed" money. UNESCO funds provide experts, technical information and instruction materials, but the recipient governments must make substantial efforts, too. Back of every UNESCO undertaking is the expectation that each government will ultimately be stimulated to bring fully to bear its own greater financial resources to resolve the educational, scientific or cultural problem that is challenging it.

Although the special interests of many groups and nations must be carefully balanced when deciding on the allocation of a UNESCO budget, a special effort is being made to weed out the kind of well-intentioned but unrealistic undertakings that plagued UNESCO in its earliest years. Furthermore, concentration on a small number of major undertakings is being sought.



With UNESCO's help, a pilot library project came into being at New Delhi, India. It serves as a model and is encouraging the growth of libraries in many other places.

Much of the credit for leadership in this area goes to Dr. Luther Evans, former director of the Library of Congress and the outgoing UNESCO director-general.

A related problem has been how to divide UNESCO's limited resources properly between Point Four type technical assistance projects to aid the underdeveloped countries and longer-range educational, scientific and cultural undertakings of universal interest and importance.

Speaking to this issue in Paris, Dr. Vittorino Veronese of Italy, the newly elected director-general, pledged that he would seek continuous and spon-

U.S. unionists with Scandinavian hosts. UNESCO worker travel grant helped meet the visiting Americans' transportation costs.

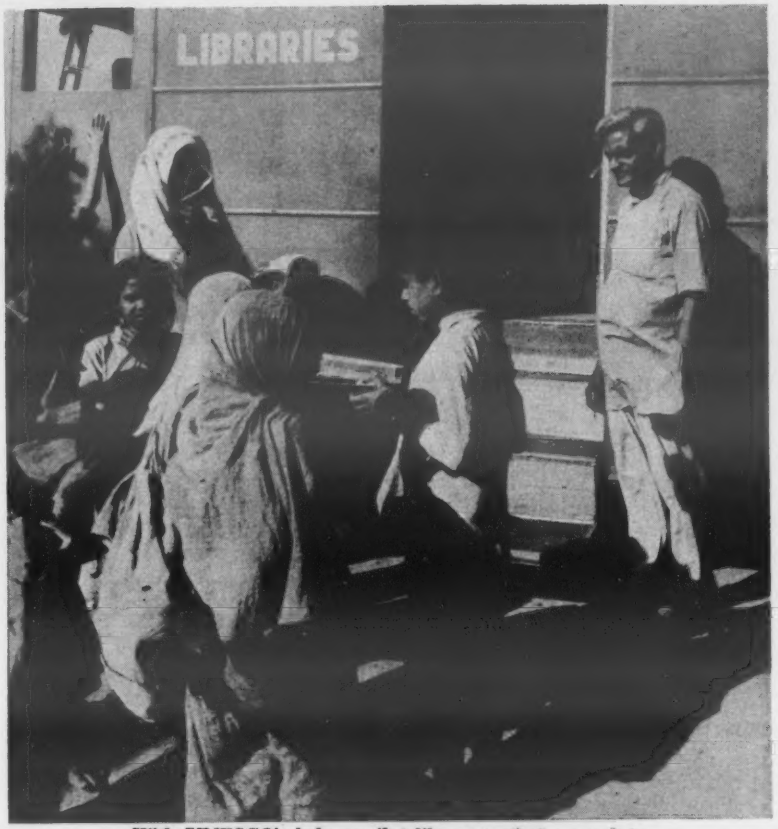


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Inside UNESCO's new headquarters. Ultra-modern building was used for first time during recent parley.

taneous cooperation by those interested in both of these aspects of UNESCO's work.

When Communist Russia and her satellites recently affiliated themselves with UNESCO, it was both a tribute to the growing prestige of the organization and a cause of grave concern.

In the first place, the lip service that Communist and other dictator-controlled countries give to UNESCO's aims is transparently hypocritical. Furthermore, the Communists have tried to utilize UNESCO as a forum for their political propaganda in the same way they operate in all United Nations organizations.

Fortunately, their effort to secure Communist China's admission to UNESCO and their other political ventures were repulsed with speed by the delegates at Paris.

The fact that the Communist bloc actually demanded a cut in the director-general's proposed budget for 1959 and 1960 reflected the Communists' dim view of the use it can make of the organization for their purposes. While the Communists dare not leave UNESCO as long as the uncommitted nations of the world continue to give it such strong allegiance, Moscow and its satellites obviously have no stomach for "wasting" their money to help UNESCO build international good will and understanding.

In contrast, the U.S. delegation at Paris was willing to support a budget somewhat above the level proposed by the director-general, even though our country finances more than 30 per cent of all UNESCO expenditures.

In the United States, a few self-styled super-patriots, isolationists and just plain crackpots, most of whom are still appalled by America's membership in the United Nations, have singled out UNESCO as their particular whipping boy. However, the attack always fails wherever it is possible to reach the public with the facts.

Finally, UNESCO still faces the problem of securing broader public understanding and support.

AFL-CIO members on the Independence listen with interest to a first-hand report about Paris conference.



To increase support for UNESCO in all countries, far greater participation in its affairs by representatives of mass membership groups like trade unions and farm organizations, for example, should be encouraged.



The author (at right) discusses UNESCO budget with a member of the delegation from Indonesia.



When they were children, these Latin American women were not taught reading and writing. Now they learn.

While educators, scientists and cultural leaders must play a particularly important part in UNESCO's work, neither the learned professionals nor government officials should so dominate UNESCO that other people feel excluded.

Indeed, it was precisely because UNESCO seeks to emphasize the importance of the "people to people" concept in developing international understanding that all member states were asked in 1946 to establish National Commissions for UNESCO through which representative private groups — including the non-professional—might share in advising their governments on UNESCO policy and might help to implement UNESCO programs in their homelands.

Unfortunately, representatives of free trade unions are National Commission members in only a score of nations and were present in Paris on the delegations of only a half dozen.

American labor can take pride, however, in its continuously active role in UNESCO affairs both through participation on the U.S. National Commission and through membership on the U.S. delegations to the general conferences of UNESCO.

UNESCO deserves and needs far more attention and support from the free trade union movement.

Despite its modest budget and the controversy which inevitably arises about so variegated a program, UNESCO is effectively meeting a critical need in the international field of education, science and culture, and it is the only world agency designed specifically for that purpose.

The goals of UNESCO and of the free labor movement are in complete accord. We should learn more about this important agency of the United Nations and do much more to help it succeed in its very vital work.

OTHER AFL-CIO PUBLICATIONS DEALING WITH INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

- Questions and Answers on American Labor and World Affairs: 30¢ per copy; $20 per hundred
- American and Soviet Economy: Contrast and Comparison by George Meany; 10¢ per copy
- The Greater Danger: An Analysis of the Post-Stalin Pattern for Communist World Conquest; 50¢ per copy
- Workers' Purchasing Power—Behind the Iron Curtain and in the Free World; 25¢ per chart
- 1957 AFL-CIO Convention Resolutions on International Affairs; 15¢ per copy
- 1955 AFL-CIO Convention Resolutions on Foreign Policy
- AFL-CIO Free Trade Union News; published Monthly by AFL-CIO Department of International Affairs; $3.00 per year
- AFL-CIO News; official weekly paper; $2.00 per year
- AFL-CIO American Federationist; Official monthly magazine; $2.00 per year

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

815 16th Street N.W.

Washington 6, D. C.

GEORGE MEANY, *President* — WM. F. SCHNITZLER, *Secretary-Treasurer*

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HELPING TO WRITE YOUR NATION'S LAWS

Congress is now in session. It's the 86th Congress this time. Many people in the local unions may well sit back and be proud of the job they did in helping elect liberal Senators and Congressmen on November 4.

But is now the time to take it easy? Winning elections, when one thinks about it, is not an end in itself. It's only a means to the real end—that of passing decent legislation benefiting the people of the country.

Getting good legislation passed, and damaging legislation defeated, is a constant process involving hard work and understanding by the people at the local level. A legislator sooner believes his mail bag and what he hears people getting excited about back home than what a professional lobbyist tells him is on the minds of the voters in his district.

It is because of this that local union education and legislative committees particularly have a very important job to do while Congress and state legislatures are in session.

There are two main things that education and legislative committees must do to get the continued grass roots support necessary to get legislation passed:

1) Educate on how legislation gets passed.
2) Follow bills as they go through Congress and educate on what the legislation is all about.

Learning More About Congress

Later on in this article there are suggestions on some of the things that your committee and local members can do to help get good legislation passed in Congress. But in order for people to understand why they should do these things, they must first understand how Congress works. Here are some ways to educate on how laws are passed:

1. *Use films*—There are a number of useful films, avail-

How Congress Makes Laws

1. A BILL IS INTRODUCED TO CONGRESS EITHER BY A CONGRESSMAN OR A SENATOR. This may be his own bill or he may have gotten the idea from some group or person back home or from a national group such as a labor or business organization. Or, it may be the bill of the administration or the opposition.



2. BILLS ARE REFERRED TO SPECIALIZED COMMITTEES which study them and make recommendations to the House or Senate. The committees are extremely important, as many bills are long and involved and generally the recommendations of the committee to the Senate or the House are accepted.



3. ON MOST IMPORTANT BILLS, THE COMMITTEE WHICH IS STUDYING THE BILL WILL HOLD HEARINGS where representatives of various groups or individuals who are interested, can present their views on the piece of legislation involved.



4. WHEN THE HEARINGS ARE OVER, the committee and its staff studies all the recommendations and the bill itself and presents an agreed-upon bill to the House or Senate for consideration.



5. THE BILL GOES ON THE CALENDAR IN THE SENATE before it gets on the floor for debate. IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, IT IS SENT TO THE RULES COMMITTEE which acts as a traffic cop and decides when (or whether) the bill can be presented for debate.



6. WHEN THE BILL PASSES ONE OF THE HOUSES OF CONGRESS, IT IS THEN SENT TO THE OTHER HOUSE FOR APPROVAL. If the bill passes the second House without any changes, it is sent to the President for his signature.



7. IF THE PRESIDENT SIGNS THE BILL, IT BECOMES A LAW. If he vetoes it, it is sent back to the House and Senate. It takes a two-thirds vote of both Houses to pass a bill over the President's veto.



8. IF THE SENATE AND HOUSE PASS DIFFERENT VERSIONS OF A BILL, the two separate bills are sent to a joint conference committee made up of Senators and Representatives. They compromise the issues involved and then the compromise bill is sent back to the House and Senate, where it is generally passed by both Houses.



able from the AFL-CIO Education Department, which show how Congress works.

MAN ON THE HILL—(23 min. Rental $2.50) Shows the work of a Congressman, especially on committees, and the influence of legislation on our daily lives.

PRESSURE GROUPS—(20 min. Rental $2.50) Shows good and bad pressure groups in action and makes the point that lobbying can be a legitimate, constructive part of the legislative process.

THE CONGRESS—(10 min. Rental $2.00) gives an outline of the process a bill must go through to become a law.

POWERS OF CONGRESS—(13 min. Rental $2.50) A fantasy about the powers of Congress which should be accompanied by an explanation that Congress doesn't automatically work in the interest of the people.

LABOR'S WITNESS—(33 min. Rental $3.00) Good illustration of a hearing before a Congressional committee, in this case a UAW official testifying about political education activities.

Order one of the films for showing at your meeting. Also reproduce the box on page 1 and hand it out to members following the film showing. Then take a particular bill and show how it must go through the various steps before it can become law. A good example would be the Forand Bill, which will be introduced in the House and which the AFL-CIO strongly supports. It would give hospital and surgical care to those who receive social security benefits.

2. *Use an Experienced Person*—Get one of your union representatives or a member who has been to a union legislative institute or someone you have worked with in the community who has had legislative experience. Show one of the films and then ask him to comment on it from his experience. Ask him to comment on the 8 points on "How Congress Makes Laws" and what can be done by the local and its members at each step in the legislative process.

3. *Use a Simple Quiz*—Reproduce the questionnaire on this page. Ask the people to fill out the questionnaire and then discuss the answers. Refer to the box on page 1 in the discussion. Also reproduce it and distribute it.

The Important Issues

Besides understanding how Congress works, union members have to understand the issues facing Congress and the bills being considered by Congress concerning these issues. In this way members will be more prepared to take intelligent action to make their opinions felt in Congress.

This 86th Congress will be meeting for two years. Bills will be introduced, changed in committee, debated, etc. Some may be stalled in committee. Filibuster on the floor may threaten others. Some may not see a final vote till close to the end of next year's session.

Become familiar with the 12-point legislative program adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council. This program covers the major items which the AFL-CIO hopes will become law during the 86th Congress. There may be other bills submitted which we will oppose strongly.

What bill is the AFL-CIO supporting on, say, eliminating chronic unemployment in depressed areas and why? Who will benefit by it? Why wasn't one passed before? What's in the bill? Has it been changed by a committee or on the floor of one of the houses?

There are many sources of information for getting the background on each issue and for following what's happening to the particular bills. At least one person on your committee should be responsible for gathering this information and keeping up to date. Suggested sources are listed in this article.

Educating on the Issues

Through these sources of information your committee can get to keep up with what's going on in Congress and what the labor movement is supporting and why. Now, here are some things the committees can do in the local to create understanding of the issues.

MAKE REPORTS—At every membership meeting, have one person from the committee make a short report on the progress of the major legislation that the local and the labor movement are interested in.

USE A PANEL—A discussion panel can be more interesting than a report. For example, when the minimum wage bill is receiving a lot of publicity get two or three of the committee to discuss what changes the labor movement is asking for and what effect this will have on underpaid workers and the workers in your own industry.

USE SPEAKERS—For some pieces of legislation, an informed speaker can help get the issue across. Are your local public schools in trouble with overcrowding and losing teachers because they're overworked and underpaid? Find a member of the American Federation of Teachers or of the school board who can speak on how a federal aid to education bill will help in these problems. Try to schedule your program when the newspapers are giving a lot of publicity to a particular bill.

USE FILMS—Any of the films on national legislative issues listed here can be secured from the AFL-CIO Education Department. They can be used effectively as a background for discussion on current issues.

Afghanistan Moves Ahead—10 min. Rental $2. Shows how one isolated country is learning new ways for industry and agriculture through the UN technical aid program.

Farewell Oak Street—20 min. Rental $2.50. A forceful Canadian film for better housing.

Looking Ahead—13 min. Rental $2.50. Use this film to introduce a discussion of how Social Security benefits fall short of human needs, and then discuss the Forand Bill.

Quiz on How Congress Makes Laws

(This is not a test . . . do not sign your name.)

	Check One: True	False
1. A Congressman from the minority party cannot introduce a bill until his party becomes a majority.	☐	☐
2. The Senate as a whole usually ignores the recommendation of the committee which brings a bill before it.	☐	☐
3. Only members of the House or Senate can present their views on a proposed law before a Committee.	☐	☐
4. The House cannot send a bill to the President without waiting for Senate action.	☐	☐
5. If the President vetoes a bill, that's the end of it.	☐	☐
6. When the House and the Senate pass different bills covering the same thing, a compromise is possible.	☐	☐

Answers:

1. False, 2. False, 3. False, 4. True, 5. False, 6. True.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

(All listed departments are at 815 16th St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C.)

AFL-CIO NEWS—Contains up-to-date information on bills going through Congress. This includes a one-page "Scorecard on the 86th Congress" in January 10, 1959 issue (reasonable quantities available, free); "Fact Sheet on Congress" series (see below); from time to time a useful box giving the status of important bills; and news articles explaining what's happening on important issues. At least your education or legislative committee chairman should have a subscription to the AFL-CIO NEWS. ($2.00 a year).

* * *

LABOR LOOKS AT THE 85th CONGRESS—Contains background and votes on the major legislative issues during the last Congress. Many of the issues will come up again this session. Send to the AFL-CIO Legislative Department for this pamphlet.

LEGISLATIVE ACTION BULLETIN—Comes out at least once a month from the AFL-CIO Legislative Department. Contains the contents and status of important bills and what action is needed—and when. Write the Department to be placed on the mailing list.

* * *

LABOR'S ECONOMIC REVIEW—Offers monthly summary of a national economic-legislative issue. Available from AFL-CIO Research Department ($2.00 per year).

* * *

The January 10, 1959 issue of "AFL-CIO News" contains a handy SCORE CARD FOR THE 86th CONGRESS. Alongside a summary statement of each of the major issues, it gives the AFL-CIO position on the issue and the action taken on it by the previous Congress. Write "AFL-CIO News" for reprints of this page. Small quantities free.

Local union committees should check their INTERNATIONAL or NATIONAL UNION for legislative information available from the national office. In some cases, regional educational education directors prepare material on legislative issues for distribution to local unions. In a few cases, state AFL-CIO bodies have legislative information on national issues.

* * *

FACT SHEET ON CONGRESS—Is a useful series, starting January 24, of special articles appearing in the AFL-CIO NEWS. Free reprints, in reasonable quantities, are available from AFL-CIO Legislative Department.

* * *

POLITICAL MEMO FROM COPE—Bi-weekly newsletter from AFL-CIO COPE contains much information about legislation and voting records on key bills. Send subscriptions to COPE, $1.00 a year; 10 copies to one address, $2.50 a year.

Our Nation's Health—13 min. Rental $2.50. Produced by the former CIO. Presents the case for national health insurance program.

Power and the Land—38 min. Rental $4. Film explains farm problems and points up the tremendous achievements of REA (Rural Electric Administration).

Prices, Paychecks and Prosperity—18 min. Rental $2.50. Leon Keyserling calls for a more vigorous anti-monopoly program, higher outlays for defense, education, health and resource development.

The River—32 min. Rental $3. Film shows the consequences of poor land use. It concludes with scenes on regional planning efforts and flood control.

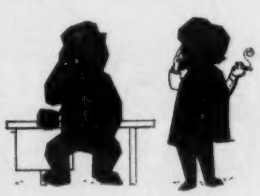
To Promote the General Welfare—13 min. Rental $2.50. Former President Truman discusses responsibiilties of government for housing, better schools, social security and other measures.

Valley of the Tennessee—30 min. Rental $3. Story of planning and reconstruction for an entire river valley. Excellent film to stimulate discussion of resource and development legislation.

WRITE ABOUT IT IN YOUR LOCAL UNION BULLETIN—If, for example, an important measure such as federal standards for unemployment compensation is at a crucial stage, explain the issue in your local union bulletin or newspaper and ask members to act on it. If you don't have a regular bulletin, or even if you do, issuing a special leaflet would point up the action you want.

Show Members How to Take Action

Understanding the legislative issues isn't enough. Show your members how then can take action on needed legislation. (If you follow your AFL-CIO *Legislative Action Bulletin* closely you will be able to know, too, what action is needed on a specific issue at a particular time.)

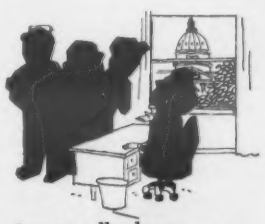


Here are some of the things you can DO to accomplish this:

WRITE LETTERS—Right after a good program or report on a particular bill, people are more prepared to do something about it. Be ready to pass out stationery and ask members to write their Congressman and Senators expressing their views. At the next meeting discuss the replies that were received. If they're favorable, compliment your Representative on his stand; if unfavorable, get more people to write him.

PASS RESOLUTIONS—on important bills, and, if the legislation is at a crucial stage, telegraph the resolution to your representatives in Washington. Publicize the local's action in your union newspaper and your local daily newspaper.

VISIT YOUR CONGRESSMAN—Get up a small delegation to visit your Congressman (and Senators) to tell them your views. They are usually home during Easter recess, around Christmas and on some weekends. Be informed on what you're going to talk about.



VOTING RECORDS—Keep a large voting record in the meeting hall. Mark your representatives' vote on the important bills as they are voted on. Keep it up to date and **explain the new votes** at each meeting.

* * *

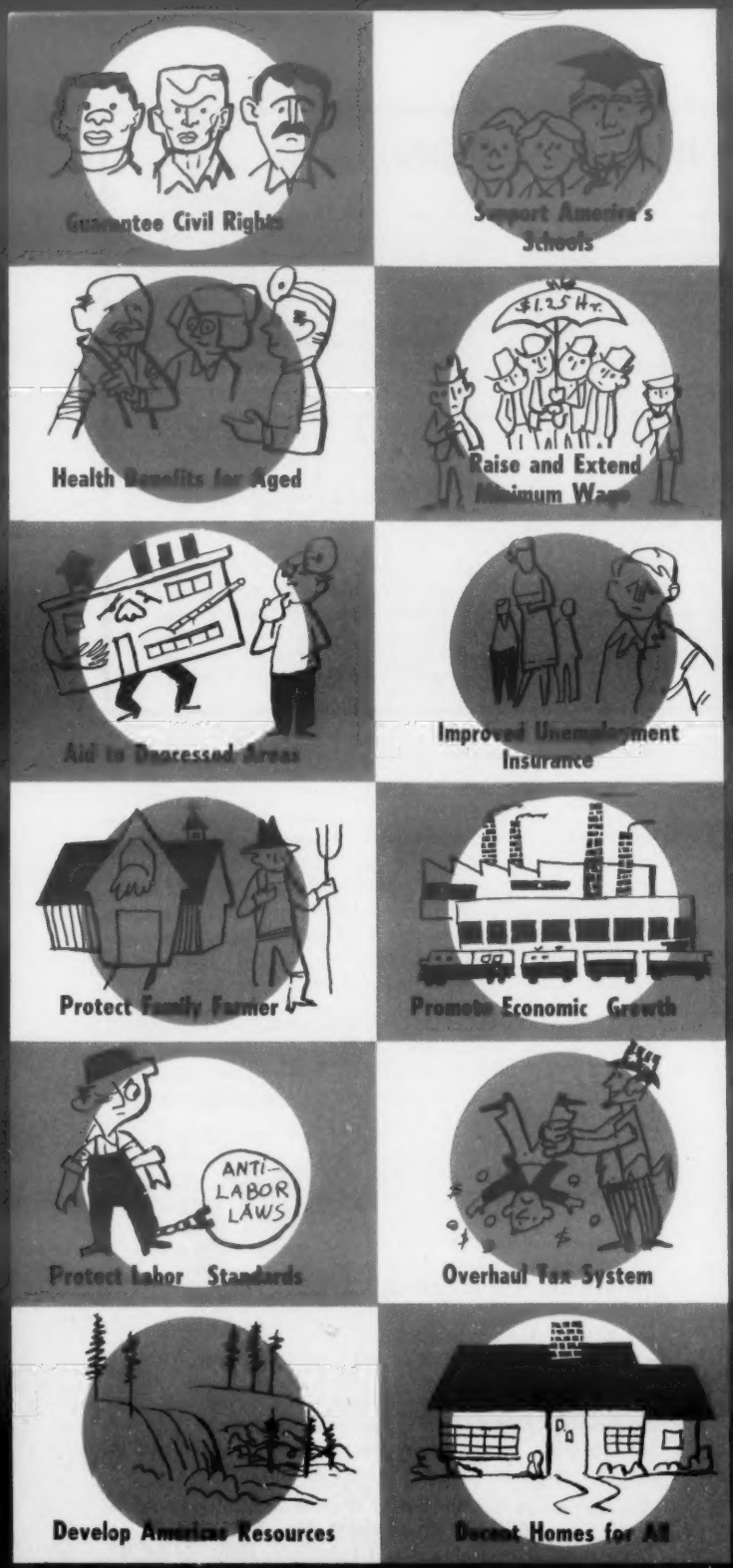
AFL-CIO Pamphlet No. 89

Reprinted from January and February, 1959, *AFL-CIO Education News and Views*. For additional copies, write to AFL-CIO Education Department, 815 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

George Meany, *President* Wm. F. Schnitzler, *Secretary-Treasurer*

Reprinted January 1960



REMEMBER CONGRESS ADJOURNS BEFORE JULY 4th, — START YOUR EDUCATION PROGRAM NOW!



WHAT ARE YOU AND YOUR LOCAL PLANNING TO DO ON THESE ISSUES?

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR and CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
GEORGE MEANY, President WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER, Secretary-Treasurer
815 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C. AFL-CIO Poster No. 5 5c per-copy, 100 copies $3.

TEN YEARS OF PROGRESS

...a report on Israel



The cover photograph
is an exterior view of the
William Green Cultural Center
at Haifa dedicated by
Vice Presidents Harrison and Potofsky
during their recent visit to Israel.

TEN YEARS OF PROGRESS

...a report on Israel

George M. Harrison
Jacob S. Potofsky

Submitted to
President GEORGE MEANY
and the Executive Council
of the AFL-CIO

December 1, 1958

Introduction

I COMMEND THIS REPORT OF THE delegation which the AFL-CIO sent to Israel in September 1958 to the attention of union members and of all who are interested in the international relations of the American labor movement.

The delegation was appointed in response to an invitation from the Histadrut Executive, which was desirous that American labor participate in the Tenth Anniversary Celebration of the independence of the State of Israel. This gracious gesture was warmly appreciated by the AFL-CIO Executive Council. Accordingly, I named, as the AFL-CIO's representatives, President George Harrison of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks and President Jacob S. Potofsky of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. They represented the AFL-CIO at the official dedication on September 8 of the William Green Cultural Center at Haifa, Israel.

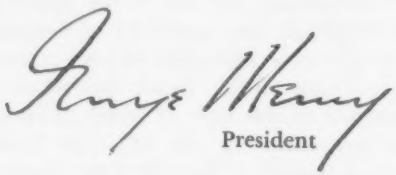
This center, honoring a great president of the American Federation of Labor, was made possible by a contribution from the William Green Memorial Foundation, which was created by the AFL immediately after President Green's death in 1952.

As the report makes clear, the William Green Center at Haifa, together with the Philip Murray Cultural Center at Elath, made possible by a contribution from the Philip Murray Memorial Foundation created by the CIO, are two tangible indications of the long-time friendly relationship between American labor and labor in Israel.

The attitude of American unions towards the people of Israel and towards Histadrut, the Israeli Federation of Labor, was clearly defined in a resolution adopted by the Second Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO in 1957, in which we note that:

". . . American labor looks back with pride to the friendship and spirit which has marked the relationship between the U. S. and Israel; and it looks forward with confidence to an extension and deepening of this friendship so that Israel may continue its dynamic progress in peace and freedom."

We believe that the report of our delegation to Israel, its observations and findings, constitute a notable milestone in the long-developing friendship between our two labor movements. We are proud, indeed, that this is so fortunately symbolized by institutions in Haifa and Elath that are a lasting tribute to two great trade union leaders who recognized the worthy contributions to world peace and the advancement of democracy made by the people of Israel.



President

Report on Israel

IT WAS MID-AFTERNOON OF A September Sunday when the big Britannia Turbo Jet of El Al Airlines nosed down from the stratosphere over the eastern Mediterranean, glided at low altitude over a very few miles of green and brown earth, and rolled down the runway at Lydda Airport. We had landed at the gateway of Israel—the land of the Bible, the land of a modern dynamic country in the Middle East.

Our delegation represented the AFL-CIO. Its members were AFL-CIO Vice President George Harrison, who is the president of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks and chairman of the AFL-CIO Committee on International Affairs; and Vice President Jacob S. Potofsky, the head of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Our delegation had come to Israel at the request of AFL-CIO President George Meany and our fellow members on the Executive Council to dedicate the new William Green Cultural Center at Haifa, and to bring the greetings of American workers to Israel and to Histadrut, the Israeli Federation of Labor on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the state.

We had flown from England where, as fraternal delegates, we had addressed the annual convention of the British Trades Union Congress. Thus, as we flew south and east from London over western Europe, and over the beautiful islands of the eastern

Mediterranean, we were travelling from one of the world's oldest democracies to one of its newest. Having visited the British trade union movement, with its record of progress extending back over many decades, we were going to visit a young, vibrant labor movement which has built an impressive trade union structure and pioneered many new forms of trade union activities.

For Brother Harrison, it was a first trip to this Middle Eastern country. For Brother Potofsky, it was a second visit and therefore an opportunity to examine the progress that Israel and its labor movement had achieved during its first ten years as a sovereign democratic state.

Israeli hospitality was in evidence at the airport. A number of leaders of Histadrut were there to greet us, and several newspaper men and photographers. In the airport restaurant, the ever-present orange juice and cookies were laid out on gleaming white tables . . . the first of many such evidences of hospitality that we experienced during our stay in Israel.

An El Al Airlines plane arrives at Lydda Airport, gateway to Israel and symbolic of the modern dynamic country in the Middle East.



A Visit to the Prime Minister

IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE RECEPtion, the press conference and clearing of customs, our hosts drove us directly to Jerusalem, about 50 miles away, so that we might meet Israel's prime minister, David Ben Gurion. "B.G." —as everybody in Israel seems to call him—is a striking figure: flying white hair, healthy pink face and the usual Israeli garb of slacks and short-sleeved shirt worn without necktie.

During the course of an extended meeting, Ben Gurion—who, long before the creation of the State of Israel had been the first secretary general at Histadrut—showed himself interested and well informed about American trade union developments. He was interested in the effects of the merger between AFL and CIO and in American labor's handling of the "corruption" issue. Brother Potofsky reminded him of an earlier conversation—in 1951—when they had discussed the possibility of future unification of the American labor movement and Ben Gurion had expressed the belief it would occur quickly. He was indeed prophetic.

At that time, Ben Gurion had predicted that in ten years, visitors would find an "Israeli Pittsburgh" in the Negev Desert, the great southern triangle of Israel which extends to the Gulf of Elath. Development of the Negev as an agricultural and industrial center has been continuous—even though it scarcely measures up to Pittsburgh, as Ben Gurion admitted with a grin.

But the prime minister talked at length about the future development of the Negev as a home for hundreds of thousands of Israeli citizens, as a source of valuable resources and as a gateway to Asia and Africa.

Industrial and agricultural progress in the Negev area depend primarly upon one precious resource: water. Water supplies, Ben Gurion said, are ample to take care of the expected growth for another five years. Meanwhile, explorations continue in search of rivers and lakes that many experts believe lie below the sandy top-soil of the desert. At some time, these experts believe, it will be possible to develop a cheap and effective atomic reactor process for distilling the salt waters of the Mediterranean and the Dead Sea. When the process becomes feasible, Ben Gurion indicated, the Negev will blossom as it did in Biblical times. Even today in those few areas where water is available for irrigation, the Negev becomes transformed into a farming area as rich and fertile as the warm valleys of Arizona and California.

But the foundation for lasting economic progress in Israel, Ben Gurion repeated to us, is the need for peace in the Middle East. He is no pessimist. "We will have peace," he kept saying with an air of confidence. The future of Israel, Ben Gurion believes, is intimately connected with the future of the entire middle eastern world. Some day, he repeated, Israel will have peace with its neighbors, and all of these countries will benefit through the exchange of ideas and through the development of profitable trade. Ben Gurion is confident that the democratic spirit, rather than the totalitarian iron fist of the Communists, will achieve victory in the end, and its dividends of constructive economic progress.

We left the prime minister's office impressed with his broad knowledge of political and economic affairs and his deep interest in the problems of American labor. Ben Gurion, the leader of the people of Israel, is no "neutralist." He is firmly committed through his background, his philosophy and his practical political sense, to the democratic faith.

It had been a long day, starting before dawn at our hotel in London, but our schedule was not yet complete. Shortly after we left the prime minister's office we were guests of honor at a



Jerusalem, a divided city with a deep sense of history, represents the uneasy armistice that ended the Arab war on the new state in 1948.

small dinner held at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem by the city's central labor body. Our host was Moshe Baram, the secretary of the Jerusalem Labor Council. The mayor of Jerusalem, Gershon Agron, was there to welcome us. He was born in Atlantic City, has lived in Israel for many years, is a member of the Mapai Party, which is the dominant Labor Party, and sounds very much like a liberal mayor of an American city. They plied us with questions about the latest developments on the American labor scene.

The next morning—the beginning of a fine, mild day—we had a first-hand opportunity to see the divided nature of the city of

Jerusalem. As we stood at Ramat Rachel, a high point overlooking the domes and spires of the holy places, the churches, the mosques, Mount Scopus, we could not help feeling a sense of history. The hills of Jordan, the winding roads, places mentioned in the Bible were before our very eyes. This was indeed the land of the Bible.

A few feet away from us a stray dog came through the barbed wire fence, the stern barrier between modern Jerusalem, the capital city of Israel; and the old Jerusalem, which is under the jurisdiction of the Kingdom of Jordan. These two cities exist side by side, but with almost no contact, officially or otherwise, between them.

The border represents the battle lines as they stood when the armistice arranged by the United Nations brought to a halt the aggressive war the Arab countries had launched against the new State of Israel in 1948. Although Israel has many times proposed the resumption of normal relations with its Arab neighbors, peace has not been achieved.

In the western Israel sector of Jerusalem, many new government buildings are rising, and literally hundreds of thousands of new trees have been planted. The mayor told us that 400,000 have already been placed in the ground and they hope to plant another 600,000 in the next two years. With luck and with peace Jerusalem may once again be "a green city" as it was in ancient times.

Conference with Golda Meir

AFTER A BRIEF TOUR OF THIS growing city in the hills, we arrived at the foreign ministry for a conference with Mrs. Golda Meir, the foreign minister. Mrs. Meir was raised in Milwaukee and taught school in that city before she went to Palestine some 30 years ago. She rose through the ranks of the trade union movement and the Mapai Party to a position of eminence in her country. As foreign minister, she has travelled broadly throughout the world.

She talked fondly of her many friendly conversations with AFL-CIO President George Meany and President Walter Reuther of the Auto Workers, both of whom she has known for many years, and with many other U.S. trade unionists.

Our conversation with Mrs. Meir touched on the problems of the Middle East, of the developing new nations in Africa which are just now shedding the old ties of colonialism, and of the problems facing the western European democracies.

Like the prime minister, Mrs. Meir brings to government the strong democratic philosophy of a free labor movement. Also like the prime minister—and indeed like everybody else we met in Israel—she is the very symbol of optimism. Mrs. Meir is confident of Israel's future development; and she is proud that even as a young country, Israel has already started to export its "know-how" to other new nations. Thus, Israel's labor union officials and technicians are working closely with their oppo-

site numbers in such countries as Ghana and Liberia.

This sort of cooperation, she said, has proven most effective. The people of these new nations recognize in Israel an underdeveloped country which freed itself from foreign domination and faced the same kind of problems they themselves are now encountering. They are keenly interested in any solution that Israel has been able to work out.

In this activity one finds a striking contrast between the democratic spirit of Israel and the totalitarian thinking of the Soviet Union. Russia's industrial and scientific progress during the past 40 years has been achieved ruthlessly, at the expense of the freedom, the welfare and the living standards of the mass of its people. Nevertheless, by developing its enormous natural resources and exploiting its people, the Soviet Union has been able to make strides that have impressed numbers of people throughout the world, particularly in the still underdeveloped countries.

Tiny Israel, on the other hand, has only limited natural resources and is burdened with large areas of desert land. Despite these handicaps it has, in a single decade of freedom, made unprecedented economic strides within the framework of democratic institutions and the democratic way of life. Thus Israel provides a day to day demonstration to the people of underdeveloped countries that they need not make the difficult, almost inhuman choice, between freedom and rapid economic progress. Israel helps demonstrate to these people that real alternatives to totalitarianism do exist—that they may choose both freedom and economic progress, and in doing so keep their human dignity and open the road to a better standard of living.

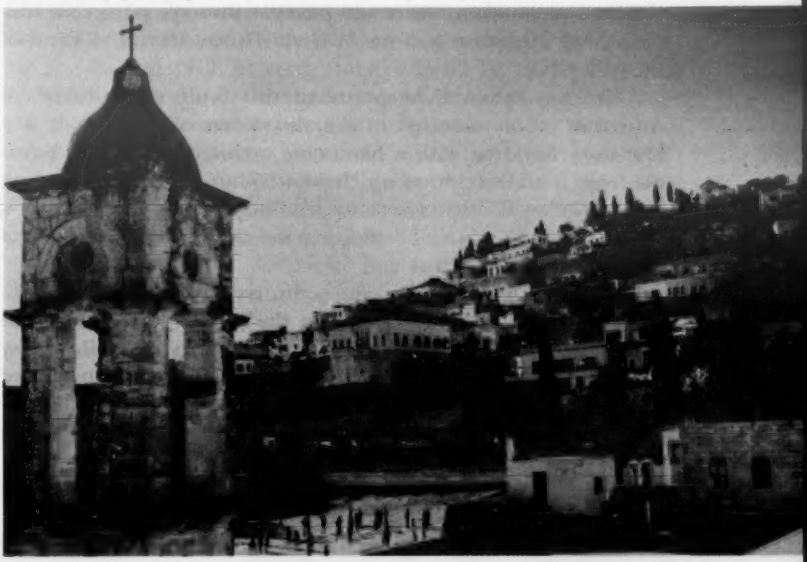
Thus, in working with trade unions and other groups in the new countries, Israel is performing a valuable service for the free world in the global struggle against Communist infiltration.

After our discussion with Mrs. Meir, our delegation drove west and north from Jerusaelm and toured the Arab city of Nazareth. This city, rich in memories and traditions for all Christendom, symbolizes Israel's fundamental belief that the nation's 200,000 Arab residents should enjoy complete free-

dom and equality. Histadrut many years ago adopted as basic policy that Arab workers should have full and equal status in the trade unions. The principle of equal pay for equal work is universal in Histadrut's agreements.

In Nazareth, Histadrut maintains a busy labor headquarters, with an Arab official as its secretary. Located in the city are a Histadrut-operated and highly successful medical clinic; a branch office of Histadrut's Workers' Bank, which has made great strides in freeing the Arab population from the clutches of the old usurers who used to victimize borrowers with fantastically high rates of interest. The Arab secretary told us of the steady economic and cultural progress made by Arab workers. He stressed the medical facilities available to them and the benefits from the health and welfare program.

The Arab city of Nazareth symbolizes Israel's belief that the nation's 200,000 Arab residents should enjoy complete freedom and equality.



The William Green Center

IT WAS LATE AFTERNOON WHEN we arrived in Haifa, Israel's second largest city, for a high point of our trip: the dedication of the William Geen Cultural Center.

This fine building was made possible through joint contributions from Histadrut and the William Green Memorial Fund of the AFL-CIO.

Americans can well be proud of this "cultural embassy" of American labor. Located in the very heart of the city, it is a four-story building with a handsome architectural style. Across the front is an inscription which pays tribute to the "outstanding leadership" of William Green for his "inspiring and humane contributions to the cause of democracy the world over and his warm friendship for Histadrut and Israel."

In the building are meeting rooms, recreation areas and a library. It is obvious at a glance that the William Green Cultural Center will play a major role in the activities of Haifa's busy trade union movement, and that it will be sincerely used and appreciated by rank and file residents of the city.

We were escorted to the William Green Center by an honor guard of four motorcycle riders dressed in bright blue shirts. Several thousand people standing in roped-off sections of the street applauded as we arrived and a band played the American and Israel national anthems. We were greeted officially by

Joseph Almogi, the strong and effective secretary of the Haifa Labor Council.

After the official unveiling and ribbon-cutting ceremonies, we toured the building, our hosts explaining the functions of each of the many rooms and halls. A number of local union officers and shop chairmen met us on the roof. Brother Israel Merom, of the Histadrut Executive, and Almogi, gave brief talks. It was clear that the completion of the building had been an important event in the life of the city and the labor movement.

Back at the hotel there was a formal dinner, with the guests including several American union officers, Mayor Abba Hushi and the American consul. After dinner, we were taken to the exhibition ground where we found a crowd numbering six or seven thousand people.

With Brother Almogi acting as chairman, we heard talks by the mayor of Haifa and by Reuven Barkatt, of the Executive Bureau of Histadrut, who is in charge of its international affairs. It was then our turn to address the throng.

Brother Potofsky, the first speaker, reaffirmed the traditional friendship between the American trade unions and the labor movement of Israel. Looking back on the progress in Israel since his first visit in 1949, he congratulated Israel for its rapid development and for the decisive part that labor has played in building the new state and developing its economy.

WILLIAM GREEN
AFL president
1924-1952



In a sense, Potofsky said, "We in the American labor movement have the same goals as you do . . . the use of democratic methods and modern technology to build a better life for the average people." Israel, he added, "is truly a laboratory for social and economic development, and American labor is proud that it early recognized the desire of Israel and its people to build a better society and to renew an old civilization from the sands of the desert. We look upon our support of you not as a contribution, but as the fulfillment of a duty to a just cause."

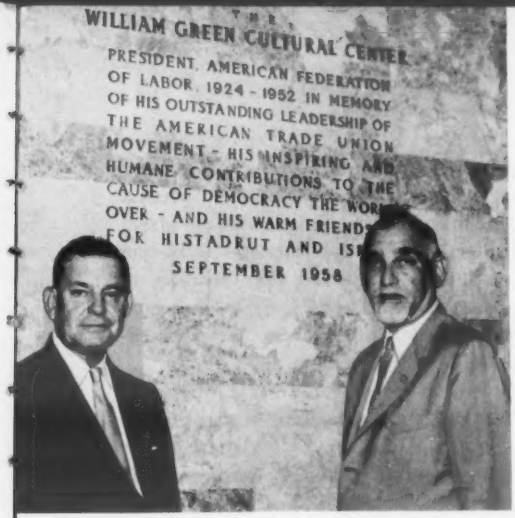
Potofsky continued that, "like the U. S., Israel has welcomed a tremendous number of new immigrants in the first decade of its life. They came from the more advanced societies and from



AFL-CIO Vice Presidents Potofsky and Harrison cut the ribbon opening the William Green Cultural Center in Haifa.

the less developed areas. In each case, you have made them over into true Israelis. In doing so, you have also developed the dignity of the individual and provided him with incentive for growth and for the best possible use of his own talents.

"The creation of such oportunity is the goal of labor unions everywhere. Histadrut is to be congratulated for its outstanding success both in building a better life and in strengthening the democratic spirit of the people."



Harrison and Potofsky reaffirm William Green's belief in the right of free men to determine their own destinies at the dedication ceremonies.

Brother Harrison described for the Israeli audience the philosophy of the American trade unions, their thoughts about Israel, and the heritage of friendly relationship handed down by William Green during his presidency of the AFL from 1924-1952.

"There is unanimous agreement today in the American trade union federation on the great constructive role that was played by William Green in his many years as president of the American Federation of Labor," Harrison declared.

"The William Green Memorial Fund, which is proud to participate along with Histadrut in this fine labor center, was created originally by the unions then affiliated with the AFL. The building which that fund helped make possible should not be regarded, however, as an 'AFL project.' Nor should the fine memorial to another great American union leader—the Philip Murray Memorial Center at Elath—be regarded as a 'CIO project.' Both now stand as AFL-CIO undertakings.

"Both are symbols of American labor's respect and admiration for two outstanding leaders and exponents of the philosophy of a free, democratic labor movement.

"It is six years—six eventful, turbulent, crisis-ridden years—since William Green passed on to his ultimate reward. Yet, the feeling of friendship and admiration for the people of Israel and their hopes and aspirations, which he left deeply imbedded in the thinking and emotions of the American labor movement, have not diminished in the years since his death.

"William Green was 'right about Israel' as he was 'right' about so many other problems that came before the unions of America.

"William Green, whom we honor today, had no doubts about your future. He knew the leaders of your labor movement, he was a friend of the great Zionists who pioneered the building of your new state. He spoke out on your behalf, early and late, because he had faith in your cause and your future—and because you were his friends and labor colleagues.

"William Green, in addition, recognized the great debt that American labor owes to the Jewish people. The first president of the AFL, the immortal Samuel Gompers, was a man of the Jewish faith. An immigrant without material resources, he carried to the America which he adopted as his home, riches far greater than gold: an ideal for the dignity of the working man, a boundless faith in labor's future, a realistic understanding of the realm of the possible. With these three qualities, he built an American labor movement and passed on to those of us who were fortunate to be associated with him, the heritage of his wisdom and his insight. William Green, his successor as president of the AFL, carried on that great tradition—and with it, the sympathetic understanding of the importance of this country to the Jewish people.

"Just before he died in 1952, William Green was the guest of honor of the American Trade Union Council of Histadrut at a banquet in New York City. I would like to remind you of what he said on that occasion:

" 'The aims and ideals of the American Federation of Labor are identical with those which inspired the many brave men who gave their strength, energy and even their lives that Israel may live as more than a dream. Together we stand for brotherhood, liberty, for equal justice and opportunity and for the sacred right of free men to determine the course of their own destinies.'

"What William Green said in 1952, we solemnly reaffirm today."

Haifa ... Port of Welcome

AFTER THE MASS MEETING, OUR labor hosts conducted us on a tour of Haifa, including a boat ride around the port. It is a handsome city with a fine harbor, a great fleet of commercial and fishing boats, and a busy dock-side area. Rising from the waters are the slopes of Mt. Carmel. From the homes perched along its sides there is an inspiring view, day or night, of the Mediterranean and the surrounding hills.

Haifa is also the center of Israel's national railway system. From its terminal, lines run to Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, and south to Beersheba, the latter a growing city which is expected to be the economic capital of the growing Negev area. Brother Harrison was especially interested in seeing the hub of the railway installations of this bustling city and volunteered to be up early in the morning to visit with the workers at the railroad station. A platform was hastily installed. The general manager of the National Railway System, Menachem Savidor, escorted him and answered questions. Brother Harrison addressed the workers and emphasized the international aspects of the International Transport Federation and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, as well as the concern of the AFL-CIO with international peace and solidarity.

Haifa has served as the "New York harbor" of Israel, and it has been the first sight of Israel for hundreds of thousands of newcomers during the past decade. Since 1948, when Israel

gained its independence, some 915,000 immigrants have entered the country. While this is not a spectacularly large number by American standards, it is huge for a small country. Indeed, in 1948 the total Jewish population was only 650,000. Immigration alone has more than doubled Israel's population, which now approximates two million.

Israeli citizens, proud of their accomplishments, deluge the visitor with statistics. Thus, we were told, some 202,900 new homes have been built in ten years; some 450 new villages were created. Cultivated land rose from 411,000 acres to 960,000 acres, and the amount of farm country under irrigation jumped from 75,000 acres to over 300,000 acres in the same period. And during those same years, Israel has lifted its exports from $29 million a year to $135 million.

Israel's immigrants have come from many countries. After the war, of course, there was a tremendous migration of the Jews of Germany, Poland and other sectors of Hitler's Nazi empire who were fortunate enough to escape the concentration camps and almost certain death. Many thousands entered Israel from North Africa and other sections of the Arab world where persecution threatened their safety.

At first, we were told, the new immgirants were forced to live in rough transient camps, many of them around the outskirts of Haifa. But once the first rush was over, better arrangements were made for the newcomers. Now, as they arrive, they are moved quickly and apparently quite efficiently to cities and farm villages throughout the country. As a result, most become productive and useful citizens with a minimum of demoralizing delay.

Haifa Bay from Mt. Carmel is a busy port serving a city that serves as an immigrant's first sight of Israel.



A Visit to Histadrut

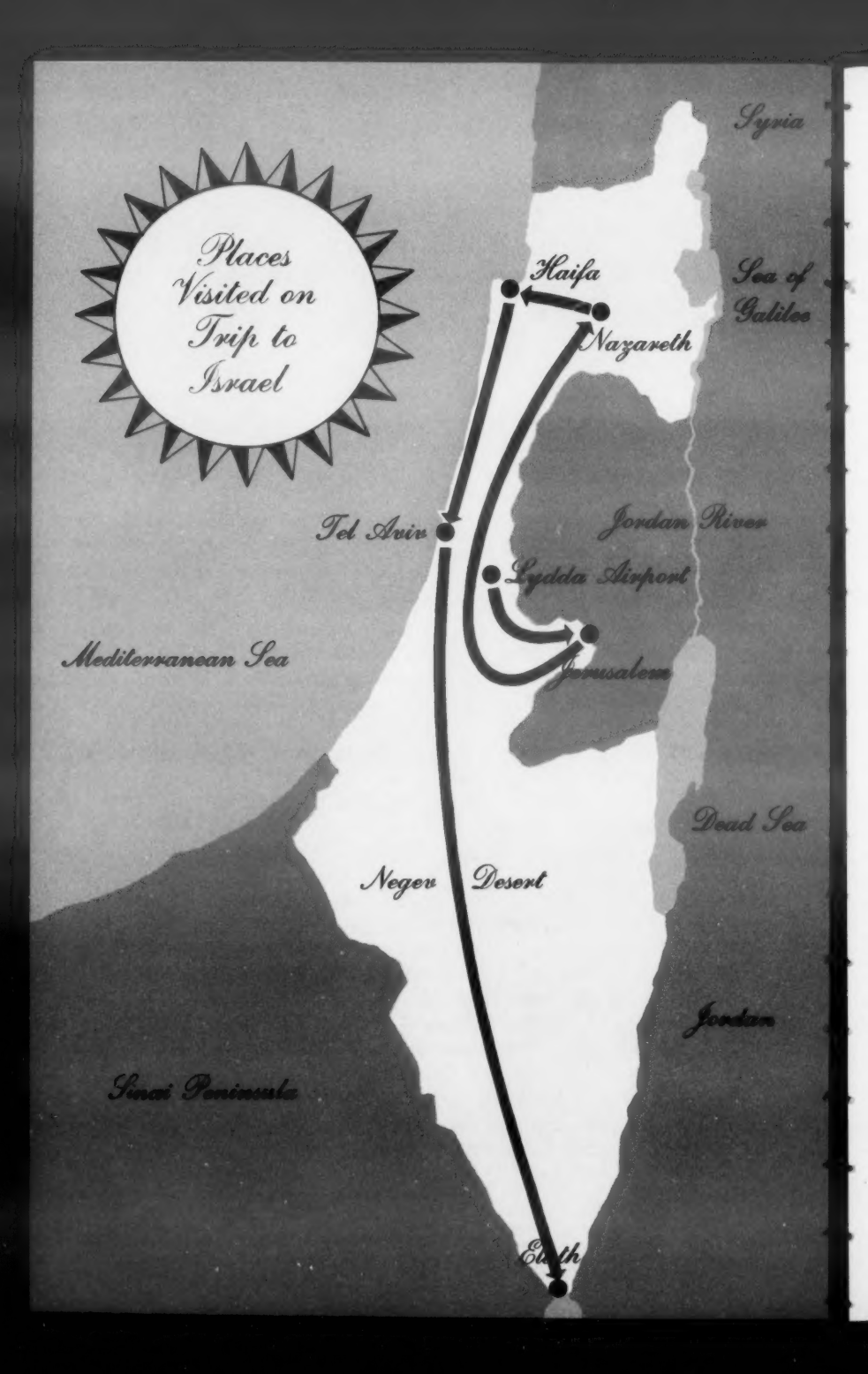
THE MORNING AFTER THE DEDICATION ceremonies, we left for Tel Aviv, Israel's largest city and the headquarters of Histadrut, the labor union federation.

Tel Aviv has been built up literally from sand. When the first Zionist pioneers settled there a few decades ago, it was merely a stretch of sandy beach. Today, Tel Aviv is a busy city of some 400,000 people. Its white apartment houses, many of them constructed by Histadrut on a cooperative basis, provide fine shelter for scores of thousands of working people. It is a lively city, and at all hours of the day and night the streets are crowded with traffic.

The Histadrut building is a modern, seven story structure. We were taken to the top floor, which is the meeting room of the Executive Council, which was then in session. The secretary-general, Pinhas Lavon, presided and introduced us to the group. We, in turn, voiced the fraternal greetings of the AFL-CIO.

Histadrut is one of the most vital democratic trade unions of the free world. It has had a unique history as a creative force in Israel's emergence as a state, and has continued to play a central and decisive role in the country's development.

Because of its deep roots in Zionist idealism, Histadrut has always been more than an ordinary trade union. Its original purpose was not only to advance the economic, social, political and cultural interests of its members, but to help in the devel-


Places Visited on Trip to Israel
Syria
Haifa
Sea of Galilee
Nazareth
Tel Aviv
Jordan River
Lydda Airport
Mediterranean Sea
Jerusalem
Dead Sea
Negev Desert
Jordan
Sinai Peninsula
Eilath

opment of a community of workers that would become the economic basis of a national homeland for the Jewish people. In fulfilling this dual function, Histadrut was drawn into a wide variety of activities beyond the scope of most trade unions. It thus became, at one and the same time, a trade union, an association of cooperatives in industry and agriculture, an entrepreneur directing a network of basic economic enterprises, and an important mutual aid institution.

Its structure is adapted to the performance of these many different functions. It is not a confederation of autonomous unions, but a central organization which delegates powers to individual unions organized on an industrial or occupational basis. It unites in its membership skilled and unskilled workers in agriculture, industry, construction, clerical work, and the liberal professions. Workers join Histadrut directly, and through membership in it participate in the individual unions appropriate to their specific occupations.

In its trade union role, Histadrut has been an effective instrument for improving the standard of living and working conditions of its members. The eight-hour day, hiring workers through general labor exchanges, seniority and family allowances, sick leave with pay, vacations with pay, maternity leave with pay, employer contributions to welfare funds, recognition of the workers' organization and the right of workers to organize collectively are standard parts of Histadrut's collective bargaining agreements. Since Israel won its independence, Histadrut has been playing an active part in the development of the state's labor legislation, thus helping to extend to all workers benefits won by Histadrut through collective bargaining.

With its characteristic sense of responsibility, Histadrut has been lending its organizational strength and prestige to measures to stabilize the Israeli economy and encourage its expansion and development. At the same time it continues to insist that the working people receive their just share of every increase in productivity. It was not surprising, therefore, to learn that Histadrut has been growing rapidly. It now has about 620,000 members—a spectacular increase from 170,000 ten years ago.

Histadrut's other functions reach into virtually every phase of Israeli life. One of the most impressive of these is its work in



Syria

Haifa

Sea of
Galilee

Nazareth

Tel Aviv

Jordan River

Lydda Airport

Mediterranean Sea

Jerusalem

Dead Sea

Negev Desert

Jordan

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health and welfare. Throughout the country, Histadrut operates directly a chain of clinics and hospitals which provide every form of medical service for union members. Its health and welfare services are also available to new immigrants. Through this cooperative program residents of both the cities and the more sparsely settled rural areas are able to enjoy first-rate medical attention. Indeed, some two-thirds of the population is covered by Histadrut's medical plan.

In addition, Histadrut operates a number of economic services. Its construction firm, Solel Boneh, is the largest in the country. Its Workers' Bank, the second largest bank in the country, has branches in many communities. Its housing cooperative has been responsible for the construction of both city apartment dwellings and individual homes in the farm areas.

In the cultural and educational field, Histadrut is equally active. It maintains a big program of adult education for workers. It publishes Davar, one of the largest and most influential of Israel's daily newspapers. It operates a number of libraries. In addition, Histadrut's program includes a broad program of cultural and recreation facilities which extend from one end of the country to the other.

This broad variety of activities in the economic and related areas by a labor federation, at first seems strange to Americans with our own concepts of trade union activity. Histadrut's much greater list of activities was explained to the AFL-CIO delegation as springing out of the peculiar modern history of the country. When, during the first decade of the 20th century, Jewish settlers began coming to Palestine, governmental functions were of a minimum nature, both under the Turks, and, after World War I, under the British Mandate of the League of Nations. Because of the clear existence of a need for these activities, Histadrut in a sense "filled the vacuum," and since the creation of the state has cooperated with the government in continuing to provide and expand these many services.

As a result, labor has an influence in the affairs of the country far greater than in most other nations.

It is common to find "graduates" of Histadrut's trade unionism in a tremendous variety of responsible positions—in the cabinet, in the parliament, in the various government departments, and



Histadrut headquarters in Tel Aviv, Israel's largest city, is the focal point for activities of the nation's labor union federation.

in the foreign service. Histadrut, with its early beginnings and its supply of trained people, has been able to perform a variety of important tasks for the government and the general public.

Histadrut's creative impulse is making itself felt beyond Israel's national boundaries. Through participation in the ICFTU and through its liaison with national trade union centers it has taken an active interest in international trade union affairs. Its methods and achievements are closely studied wherever there is an interest in the constructive potential of free trade unions operating in a democratic society.

Histadrut is thus actively participating in the export of Israel "know-how" to which Mrs. Meir had referred in her conversation with us. Trade unionists in the new countries of Asia and Africa, such as Burma and Ghana have been showing particular interest. Histadrut's ability to function, both as a general protector of the workers' rights and interests and as an effective instrument of national reconstruction, in accordance with the traditional democratic values of free labor everywhere, has opened new vistas to

them. They recognize a close kinship between their own problems and needs, and those which confronted Histadrut. They see in Histadrut's experience suggestive possibilities for their own future. Histadrut has opened its doors to them and is offering every possible assistance.

Although Histadrut differs greatly from the American form of trade unionism, an American visitor clearly feels much at home in the spirit of Histadrut. Labor in Israel is a direct descendant of western ideas and western experiences. Separated as Israel is from the U. S. by some 6,000 miles of sea, the ideas and the outlook of labor people are nevertheless much the same on both our shores.

* * *

After our meeting with the Histadrut Executive, and a reception and dinner that followed, we were honored to be the guests of the American ambassador, Mr. Edward Lawson. He is a fine representative of our country . . . popular with the Israelis and symbolizing the democratic friendship of the people of the U. S. He had invited Mordecai Namir, the Minister of Labor, leaders of Histadrut, and a number of other government officials to meet us. Later we met with a small group of the top officials of Histadrut for a further exchange of views and information.

A Visit to Elath

THE FOLLOWING DAY, SEPTEMBER 10, George Harrison ended his visit to Israel, in order to arrive back in New York in time for the General Assembly of the United Nations, where he serves as a member of the U. S. delegation.

Jacob Potofsky remained in Israel for several more days, and thus had an opportunity to fly by airplane over the Negev to the city of Elath, the southern-most town in Israel and the site of the Philip Murray Memorial Center. This handsome building, a gift from the Philip Murray Memorial Foundation, was dedicated in 1955, and it has well served its function as a community center for a pioneering city which is becoming more important as Israel's southern port.

To a group of workers with whom we talked at the Murray Center, Potofsky pointed out that he had wanted especially to visit this "shrine" in Elath, and added:

"This building is an honest building, for the architect and the construction workers have caught the true spirit of Philip Murray. This Murray building is honest of line, and clean, as Philip Murray was honest and clean. It is a building that serves the public good, as Philip Murray served the workers of America and the democratic world. It has strength and it has grace, as Philip Murray had them in his stature and his character.

"Elath and this Philip Murray Center are symbols indeed of

Israel's progress and security, and of American labor's steadfast friendship and solidarity with your country, your people and your great labor movement, Histadrut.

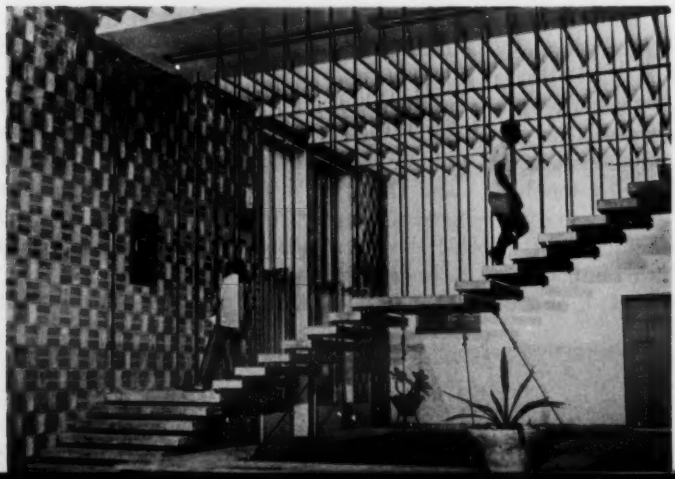
"The American workers in the AFL-CIO are your friends and brothers. They believe in Israel, its philosophy and its future. They believe in your right to live, to develop your country, to build a society that will not only reflect the culture of the Jews but will also stand as a monument to the best values of our democratic civilization.

"American workers want to see an honorable peace in the Middle East—but they do not want to see a peace in which the Nasser imperialists build an exploiting dominance over other Arab peoples. And equally, American workers will tolerate no aggression, direct or indirect, by any force on the people and the state of Israel.

"In February 1956, the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO suggested a regional economic program for the Middle East. Our government has suggested a similar program. I am sure that our government will continue its program of economic aid to Israel.

"Let the Arab revolutionaries, who claim they are working on behalf of the people of their countries, turn aside from dictatorship and demagoguery—let them work to help their peoples achieve decent living standards—let them show that their nationalism is directed to good purposes, not to war against the one democratic country in this area."

The Philip Murray Memorial Center at Elath, dedicated in 1955 is serving as a community center for this pioneering port city.



Conclusion

BOTH OF US WERE DEEPLY MOVED by our visit to Israel. This little country is one of the smallest in the world—about the size of Vermont. Its population is only about two million. Yet, despite its small size, it has in ten years made a great impact on the consciousness of the people of the world.

The visitor to Israel cannot fail to be moved by the sense of history that pervades the country. Wherever one moves, wherever one looks, the Biblical tradition is ever in one's consciousness. Each trip that we took recalled vividly to us the history of ancient peoples recounted in the Bible. It is from this small area that so much of our Judeo-Christian heritage has come . . . the sense of justice, of brotherly love, of ethical standards, of peace. These constitute the spirit of the land and the people. This land was, in a very real sense, the seed-bed of much of our present civilization.

Thus, in visiting Israel on behalf of the AFL-CIO, we felt deeply a sense of re-affirmation of America's moral and spiritual ties with this ancient land to which our religious philosophies are so eternally indebted.

Our delegation's visit to Israel was of short duration, but our days were spent on a heavy schedule which permitted us to see much and hear much. From our visit, certain impressions are deeply imbedded in our consciousness:

1. Israel is a country of spectacular growth. By every standard, Israel can be proud of it's accomplishment: growth in population; development of cities and farms; improvements in its educational system; creation and growth of new industries, small by American standards but impressive as a forward step toward economic self-sufficiency; the progress of Histadrut in its trade union functions and in its economic, health, cultural and other activities.

2. Israel has done a first-rate job, comparable to that of any country in the world, in accepting hundreds of thousands of refugees, in rehabilitating them and giving them an economic and spiritual stake in their new homeland. Immediately after the liberation, hundreds of thousands of the survivors of Hitler's concentration camps migrated to Israel. Later, many thousands came from behind the Iron Curtain to a land of freedom. Still others have come from unsettled or under-developed areas of Africa and Asia.

In sharing its land and its resources with these newcomers, Israel has not only been true to its own ideals . . . but it has also



relieved the free world of a considerable share of the burden of caring for these poor and oppressed peoples, towards whom all civilization recognizes its tremendous responsibility.

3. Israel's labor movement—Histadrut—is a democratic, responsible organization which is proud of its record of friendship with the trade unions of the United States. Faced with the challenge of settling its people and giving them a start on the road to decent living standards, Histadrut has lived up to the best traditions of the free labor movement. Its members are obviously dedicated to their unions, its leaders are conscious of their responsibilities. The organization deserves great credit for its accomplishments.

4. There is a deep-seated yearning for peace and stability in the Middle East, on the part of Israeli government and labor officials and, so far as our delegation could see, on the part of the average citizens. We came to Israel conscious of the political and military troubles that have plagued the Middle East for many years; we were conscious of the tensions that have existed



"Warm fraternal relationships between our two labor movements have been mutually beneficial."

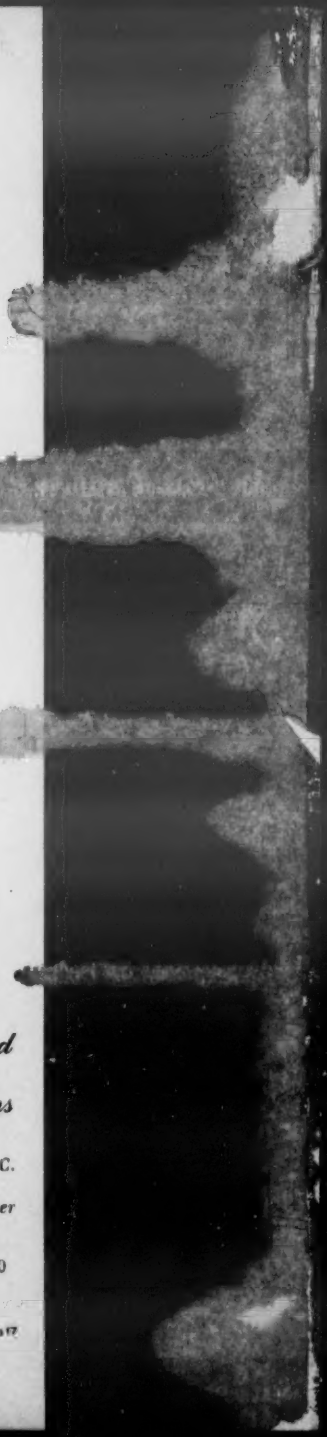
on Israel's borders and in its relations—or, more accurately, its lack of relations—with neighboring countries.

Our delegation was encouraged by the climate of public opinion in Israel. We found no swash-buckling, no desire for conflict; what we did find was a universal belief that if peace can be achieved, the economic progress of both Israel and its Arab neighbors will be rapid. Israel's standard of living is higher than its neighbors . . . not alone because it has received outside economic aid, but because it has used that help as we would expect a democratic country to use it: as a pump-primer that enables its own citizens to help themselves by cultivating the land more efficiently, by building factories and shops, by seeking greater efficiency in agriculture, trade and industry . . . while preserving the rights and liberties of the people.

5. Our delegation feels that America's friendship with Israel, and specifically the warm fraternal relationships between our two labor movements, have been mutually beneficial.

The United States government, under President Harry S. Truman, was the first to recognize the new state of Israel in 1948. This act was deeply appreciated in Israel, and is still much remembered. Israel is our friend, our ally, in the struggle of the free world to achieve a better, more secure life for all the people. In the continuing effort to achieve peace and freedom and justice throughout the world, we need have no hesitancy about where Israel and its labor movement stand. The record is clear.

Thus, our on-the-scene view of Israel, its people and its labor movement, reaffirms the solid basis of our traditional friendship with this brave democracy and with its free labor organization.



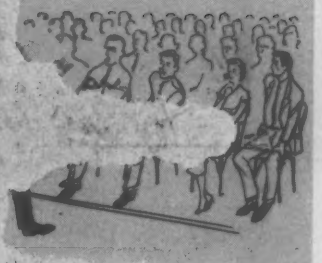
American Federation of Labor and

Congress of Industrial Organizations

815 16th Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

GEORGE MEANY *President* WM. F. SCHNITZLER *Secretary-Treasurer*

PUBLICATION NO. 90



HOW TO REACH THE UNION MEMBER



HE MEMBERSHIP THROUGH
NION STEWARD OR COMMITTEEMEN.



EMBERSHIP ON THE JOB.



H THE MEMBERSHIP AT THEIR HOMES
E COMMUNITY.



How to Reach the Union Member



These suggestions on how to do a better job of reaching the individual union member and building increased participation in local union activities come from many sources. Original work was done by the Southern School for Workers and the Education Department of the United Rubber Workers Union. The pamphlet was published in the October and November, 1958 issues of EDUCATION NEWS AND VIEWS.

One of the toughest problems facing union leadership today is how to reach all the members to explain the message and program of the union, to arouse loyalty to the union and build participation in its activities.

You can try to reach the rank and file membership of your local union in four ways: at the monthly meeting of the local; through the stewards or committeemen; on the job at the plant and in their homes and communities.

Take a look at each of these four methods. See their advantages and disadvantages and think how they can be used effectively in your union.

Many local unions, of course, are already using some of the techniques described in this article. All of them are drawn from actual experiences. Resourceful union leaders will use these suggestions, adapt them to their local situations and probably come up with new—unique and effective—methods of helping the millions of local union members participate more effectively in making the decisions of the labor movement.

1 Local Union Meetings

Good, interesting, well-run local union meetings are important in keeping the membership interested in attending, and in getting more members to attend and participate.

The monthly meeting of your local union gives you a first-rate opportunity to discuss union problems and programs regularly, face to face, with the members who attend. The great disadvantage of this method is that only a handful of members attend the average meeting.

Think about your own union and all of its members from the card-carriers to the most active officers. How can you get more people to come to meetings? How can the union meeting build loyalty to the union and an understanding of the union's program for those who do attend?

Why Do People Stay Away From Meetings?

Are your meetings long and dull, often taken up with individual grievances? Is the business of the meeting poorly organized and haphazardly conducted, with no control by the chairman? Is the meeting monopolized by the Chairman and one or two officers, with little or no participation by the membership? How about your meeting night; does it conflict with other important area—community activities such as the PTA, important church functions and popular bowling leagues. How many of your members want to be sure to see the Wednesday night fights on TV?

Plan Your Meeting Carefully

Plan your meeting for speed and drama. Some or all of the suggestions that follow will help you keep the business of the meeting moving. This doesn't mean you have to use steam-roller tactics to get through the union business. Don't get bogged down in details that should be handled personally or by union committees. More members will come to union meetings, if they can expect to get information, interested discussions, and, when possible, excitement, from the meetings.

For example, if your union has just won a pension plan, have a discussion of the new plan, how it works, what the benefits are, the effect of lay-offs on benefits, members' responsibilities, etc.

Don't dodge controversy. If there's an issue that affects the union, it belongs on the union agenda. When handled properly, discussion of controversial issues can build the union.

Play down the role of chairman, letting others from the floor carry the ball. The officers should be familiar with standard rules for conducting meetings. Several unions have published easy-to-use pamphlets that will help you.

The agenda (a list of everything to be done at a meeting) should be worked out in detail before each meeting.

Write down each item of business and the name of the person who will introduce it. Include the routine matters (reading of minutes, etc.) so that you don't forget any of it. Who will read communications and where should they be referred? Who is scheduled to make reports (which committees, which delegates to conventions or other meetings)? What is coming up under old and new business? Check ahead of time with officers and committee chairmen to find out if they have items to be included on the agenda.

Talk (or send a postcard) to all persons listed on your agenda, asking them to be prepared and to be brief.

Avoid long discussions of small details. Refer details to committees or individuals. Do not discuss individual grievances on the floor.

Look over the correspondence before the meeting. Weed out unnecessary letters. Read important sections only. And read clearly. Correspondence is usually read by the secretary, but, when possible, some letters should be read by other members, such as the committee chairmen involved, in order to get more people active in the meeting and give it variety.

Set a time limit on everyone who speaks at a meeting to eliminate long-winded talkers. Try two or three minutes each, certainly not more than five minutes per person. Enforce the parliamentary rule that no one speaks twice on a subject until all others have had a chance to speak.

The Arrangement of the Meeting Room Is Important

Arrange the meeting room so that everyone sits together, not spread all over the hall. Put away extra chairs; place a desk or table in front as close to the people as possible. Avoid holding small meetings in a large hall. For a small meeting try arranging chairs in a circle or around a table. Vary the seating arrangements from meeting to meeting.

No matter how good your program is, it'll be a dud if people can't hear what's going on. Make sure everyone who speaks can be heard in every part of the hall. Rent amplifying equipment, if necessary.

The chairman should stand when conducting the meeting.

The same rule applies to the secretary when reading minutes, correspondence, etc., and to everyone who addresses the meeting, whether making reports, speaking from the floor, etc. All reports of delegates or committees should be made from the front of the room.

Take a look at your union hall. Does it need painting? Decorating? Some union posters? Better lighting? Cleaner rest rooms? How long has it been since it was swept? Are old pamphlets, paper, and dirty ashtrays scattered around?

Are new pamphlets where members can get them? Do you have a bulletin board with interesting items affecting the union? Have you tried playing union or popular records before and after the meeting?

Publicize Your Union Meeting

Do all the members know where and when meetings are held? Some of the following suggestions may help in your local. You'll be able to think of other ways to publicize your meetings, ways that will be especially suited to your union, your town. Above all, vary your publicity from meeting to meeting.

Personal contact between stewards and members is probably the most effective way to publicize your meetings. If meetings are worth attending, the steward will try to get people to be there. Make sure all the stewards know the important items on the program for each meeting.

Try an occasional letter or postcard direct to the worker's home reminding him of a meeting and the subject to be discussed. At least occasionally, send a postcard or letter to all stewards and officers, urging them to get other members out to a meeting.

An advertisement in the town paper or a few radio spots advertising an important meeting and its program will work in small towns.

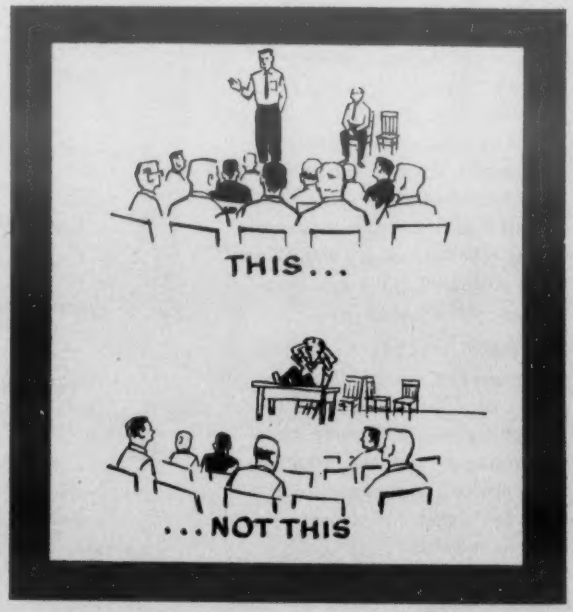
Do you have shop bulletin boards? If so, work up colorful notices advertising your meetings. Use your imagination to get attention. Remember that the typewritten notice has gone the way of the horse and buggy. Some internationals have special posters for advertising union meetings.

In all publicity, play up the subject matter of a meeting, so that people will not want to miss it. But don't oversell a meeting. If you lead people to expect more than they're going to get, they won't come again.

Vary Your Program

Most meetings need more than good discussion and action on routine union business. People want to feel they have gotten something out of the meeting—new ideas, new information. Don't just tack a speech at the end of a long, dull business meeting. First follow the suggestions to streamline union business, then try some of the following suggestions:

Invite a guest speaker to talk on a subject that will



BENEFITS WON BY LOCAL UNION 000, UW, AFL-CIO

Here are the benefits that have been won by Local 000 for all workers in the _____Company since the local was organized in _____.

1. Organized method of taking up grievances and complaints.
2. Protection of a union contract with numerous guarantees and with choice of arbitration if company refuses to follow contract.
3. Six wage increases totaling 69¢ per hour.
4. Vacations with pay. 1 week for one year's service, 2 weeks for five years' service and 3 weeks for 15 years' service.
5. Six paid holidays.
6. Pension plan. Guaranteed minimum of $100 including social security.
7. Health benefits for yourself and family.
8. Thousands of individual and group grievances settled satisfactorily for the membership.

Attend regular union meetings at union hall_____ street. (4th Monday of every month) at _____p.m.

NEW MEMBERS WILL FEEL differently toward your local union if you give them a background on the history of the local and the gains which the local union has made for the membership. The leaflet to the left shows eight gains made by a local union.

DOES THE HISTORY OF your local union show equivalent gains? Have you prepared an attractive leaflet for your new members or planned an anniversary program on the "birthday" of your union in which you dramatize these gains?

Date_____

Dear Brother _____:

Welcome and congratulations on becoming a member of Local 000 of the United Workers, AFL-CIO.

We're glad to have you join us in one of the oldest (and one of the best!) unions in the AFL-CIO. Local 000 includes all the workers in the _____Company. It is dedicated to representing you and your fellow workers, to see that you get fair treatment on the job.

You are now protected by a union contract which has been developed over many years, so that it gives real protection to the workers. The benefits which your union has won for its members are listed on the attached leaflet. Read this carefully.

As you work on your job, you may have complaints about unfair treatment or mistakes that the company may make in regard to your job or pay. You are entitled to see your shop steward who is experienced in handling such cases and will take them up for you as provided by the union's contract with the company. Your steward is _____; he works in Department_____.

Fraternally yours,

John Q. Unionman
President, Local 000
United Workers, AFL-CIO

TO THE RIGHT IS A SAMPLE letter for new members which local unions could easily prepare. Many, of course, do. In this case, the letter stresses the service which the local provides for its members and indicates who the shop steward is as well as emphasizing the role this steward will play in representing the new member with management.

SOME INTERNATIONAL unions like the Building Service Employees Union and the Rubber Workers Union have prepared national leaflets which can accompany a local union letter welcoming the new member.



interest your members: something on the union, the town you live in, the possibilities are endless. When you invite a speaker, give him a realistic estimate of the number of people who'll attend and the time available to him. Explain ahead of time, so the speaker can plan his talk accordingly, that you want a short talk, with plenty of time for questions from the floor. And enforce the time limit on the talk.

Have the members themselves do the talking at some meetings. Schedule short talks on subjects such as "How Dues Are Spent," "How to Make a Motion," or a short review of a union pamphlet.

Union movies come in many sizes on many subjects. If you can get projection equipment, rent a movie from time to time. Write to the AFL-CIO Film Division for a catalogue of rental films.

You've probably already tried refreshments or entertainment and found that, alone, they don't bring many people to meetings. Don't try them at every meeting; you can't compete with TV in the living room and TV snacks in the kitchen. But now and then they vary the routine of the meeting, especially if you're opening the meeting to families or the public.

(For more details about union meetings see AFL-CIO Publication No. 81, HOW TO RUN A UNION MEETING. 20¢ a copy; 10 to 99 copies, 17¢ each.)

2 Reach the Membership through the union stewards or committeemen

"Stewards," "shop chairmen" or "committeemen" are the key to building a strong local union.

Whether your union calls them "stewards," "shop chairmen," "committeemen," or some other title, these are the people who can be most helpful in reaching the membership. There are two big advantages to this method: The stewards are a small group, relatively easy for the union to keep in touch with. They are also the key people in the union; they blanket the shop in all departments, and they are in daily touch with the members.

The problem is how to make the most effective use of the shop stewards, without working them to death.

Train Stewards to Do Their Job

Both old and new stewards should attend steward training sessions. You can hold classes once a week, have a weekend conference, or run classes in connection with your regular stewards' meetings. Help them understand the contract, teach them how to handle grievances, give them basic information about the union.

When a new steward takes over, the union officers should take time to show him the ropes and go over the contract and the grievance procedure with him. Make a special effort to help him until he can take a steward training course.

(A *Teaching Guide* for a six-session stewards' training course is available from the AFL-CIO Education Department. It is based on the new AFL-CIO stewards manual and sells for $1.00.)

Hold Regular Stewards' Meetings

Monthly stewards' meetings give stewards a chance to discuss grievance problems and to learn more about the union. There are many ways to run these meetings. You can plan a detailed discussion of one section of the contract at each meeting. Or invite a guest speaker on labor laws, political action, or some other union issue. At another meeting schedule an informal talk on some part of the union's program. For example, on the steward's responsibility in getting members out to meetings, first try an impromptu skit of a steward telling a worker about the next union meeting and urging him to come out. That should bring a reaction from the stewards present, who can exchange ideas on how they'd handle the same situation.

Give the Steward the Prestige He Deserves

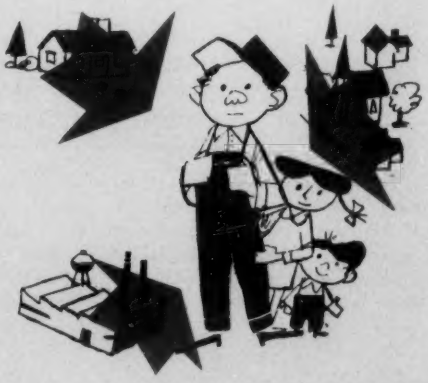
If you're going to keep stewards on the job and get them to attend training meetings, you've got to make the job desirable, give it prestige. Have you tried these suggestions in your union?

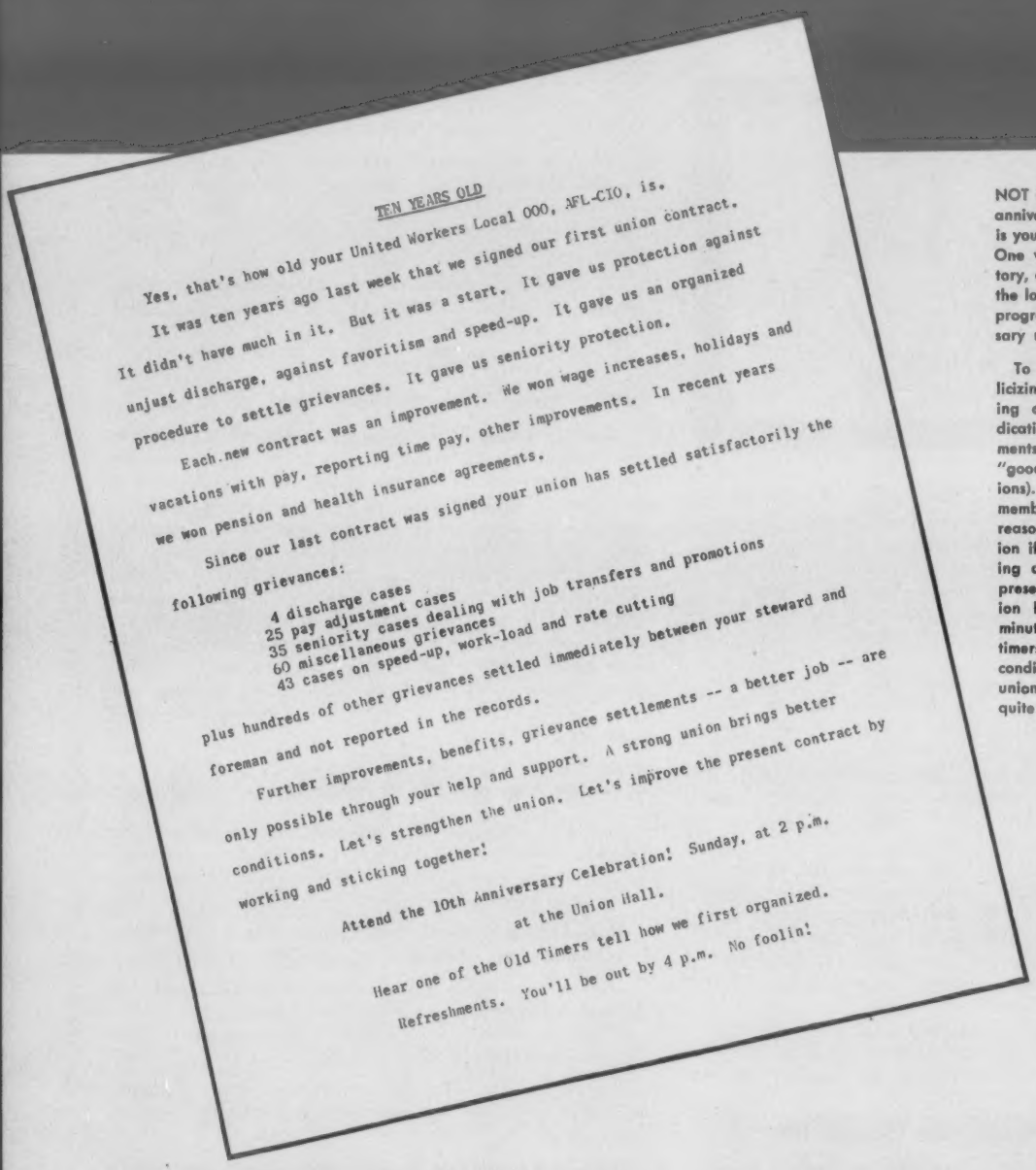
Hold an annual banquet for stewards and their wives, free of charge, as an expression of the union's gratitude.

If your local union has a newspaper, by all means give the stewards credit by name for grievances they have successfully processed, etc. Publish feature stories on your stewards and the jobs they're doing.

Where possible, bring the steward involved in at higher grievance steps and top management meetings. Let him participate.

Send press releases to your community newspapers when stewards are elected; give their names and union responsibilities. Most papers (except in large cities) will print them.





TEN YEARS OLD

Yes, that's how old your United Workers Local 000, AFL-CIO, is.

It was ten years ago last week that we signed our first union contract. It didn't have much in it. But it was a start. It gave us protection against unjust discharge, against favoritism and speed-up. It gave us an organized procedure to settle grievances. It gave us seniority protection.

Each new contract was an improvement. We won wage increases, holidays and vacations with pay, reporting time pay, other improvements. In recent years we won pension and health insurance agreements.

Since our last contract was signed your union has settled satisfactorily the following grievances:

4 discharge cases
25 pay adjustment cases
35 seniority cases dealing with job transfers and promotions
60 miscellaneous grievances
43 cases on speed-up, work-load and rate cutting

plus hundreds of other grievances settled immediately between your steward and foreman and not reported in the records.

Further improvements, benefits, grievance settlements -- a better job -- are only possible through your help and support. A strong union brings better conditions. Let's strengthen the union. Let's improve the present contract by working and sticking together!

Attend the 10th Anniversary Celebration! Sunday, at 2 p.m.
at the Union Hall.

Hear one of the Old Timers tell how we first organized.

Refreshments. You'll be out by 4 p.m. No foolin!

NOT ONLY are golden wedding anniversaries important, but so is your union's 10th Anniversary. One way to dramatize this history, and perhaps get a story in the local press and even a radio program, is to plan an anniversary meeting.

To the left is a leaflet publicizing a 10th anniversary meeting of a local union and indicating some of the accomplishments of the union since the "good old days" BU (before unions). Many of your newer members will understand the reasons for belonging to a union if they attend such a meeting and hear short, interesting presentations on what the union has accomplished. A ten-minute speech by one of the old timers still in the shop on what conditions were like before the union was organized will be quite educational.

The International Association of Machinists nationally just finished celebrating its 70th Anniversary and worked out a plan whereby all local lodges ran a meeting on the 70th Anniversary of the Union and invited community leaders into the Anniversary meeting.

3 Reach the membership on the job

Many local unions do a good job of contacting members while they are at work in the plant. Plan ways to use this opportunity intelligently.

The advantage of this method of reaching the rank and file is that everyone is there, no special trip is necessary. This is one of the cheapest ways to reach the largest number of workers. The disadvantage is that people are working and there is no chance for lengthy discussion as there is at membership meetings. Here are a few ideas; there are many others.

Distribute Leaflets at the Shop Gate

Pick an important issue for such distribution, and make a short and snappy mimeographed leaflet. Leaflets are particularly useful where the local has no regular newspaper. For example, make a leaflet to announce details of a wage increase or to keep the members up to date on contract negotiations, or to let them know how your Congressman and Senators voted on a particular bill.

Distribute Leaflets Through the Shop Stewards

Some workers are more likely to read a leaflet if their own shop steward hands it to them. This is a particularly useful method for announcing special meetings and other events.

Bull Sessions in the Plant, at Lunch Time, in the Locker Room

Raise a question of a story in the *AFL-CIO News* or your local's paper, or refer to some union leaflet or other piece of literature that interests you and is controversial. Talk about wage increases, new contract, prices. Tie the discussion in with your union and its program.

Use Union Bulletin Boards in the Plant Effectively

Keep your bulletin board up-to-date. Try to make it colorful and interesting as well as informative.

Use it for meeting announcements, stewards' names, anything that can be placed on the board. Clip news items and cartoons that will interest members from union or other papers, from magazines, etc.

Order bulletin board posters from the AFL-CIO which appear regularly on current topics or labor problems. (8½ by 11 inches in two colors. 5¢ each; 100 for $3.)

Special Department Meetings Right After Work

Where there is a hot issue in a department, call a quickie department meeting at the union hall. People will get involved who have never been to a meeting.

4

It is important to work with union members where they live! They are "opinion molders" on many issues which concern the welfare of the people of the community.

Every union member is also a member of the community. Sometimes he is easier to reach at home than in the plant or union hall or through the stewards. Some unions are producing telelvision shows and radio programs to discuss controversial issues. These programs will take the AFL-CIO's position on important issues to union members who never come to the union hall. These ideas may help you:

Use the Mails

Occasional, even regular, use of the mails, if possible, will reach all members and their families right at home. This is a sure fire way of getting into the home, although there is no guarantee that the material will be read. Also, it can be expensive, particularly for large locals which would need addressing equipment. Here are a few ideas for mailings to union members.

A must mailing is a letter to all new members welcoming them into the union (see sample letter on page 4). also a letter to workers retiring on a union pension plan.

The need to get important information to all members quickly might be the occasion for a letter, perhaps with a leaflet attached. Examples are strike information, a dues increase, a new contract, negotiations, or a special legislative drive.

A regular local union newspaper can be very effective.



One way to distribute it is to mail it to members' homes. Cover local news, local names and events; keep it easy to read, not too heavy or tightly packed. You might start with a one or two-page mimeographed paper.

Use Community News Sources

Appoint or elect an information committee with the willingness and authority to establish and maintain contacts with the newspapers, radio and TV stations. The committee must be willing and able to prepare useable news releases.

Have them get acquainted with reporters and news editors of newspapers and radio/TV stations. (For more detailed suggestions, see "Get Your UNION MESSAGE to the Public", pp. 6-7, May 1958, AFL-CIO Education News and Views.)

Normal union activity can get the name of the union in the newspapers at least twenty-five times a year. Send news releases to community newspapers to report any out of the ordinary activities. Conventions, special meetings, contract negotiations, delegates sent to meetings, conferences, and schools, the election of officers, entertainments, and other activities are all news for your home-town papers.

Send news releases about activities of your local union to your local radio and TV stations whenever you send them to the newspapers.

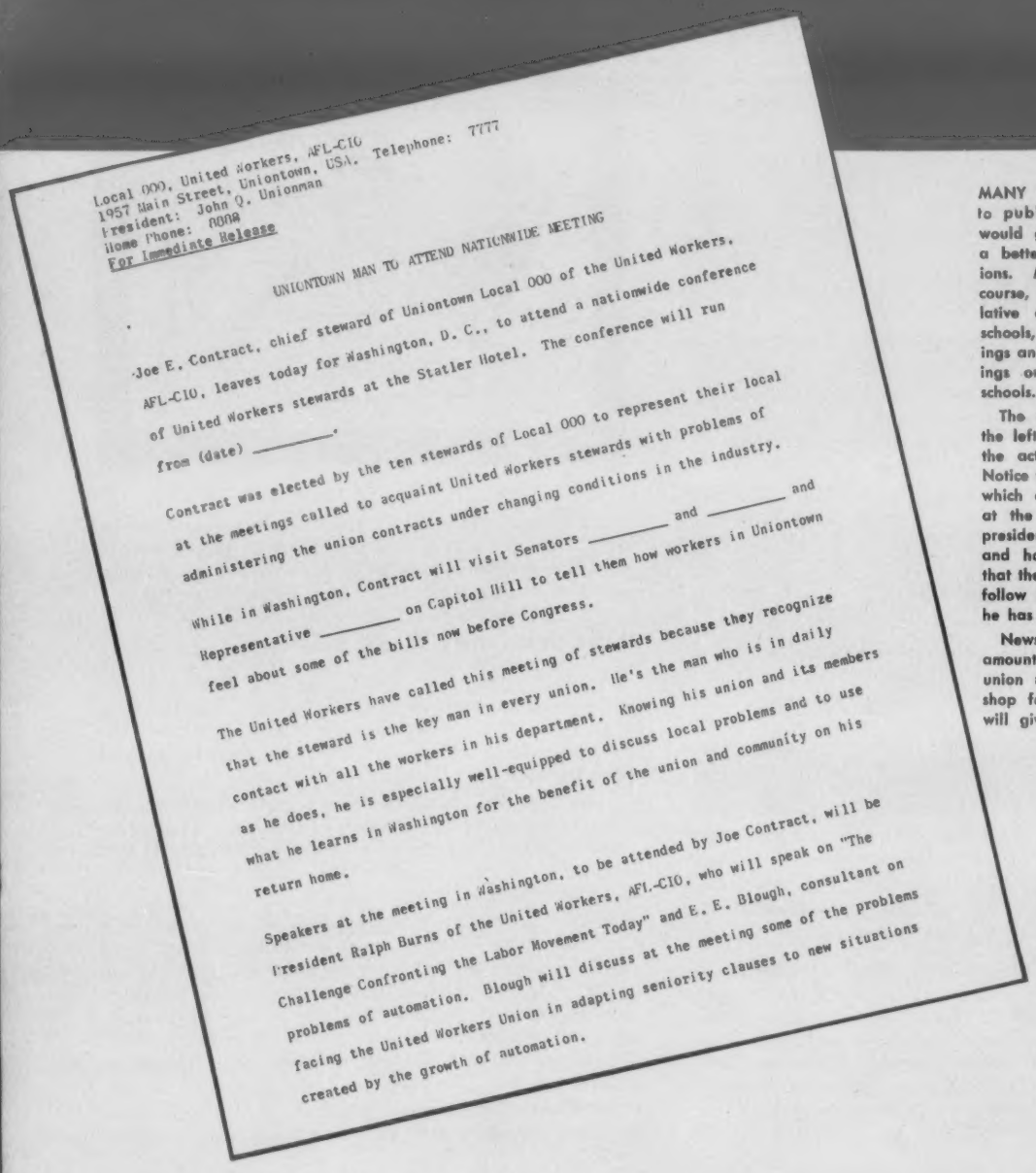
Make sure your members know about both radio and TV programs featuring union speakers. The AFL-CIO sponsors two nationally-known radio commentators, John W. Vandercook and Edward P. Morgan. Both are on the ABC Network. UAW commentator Guy Nunn appears on thirty-five stations on a special morning show aimed at car radios. Other radio and TV programs are available from time to time.

The AFL-CIO TV series, "Americans at Work" offers fifty-two 15-minute shows to TV stations that agree to run the series on public service time.

The AFL-CIO taped radio programs, "As We See It" or "Washington Reports" offer listeners interviews with union leaders, or members of the Congress.

If these programs are not heard or seen locally, your information committee should contact the program chairman of radio stations and the TV channels in the area.

If the program is carried locally, union members should be informed through union publications, hand-



Local 000, United Workers, AFL-CIO
1957 Main Street, Uniontown, USA. Telephone: 7777
President: John Q. Unionman
Home Phone: 0008
For Immediate Release

UNIONTOWN MAN TO ATTEND NATIONWIDE MEETING

Joe E. Contract, chief steward of Uniontown Local 000 of the United Workers, AFL-CIO, leaves today for Washington, D. C., to attend a nationwide conference of United Workers stewards at the Statler Hotel. The conference will run from (date) _____.

Contract was elected by the ten stewards of Local 000 to represent their local at the meetings called to acquaint United Workers stewards with problems of administering the union contracts under changing conditions in the industry.

While in Washington, Contract will visit Senators _____ and _____ and Representative _____ on Capitol Hill to tell them how workers in Uniontown feel about some of the bills now before Congress.

The United Workers have called this meeting of stewards because they recognize that the steward is the key man in every union. He's the man who is in daily contact with all the workers in his department. Knowing his union and its members as he does, he is especially well-equipped to discuss local problems and to use what he learns in Washington for the benefit of the union and community on his return home.

Speakers at the meeting in Washington, to be attended by Joe Contract, will be President Ralph Burns of the United Workers, AFL-CIO, who will speak on "The Challenge Confronting the Labor Movement Today" and E. E. Blough, consultant on problems of automation. Blough will discuss at the meeting some of the problems facing the United Workers Union in adapting seniority clauses to new situations created by the growth of automation.

MANY TIMES local unions fail to publicize activities which would give the general public a better understanding of unions. Many local unions, of course, send delegates to legislative conferences, to summer schools, to state legislative meetings and to city or county meetings on improving the public schools.

The sample press release to the left shows how to publicize the activity of a local union. Notice the double spaced typing which editors appreciate. Also at the top, the name of the president of the local, his office and home phone numbers, so that the newspaper reporter can follow up on the story in case he has any questions.

News stories indicating the amount of money raised by union members in a particular shop for the Community Chest will give the general public a broader understanding of union activities.

The May, 1958, issue of EDUCATION NEWS AND VIEWS contained an article entitled "Get Your Union Message to the Public," which outlined seven ways in which the union could work on this problem. Write to the AFL-CIO Department of Education for a copy.

bills, bulletin boards, and at local union meetings so that they, their families, and friends can see or listen.

Activity of union representatives in community organizations (through service on committees, through donations, through participation in various community projects) helps get the name and program of the union before non-active union members and the public. On community chest drives, etc., make sure your union gets some mention and that all the credit doesn't go to the employer or company where you work.

* * *

If you use the suggestions in this article, you will make it possible for local union members to participate in a wide variety of union programs. Many of the projects which you carry out in your local union will not only build stronger unions, but will give the general public a better understanding of the need for strong unions.

AFL-CIO Pamphlet No. 91

Reprinted from October and November 1958, *AFL-CIO Education News and Views.* For additional copies, write to AFL-CIO Education Department, 815 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C. Single copy, free; 2-99 copies, 5¢ each; 100 or more, 3¢ each.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

George Meany, *President* Wm. F. Schnitzler, *Secretary-Treasurer*

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PRINTED IN U.S.A.

LABOR AND THE



GOLDEN YEARS

By Leo Perlis, Director, AFL-CIO Community Service Activities

HIS name is Ben. He's 76 years of age. Five days a week he walks three and a half miles to a senior citizens' center in the heart of Lansing, Michigan, spends five hours there and then makes the long trek back home.

No longer does Ben feel the grim, cold touch of loneliness.

This is a small part of the Lansing story—a tale of labor's efforts to give America's older citizens the golden years they deserve, instead of the tragedy of wasted years that now confronts hundreds of thousands of our aging.

The Lansing story found its origin in the long history of labor's concern for the plight of the aged. Many national and international unions from their very beginnings demonstrated this concern by establishing homes for retired members and various types of retirement programs. In addition, the history of the labor movement is filled with the story of labor's struggle to better conditions for the aging through the passage of legislation at the national, state and local levels.

Approximately five years ago the national Community Services Committee started to write the first chapter of the Lansing story.

The increase in the number of citizens over 65, the shift from a predominantly rural society to an urban civilization, the ability of many millions of mass-production workers to retire because of pension programs achieved through collective bargaining—all these and many more factors pointed to service to the aging as a top-priority community services program for the labor movement.

Late in 1953 the national CSC staff was charged with developing a plan of action. Out of intensive study and exhaustive research came the foundations of a program.

Among a score of needs of the aged, two seemed to cry out for immediate attention—the need that is felt so deeply by a large group of the aged for companionship and social belonging, and the need to assist retired workers and those nearing retirement age to understand more fully what is involved in retirement.

How to translate the awareness of these needs into a concrete program remained the problem.

It was decided that a program should be worked out in cooperation with a local Community Services Committee—a pilot project that could serve as a guide to all communities.

A test city was needed. The city should be medium in size. It should be partially industrialized. It should have a well-organized labor movement and an active, aggressive central labor body. It should have sound, effective health and welfare agencies.

Lansing, Michigan, was selected. Along with meeting the other requirements, Lansing possessed union leadership that was genuinely concerned about the problems of the aged and wanted to do something about them.

On October 15, 1954, a national staff representative of the CSC went into Lansing and launched a series of meetings with local labor bodies and community groups, outlining the proposed program, answering questions and emphasizing the importance of all-out support for this pilot project.

The four-point program called for establishment of a Drop-In Center to provide recreational and leisure-time activity for Lansing's senior citizens,

counseling for retired workers, a pre-retirement educational program and regular monthly meetings of the retired group.

The project met with full acceptance by the Lansing Community Services Committee. Pledges of cooperation were also forthcoming from every group contacted, including the presidents of all the local unions.

Next came the arduous task of making the program a reality. The Community Services Committee was immediately faced with the problem of finding funds to operate the Drop-In Center. Central labor body funds were limited and could not be drawn upon. A proposal was presented to the delegates of the body that provided for voluntary acceptance of local unions affiliated with the organization to remit one-half cent per capita per member per month to be designated as a retired workers' fund. The cooperation of the significant bulk of the locals was forthcoming.

Later it developed that this income was insufficient to cover the expenses of the center. But by that time the idea of the project had caught fire in Lansing and the various local labor groups underwrote expenditures for food and supplies, and international unions carried through special fund-raising projects.

The problem of finding a location for the center was solved when one of the local unions offered the use of a part of its facilities.

The need for personnel to staff the center was met when the community chest labor staff representative agreed to act as coordinator of the overall program and volunteers of the Community Services Committee and from local unions agreed to provide the day-to-day direction. Public and private social welfare agencies also assisted with special activities, and local merchants provided equipment for the center.

Through the persistence, hard work and dedication of the Lansing labor movement, the groundwork for the pilot program was finally laid. In March of 1955 the committee was ready to announce the opening of the center.

THE growth of the center over the next two years was rapid and exciting. Counseling for retired workers, forums on pre-retirement education and the active participation of retired citizens became inherent parts of the center's life.

The daily register at the center immediately began to show that a great number of persons in the community who did not have union backgrounds were using the facilities of the center and taking part in its activities. Here a community services program of organized labor was benefiting the total community once again. This, logically, pointed the way toward the development of the center as a community-supported agency.

With this in mind, the committee worked unceasingly over a period of two years with various local governmental and community groups to make this labor-created and labor-sponsored program a part of the overall community picture.

It was this work of organized labor that was responsible for the community's acceptance of the retired workers' program which finally came on October 24, 1957, when the Lansing City Recreation Department announced it would co-sponsor the program and center with the union group. The center was relocated in a newly-

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XUM

remodeled city-owned building and provision was made for full-time paid personnel.

The success of the center can be seen in the fact that close to 1,000 persons each month now find things within the center that are missing in their lives outside its walls.

Effectiveness of the program also resulted in four neighborhood clubs springing up in four different sections of the city. The activities of these clubs parallel those of the center.

The entire program has been hailed in the Lansing press, with full credit given to the labor movement for pioneering the project.

Further proof of the value of this program is more than evident during a visit to the center.

Go there on Pie Day when the ladies bring the pies and the men do the eating.

Listen to and watch the 82-year-old fiddle player or the 75-year-old mandolin player as they warm up for a dance at the center.

Sit in on some of the volunteer work done at the center and watch the needles fly as bandages are stitched and as aged hands once again find they can be useful and are needed.

A great deal was learned through this action program in Lansing. Experiments in the complex area of planning for retirement proved of special significance.

PREPARATION for retirement actually should begin in infancy. Certainly it should begin in the early forties, and it should be concerned not only with financial planning but with psychological, emotional and physical retirement as well.

Perhaps the most important single element that should underlie all retirement plans is good mental health, with each potential retiree asking himself three questions: Where did I come from? Where am I? Where am I going?

The answer to the last question could well determine the kind of retirement plan needed.

The Lansing story is only a beginning. Pre-retirement counseling and the establishment of Drop-In Centers for senior citizens are priorities for the coming year in the program of the AFL-CIO Community Service Activities. These two vital topics will also be on the agenda at CSA's series of regional training institutes to be held this winter in five leading American universities.

The AFL-CIO-CSA will seek to develop an ever wider and ever stronger pattern of service to the older citizen in the hope that the American labor movement can be one of those that share in finding the solution to this major social welfare problem.

Just as the seniority of a job-holder earns respect and fair treatment, the seniority in years of a human being deserves no less.

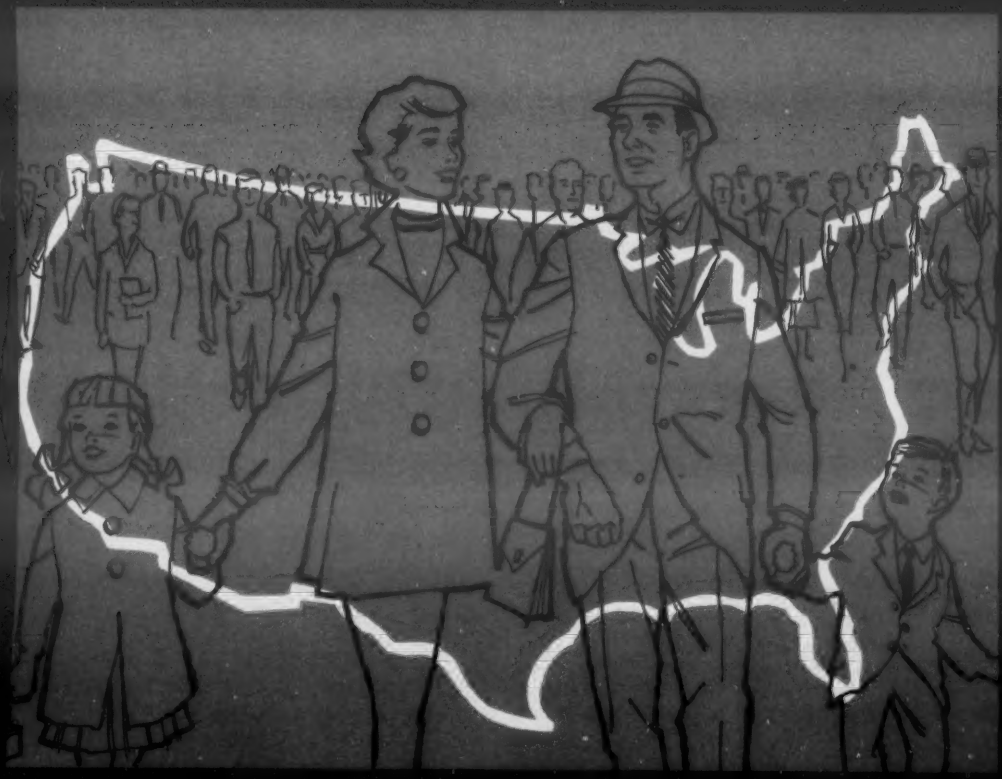
This, too, is a gain the American labor movement will work to achieve.

American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations
815 16th St., N. W. Washington 6, D. C.
GEORGE MEANY, *President* WM. F. SCHNITZLER, *Secretary-Treasurer*

Publication No. 92

Reprinted from AFL-CIO FEDERATIONIST, *November, 1958*

Let's Have A NATIONAL



HEALTH FUND

By Leo Perlis, Director, AFL-CIO Community Service Activities

OFTEN in the case of a national issue affecting the well-being of the American people, there comes a time when only the clear, sharp light of understanding can illumine the way to a solution. Such is the need today in America's war against disease.

Recent years have seen the development of a problem—epic in scope—in the nation's health field.

Should national health agencies continue to compete for the charity dollar or become a part of the long-accepted principle of federated fund-raising? Would the health cause be served better by the present disease-by-disease approach or should the total health of the whole man be the prime focus in fund-raising, planning, research and treatment?

With the advent of this problem, battle lines have been formed, extreme positions have been taken, arbitrary decisions have been the order of the day. A cloud of confused thinking has descended upon this complex issue to the point where the basic values have become obscured.

This, then, is the problem area with which the AFL-CIO Community Services Committee is concerned in one of its priority programs for the year 1959—the establishment of a National Health Fund.

IT IS truly unfortunate that many national voluntary health agencies which have done yeoman service are currently under attack from so many quarters—management, labor, newspapers, magazines and citizen groups.

Much credit must go to these national health agencies for their pioneer efforts in pinpointing the single disease and arousing people to action. In like fashion, they influenced government attitudes toward the health field. For the most part, these agencies were created because of government laxity. Here again, they showed the way, as evidenced by the rise in government support for health in the past decade. This increased support is largely due to the groundwork laid by the agencies.

Look, for example, at the fact that a total of only $8,124,000 was appropriated to the National Institutes of Health of the U.S. Public Health Service, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, in the 1947-48 fiscal year. Compare this with the total appropriation to all the health institutes for the 1958-1959 fiscal year which was $193,441,000. Compare also the fact that in 1948-49 the government allocated only $14,500,000 to the National Cancer Institute, while ten years later the Cancer Institute's appropriation was $55,923,000.

The current Cancer Institute appropriation is more than twice the amount of the total appropriation for all the national health institutes in the 1948-49 fiscal year.

We can only applaud the constructive educational job the voluntary health agencies have done. We recognize that, historically, it was necessary for these agencies to develop as they did—on their own.

The labor movement believes, however, that the time has arrived to put the human body back together again. The time is with us when the extremes must be shunned in favor of a logical, common sense method that will serve all the people.

We believe this method is the National Health Fund.

The importance of the National Health Fund concept stands out even more graphically when the extremes are scrutinized.

First is the isolationism propounded by the voluntary health agencies. This is based on their concentration on one disease which they believe is the best way of raising more money.

The second extreme is the one set forth by the field of federated fund-raising which calls for funds to be raised in local communities for health purposes and then turned over to the Medical Research Program of the National Fund for Medical Education.

The third extreme would come about through one strong agency absorbing the functions of existing health agencies until it becomes, in

effect, a pseudo-national health fund. This extreme brings with it the raiding of other agencies and their jurisdictions.

Labor believes it has sound reasons for avoiding this trio of extremes.

THE isolationism of the health agencies encourages, rather than eliminates, the waste and inefficiency that accompany a multiplicity of campaigns.

Raising funds and transmitting them through the Medical Research Program simlpy establishes another agency with the separate campaigns continuing in local communities. Also under this plan the contributor believes he is giving for treatment, training and research when actually he will be giving for research and only partly for training. Treatment is not included in MRP.

The third extreme can accomplish few positive results with the exception of strengthening an already strong agency to the detriment of other agencies.

The AFL-CIO Community Services program specifically calls for the establishment of a voluntary federation of existing national voluntary health agencies for the purposes of raising funds once a year for all, allocating funds on the basis of relative needs and coordinating basic medical research.

This has been labor's position for many years. An editorial to this effect appeared in a labor publication as far back as 1945. The AFL-CIO Executive Council early in 1957 called for the establishment of a national fund of this type.

A National Health Fund could raise money for all the health agencies in a united way either through community chests and united funds or through its own once-a-year independent drive for funds. A National Health Fund would provide a means for closer collaboration between the voluntary and governmental agencies in the health field. It would also make for closer liaison internationally.

A NATIONAL fund would not eliminate the existing organizations. There would still be an American Cancer Society, an American Heart Association and the rest. It would not replace or substitute for these agencies. Instead, it would be their campaign and budgeting organization and a channel for basic medical research. This would then leave the agencies free to pursue their most important functions—public education and information, research, treatment and service.

The board of a National Health Fund must be representative of all the people, but the scientific aspects of the Fund must be in the hands of competent, professional people. Equally important is the fact that the allocation of funds must be based on sound, professional advice.

Perhaps the greatest single element behind the opposition to a National Health Fund is fear. The health agencies express fear because it is new and has not been tried. They are afraid they will lose or jeopardize their programs. The federation field fears that a National Health Fund may become so powerful in local communities that it will upset the balance between the welfare and health fields.

In reality, there are many precedents which should serve to prove these fears groundless. The National War Fund successfully federated foreign relief and defense needs. The Community Chest movement initially and later the United Fund movement testify to the validity of properly organized federated efforts.

The health agencies fear that their needs will not be fully understood and their positions thereby weakened if they enter into federated campaigns is likewise without fundation. It is our belief they would come to united funds and community chests from a position of strength rather than weakness. Any agency that has popular support and an effective program has little to fear in the federation process.

The fear that is prevalent, too, in terms of federation's ability to raise

the greater sums needed to include the health agencies is, in our opinion, unsubstantiated by experience.

The growth and development of federation carried with it sweeping evidence of the willingness and ability of the American contributor to give more when the need for more was proved to his satisfaction. The substantial and often amazing gains made in community after community over the years cannot be ignored.

Last year a total of $423 million was raised by united fund and community chest campaigns across the land. The voluntary health drives raised a total of more than $147 million. It is our sincere belief that the impact of the health agencies' entrance into federation would see approximately $250 millions raised for health purposes—which is over $100 million more than they now raise. These additional funds could be used to advantage in the war on disease.

At the present time the key to dispelling this variety of fears most effectively can be found in experimentation. Why not take one or several communities where voluntary health agencies agree to test a National Health Fund in two succesive campaigns? Gradually this experimentation could be expanded to include the state and later the nation. This system may have its failings, but it would be a concrete move in a positive direction.

This is the goal the AFL-CIO Community Service Activities seek in its priority program for a National Health Fund.

To implement our program, we are beginning at the local level. CSA is urging every state and local central labor body to adopt a clear-cut resolution stating its position regarding a National Health Fund. Local community services committees are being asked to send letters with copies of these resolutions to all health agencies through the central labor bodies. requesting these local health chapters to contact their national organization and urge them to join in creating a National Health Fund.

Through CSA, labor will also push for cities and towns to inaugurate programs of experimentation, for central labor unions to recommend that their united funds study the health fund idea and for labor groups to secure publicity so that the general public will have an opportunity to weigh and discuss the merits of the health fund plan.

Every technique of citizen education and community organization at CSA's command will be used to enable the National Health Fund concept to penetrate the murky haze that now cloaks this national health issue. And throughout every phase of CSA's action program, we shall not be working alone but will be cooperating with local labor groups, local health agencies, local citizen organizations and local chests, funds and planning bodies.

It is our hope that this priority program of AFL-CIO Community Services will be a worthwhile contribution to the public good and will have a profound effect in the war against disease.

It is our hope, too, that those forces most directly affected on the fund-raising side of this problem will listen to the voice of labor as it strives to be heard above the clamor and clash of the organizational battles in health.

For, without doubt, fund-raising is only a means to an end. Our greatest concern should be with the end product — research, training, education and service.

It goes without saying that the end never justifies the means. But would not the end be even better if we used more proper means?

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Publication No. 93

Reprinted from AFL-CIO FEDERATIONIST, April, 1959



The Recession—What It's Done

For millions of Americans the recession is far from over.

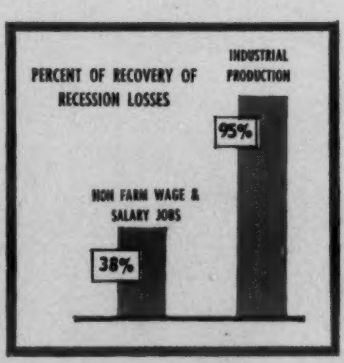
Almost as many workers are jobless as there were when the slump hit bottom one year ago. There is substantial unemployment in half the nation's largest industrial centers and in many smaller ones. Nearly one-fifth of our plants and machines stand idle.

The recession began in August 1957. By April 1958:

- Factory and mine output fell 13%.
- Home-building starts sagged to the 1949 recession level.
- Freight-car loadings dropped to a low last reached in the depression Thirties.
- Non-farm jobs were cut 2,400,000.
- Unemployment rose to 5,120,000—75 out of every 1,000 people in the job market—the greatest number since the depression.
- Another 3,423,000 workers were on short time. The average factory workweek reached a postwar low.
- The number of farms dropped by 200,000 and farm employment fell 400,000.

This was the low point. In the next 10 months, industrial production regained 95% of its loss. **But non-farm employment regained only 38% of its recession decline.**

Inevitably, recovery was pulled up short. Factory and mine production, which picked up almost 12% from April to November 1958, increased a mere 2% in the next three months. Non-farm jobs, which rose 726,000 in the first five months of the upturn, gained only 256,000 in the five months that followed.



Productivity—output per manhour—has continued its rapid rise. Corporation profits have soared. There is a boom in Wall Street. But hundreds of thousands of workers who were laid off in 1958 have not been called back, and there is little opportunity for the hundreds of thousands of new job-seekers each year.

Only an expanding economy, stimulated by federal legislation, can provide a lasting remedy.

With the Economy?

Unemployment—Still With Us

Unemployment remains the No. 1 national economic problem. Its effects are felt in virtually every community and walk of life. In more than 250 industrial centers—a greater number than when the recession was at its worst—it has reached critical proportions, with 6% or more of the work force idle.

The official unemployment figure for February, issued by the U.S. Census Bureau, was 4,749,000.

This did not include 2,243,000 others whose hours fell below 35 a week because of a lack of work. That's the equivalent of another million jobless.



Nor does the official figure include young people and others who have simply stopped looking for work, despairing of their chances. It's estimated that there are 400,000 of these "hidden" unemployed.

True unemployment in February, therefore, was over 6,000,000.

The U.S. Department of Labor reported, at the end of March, that 74 of the country's 149 major industrial centers were suffering from substantial unemployment. A year earlier there were 70. The department listed 193 smaller areas having the same problem—up 10 from January and up 72 from March 1958.

Thus the recovery in production and profits has failed to provide jobs for millions of Americans who are able and anxious to work.

The AFL-CIO is pledged to wipe out this blight—to get America back to work.

To achieve that end we must create some 5,000,000 new, full-time jobs by the end of 1959. This is the minimum number required to:

- Re-employ the jobless.
- Absorb the annual influx of young people into the labor market.
- Fill out short workweeks.
- Keep pace with the job loss caused by automation and other productivity gains.

What Can Amer



He

- Move our huge farm surpluses out of d storage into America's kitchens. Surplus distributed **in addition to,** not as a substit provided under public assistance program
- Extend weekly benefits to unemploy eligible for unemployment compensation. bill (S. 1323) would give a 16-week breat otherwise ineligible unemployed.
- Provide for public assistance to all pe need, regardless of the cause of their need.

Meet America's Social

Schools. We are short at least 140,000 classrooms and 200,000 qualified teachers. Federal aid is essential. We can no longer afford to wait. The Murray-Metcalf bill (S. 2 and H.R. 22) should be passed.

Housing. We need two million housing units each year to keep pace with population growth, replace old houses and clear slums. The Sparkman-Rains bill (S. 57), passed by the Senate, is now before the House.

Distressed areas. When a one-industry town loses its industry, for whatever reason, the result is a depressed area —a place of chronic high unemployment, an island of despair. Nearly 10% of America's unemployed already live in such areas, ar on H.R. 3505,

Communit cannot afford A bill (H.R. facilities is bef

Airports. S network of ai Harris bill (S

Roads. Ste of our federal



St

The wage-hour law. Two facts are clea an hour is not a living wage by any stand today; and second, that the present law is the 20 million workers who are denied its p AFL-CIO is supporting the Kennedy-Mors (S. 1046, H.R. 4488) to establish a $1.25 mi tend coverage to some 7½ million more work

The workweek. Twenty-one years ago th was a milestone of human progress. Now i as the 10-hour day—another milestone—was

ca Do About It?

The Unemployed Now!

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- Establish long-needed federal standards for unemployment compensation. Bills now in Congress (S. 791 and H.R. 3547) would provide realistic minimums for the amount and duration of benefits and would broaden coverage.

- Bring the railroad workers' unemployment and retirement system up to date. The Morse-Harris-Bennett bill (S. 226 and H.R. 1012) would raise daily jobless benefits to a maximum of $10.20, extend the duration of benefits for senior workers and up pensions 10%.

eeds

ore are developing. The House should act
nilar to a Senate-passed bill.

facilities. Many hard-pressed communities
modernize or expand basic public services.
944) providing low-interest loans for such
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, H.R. 1011) offers adequate federal aid.
must be taken to insure that the expansion
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1938. Mile-

stones must not be millstones. A 35-hour week is a vital corollary of automation.

Taxes. Too many taxpayers pay too little and too many pay too much. The federal tax structure needs a thorough overhauling.

Aid to farmers. The labor movement has consistently supported the principle of aid to farmers. But farm aid programs should be re-examined with a view to encouraging and assisting the individual small farmer rather than the corporation farm.

How YOU Can Get

Congressmen Want Your Views

Most of the program outlined here requires action by Congress. How can Congress be persuaded to act?

The answer is so simple that most citizens don't believe it. With a very few exceptions, the members of Congress do what they think the folks back home want them to do.

A Congressman knows what some of the people want all of the time, and what all of the people want some of the time, but he never knows what all of the people want all of the time—because they don't all want the same thing.

Your Congressman and your Senators don't know what YOU want—unless you tell them.

If you tell them they'll listen. Your opinion counts just as your vote counts on election day.



'Meet The Unemployed'

Too often the bitter personal tragedy of unemployment is just a statistic—five million, 6%, up 400,000 and so on.

Statistics (like the ones in this pamphlet) are necessary but they're not always the best way to tell a story.

Your Congressman and your community need to realize that unemployment means people—people in trouble through no fault of their own.

One way to make this point is to have a meeting of AFL-CIO members—employed and unemployed—in your town. Invite your Congressman to come; set up your "Meet the Unemployed" meeting at his convenience.

Then tell the story—the local picture, what it means in human terms, what the AFL-CIO proposes to do about it. Let your Congressman talk to the unemployed and find out for himself.

America Back to Work

Write a Letter



The easiest way to tell your Congressman what you think is to write him a letter.

Letters don't have to be long, fancy or literary. They just have to be clear, specific and sensible.

A good starting-point is a problem that needs action—a problem in your own state or congressional district.

- If your plant has shut down or moved away, tell what happened—and why you think the distressed area bill or the minimum wage bill would help.
- If your local school is crowded or run down, tell how the Murray-Metcalf bill is needed.

Keep your letter short, and concentrate on local matters. Be sure to give your name and address. You're important as an American and a voter, so prove it.

Enlist Community Support



Getting America back to work isn't just a matter between you and your Congressman. The whole community has a stake in it.

Welfare councils, social workers, fraternal groups, women's groups, clergymen, local political bodies and neighborhood merchants should be as keenly interested in ending unemployment as you are.

Unemployment hits hardest at the worker without a job. But it also hurts the grocer, the druggist, the butcher, the doctor.

Invite these people, too, when you are planning your "Meet the Unemployed" meeting. Urge their organizations to ask Congress for action. Ask them to write letters as individuals.



Publication No. 94

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND
CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

GEORGE MEANY
President

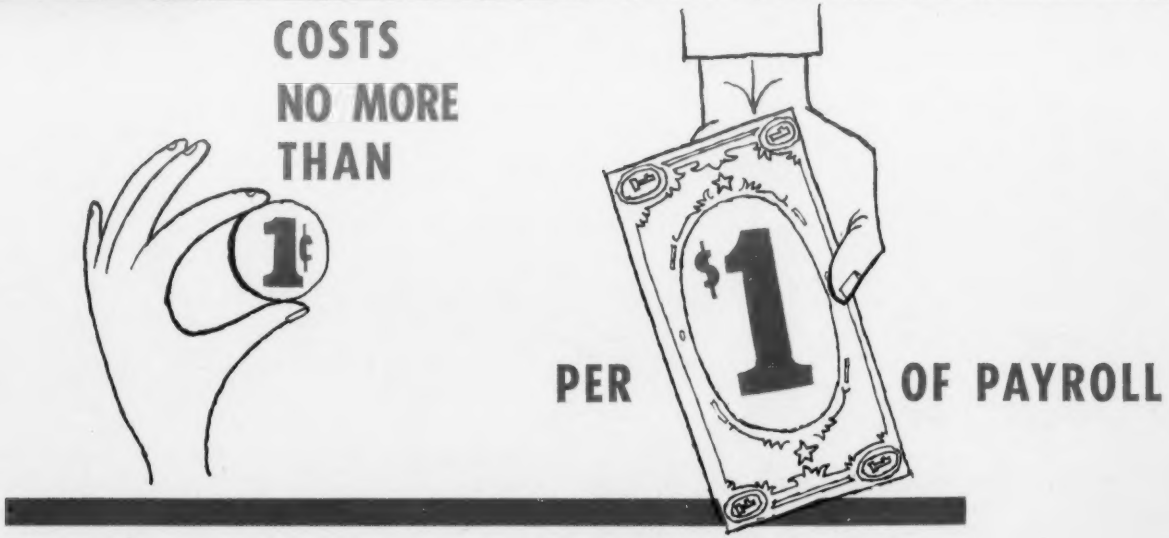
WM. F. SCHNITZLER
Secretary-Treasurer

815 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

$1.25 MINIMUM WAGE AND EXTENDED COVERAGE

Better Minimum Wage For More American Workers

COSTS NO MORE THAN



PER $1 OF PAYROLL

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

$1.25 MINIMUM WAGE AND EXTENDED COVERAGE

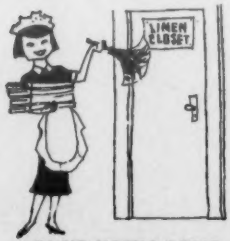
WOULD BRING THE BENEFITS OF MINIMUM WAGE AND HOUR LAW TO 7¾ MILLION MORE WORKERS

4 MILLION RETAIL WORKERS



IN BIG RETAIL ENTERPRISES DOING BUSINESS OF $500,000 SALES OR MORE A YEAR

240,000 HOTEL WORKERS



IN BIG HOTELS DOING BUSINESS OF $500,000 SALES OR MORE A YEAR

OVER 1 MILLION CONSTRUCTION WORKERS



IN BIG CONSTRUCTION ENTERPRISES DOING $50,000 OR MORE BUSINESS A YEAR

170,000 LAUNDRY WORKERS



IN BIG LAUNDRY AND DRY CLEANING ESTABLISHMENTS DOING $250,000 OR MORE BUSINESS A YEAR

NOT APPLICABLE TO SMALL SHOPS



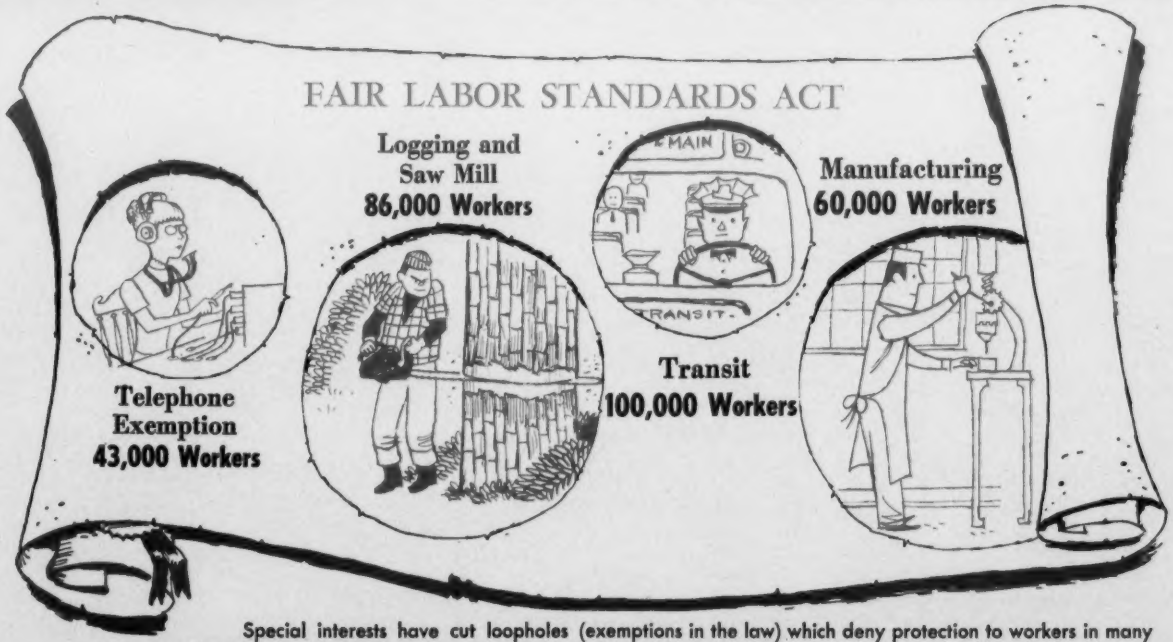
PLUS MORE WORKERS THAN NOW COVERED IN . . .

WHOLESALE TRADES	TRANSPORTATION	TAXICABS
NEWSPAPERS	FINANCE, INSURANCE & REAL ESTATE	MINING
SERVICES		SEA FOOD PROCESSING

There are millions of workers in large businesses in interstate commerce who need federal minimum wage protection. A floor under wages and a penalty for long hours would better their living and working conditions—giving protection now denied them.

$1.25
MINIMUM
WAGE
AND EXTENDED
COVERAGE

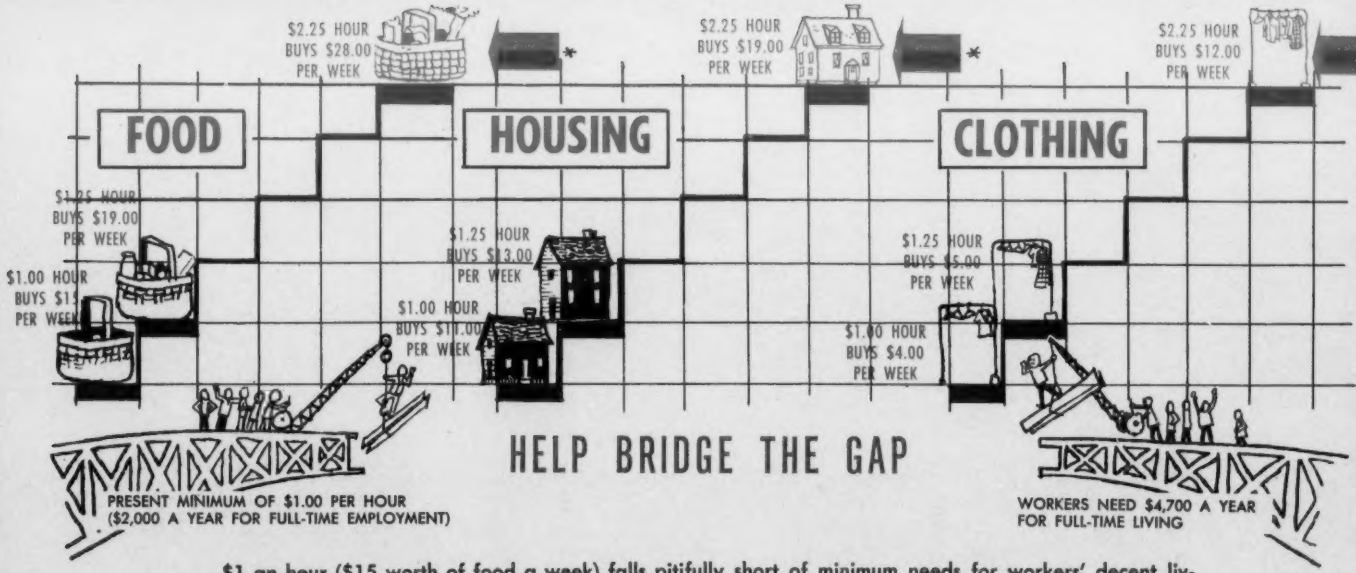
WOULD HELP CLOSE LOOPHOLES IN LAW



Special interests have cut loopholes (exemptions in the law) which deny protection to workers in many businesses. Appeasement of these special interest groups by exempting workers is unforgivable. These loopholes must be closed.

$1.25 MINIMUM WAGE AND EXTENDED COVERAGE

A STEP TOWARDS MEETING THE NEEDS OF A WORKER'S FAMILY

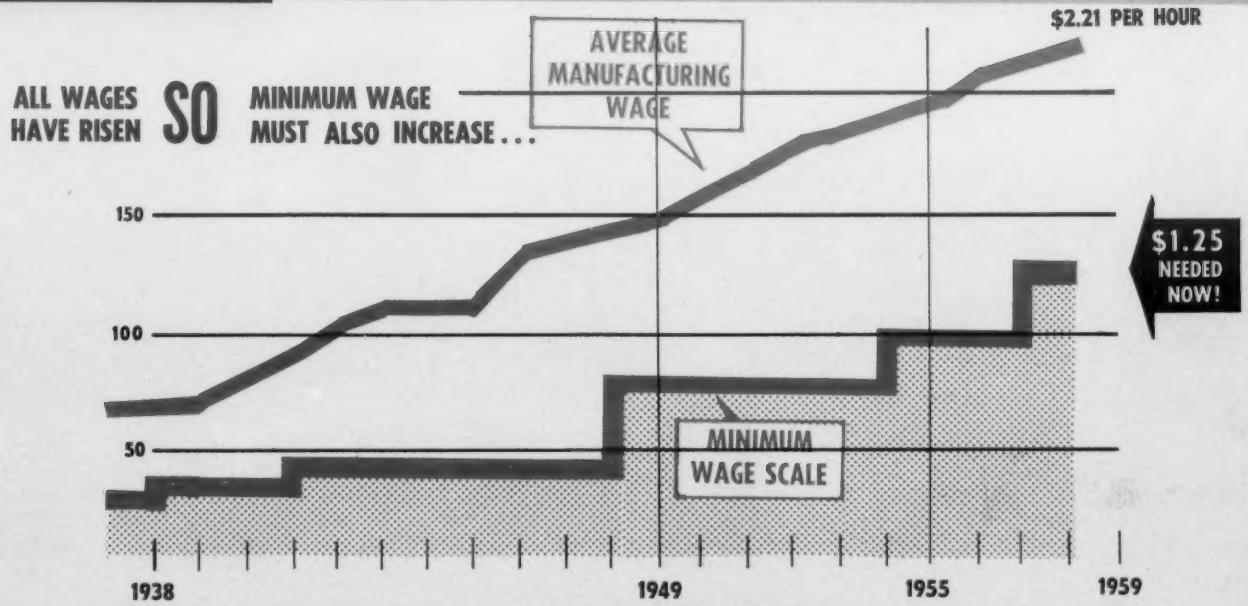


$1 an hour ($15 worth of food a week) falls pitifully short of minimum needs for workers' decent living standards. A four person family should have at least $28 per week for food alone.* A first step toward this would be $1.25 an hour (buying $19 worth of food.)

* CALCULATED FROM U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR'S CITY WORKERS FAMILY BUDGET "MODEST BUT ADEQUATE" FOR 4 PERSON FAMILY.

$1.25 MINIMUM WAGE AND EXTENDED COVERAGE

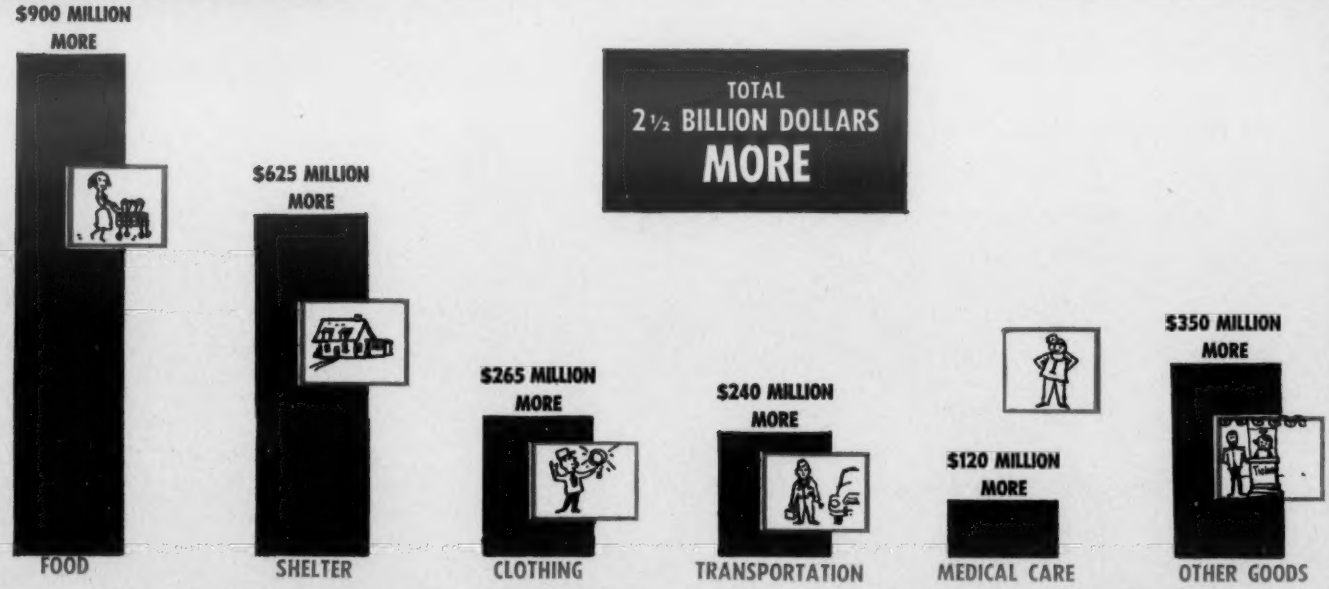
NEEDED TO NARROW WAGE GAP



$1.25 would help narrow the increasing gap between average factory wages and the minimum wage. Average factory wages have continued to rise—benefitting all Americans. Minimum wages have not kept up. $1.25 would keep this pattern from getting worse.

$1.25 MINIMUM WAGE AND EXTENDED COVERAGE

WOULD BUY MORE... FOR LOW INCOME WORKERS

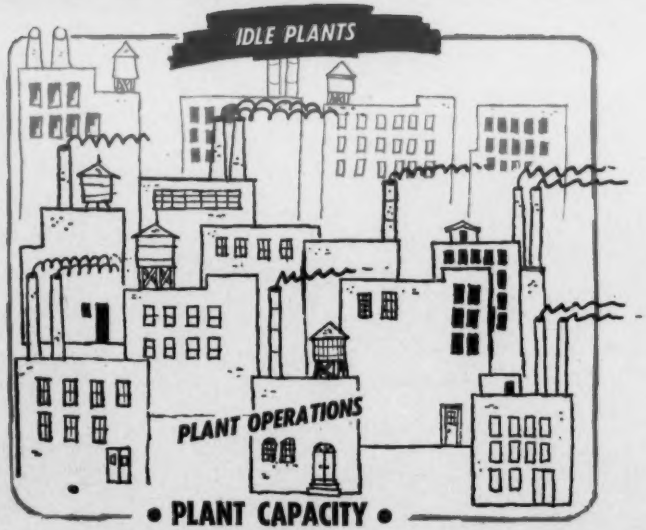


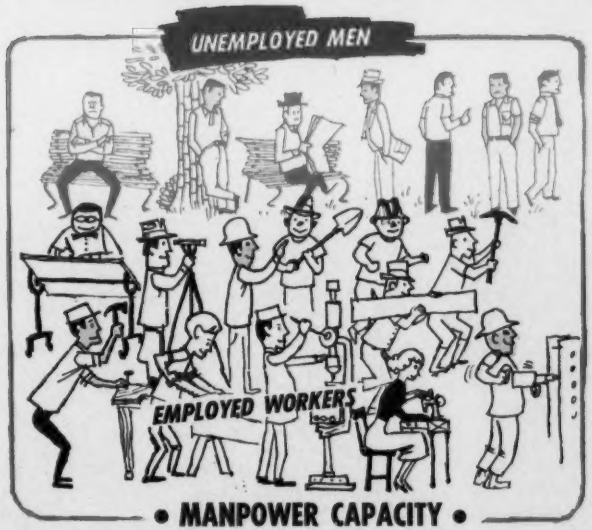
More money for low-wage earners will give greater buying power to those who need it most. This needed buying power will help the economy immediately by providing $2½ billion more in direct purchases by the low-income workers.

$1.25
MINIMUM
WAGE
AND EXTENDED
COVERAGE

WILL HELP PUT TO WORK . . .

IDLE PLANTS AND IDLE MEN



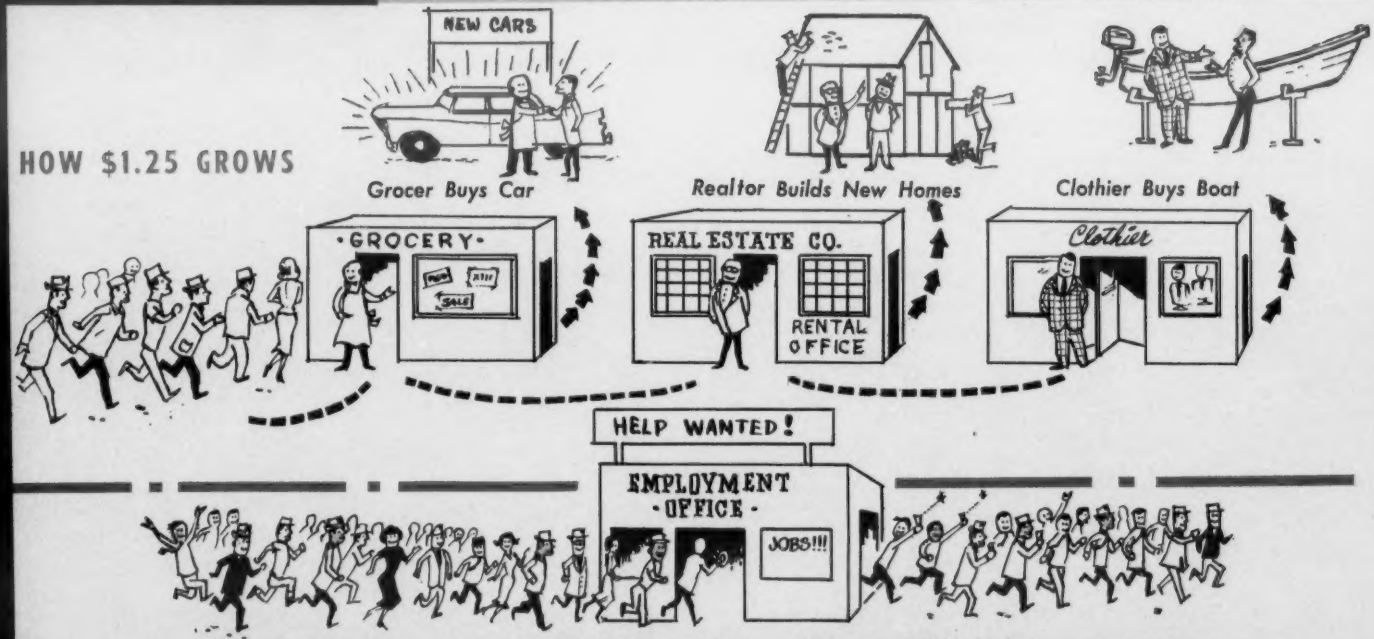


Increased demand needed to fill excess supply

Our economy now has more machines and plant than it uses. Millions of Americans are unemployed. Buying power would help put both to work. No inflation would follow because demand will not be greater than supply.

$1.25 MINIMUM WAGE AND EXTENDED COVERAGE

INCREASES BUYING AND EMPLOYMENT



More wages for these workers would multiply: as these workers spend their higher wages, someone else would get more income—meaning more business, more buying, more jobs.

$1.25 MINIMUM WAGE AND EXTENDED COVERAGE

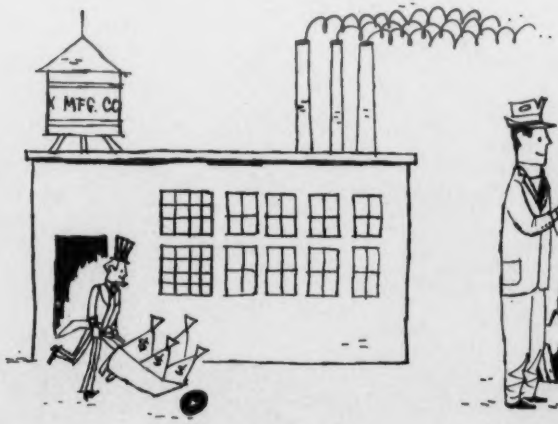
BRINGS MORE GOVERNMENT REVENUE

WORKERS EARN MORE



INCOME TAX

CORPORATIONS PRODUCE MORE



CORPORATION TAX

CONSUMERS SPEND MORE

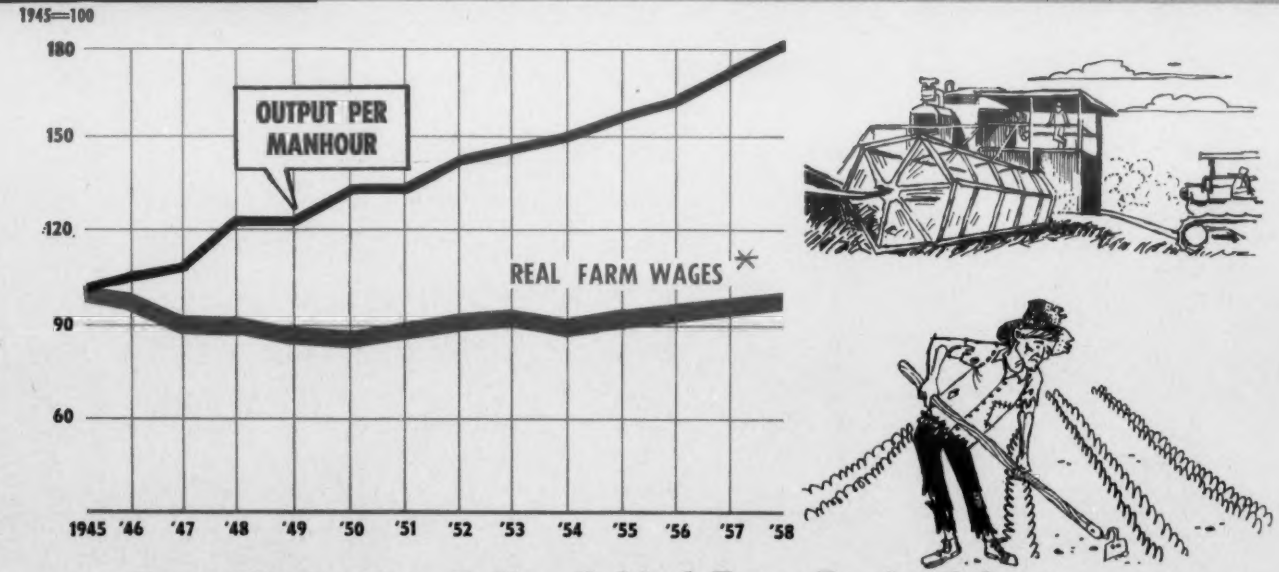


EXCISE TAX

As workers have more money to spend and buy more, added business brings more production and income to companies. The government collects more taxes, so that the government can better serve America's needs.

MINIMUM WAGE PROTECTION

NEEDED FOR SHARE IN FARM PROGRESS



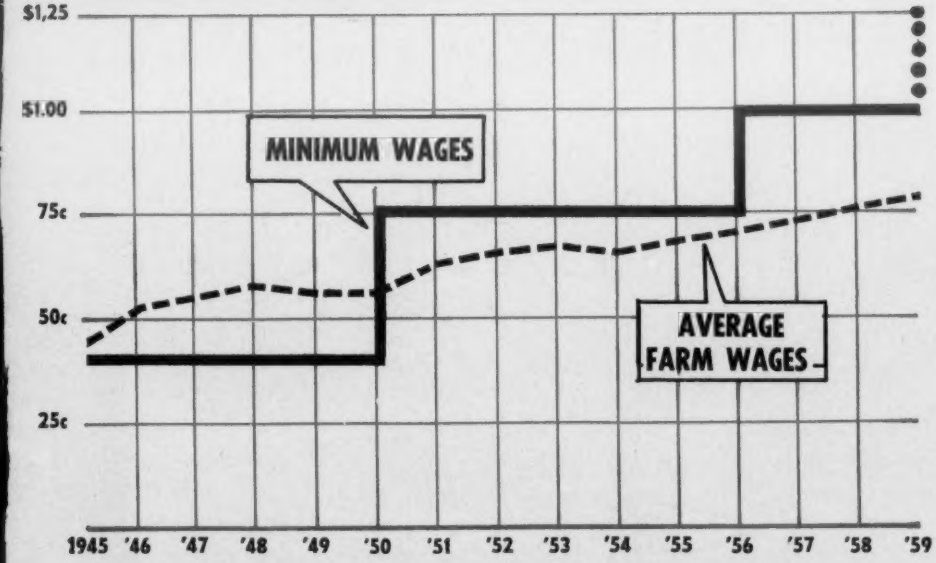
Farm Wages Have Fallen Behind Farm Productivity

Farm workers' wages have not kept pace with the swift post-war rise in farm productivity (output per man-hour). Denied minimum wage protection, these workers have been denied a share in the increasing farm output.

* INDEX CORRECTED FOR PRICE CHANGES.

MINIMUM WAGE PROTECTION

NEEDED FOR HIRED FARM WORKERS





Farm Wages Must be Protected by Fair Labor Standards Act

Once higher than the minimum wage, average farm wages have fallen far behind. Today farm workers who have no wage protection are among the most exploited in America.

YOU CAN HELP!

Ask Your Congressmen
To Vote For $1.25 MINIMUM WAGE
AND EXTENDED COVERAGE!

KENNEDY-MORSE-ROOSEVELT BILL
S.1046 and H.R. 4488

To Vote For A Minimum Wage For Farm Workers
in the Senate S. 1085 McNAMARA FARM BILL
in the House H.R. 4947-4948 ROOSEVELT FARM BILL

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND
CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
GEORGE MEANY, PRESIDENT WM. F. SCHNITZLER, SEC.-TREAS.

PUBLICATION NO. 95

17 17

Printed in U.S.A.

GOOD HOMES



for ALL AMERICANS

By George Meany
President, AFL-CIO

THE fight for more and better housing is a part of organized labor's drive for betterment and economic justice for all men, women and children of America.

We should and can maintain high employment in our country today and in the years to come. But we cannot maintain the high employment and full prosperity of which America is capable unless we put our nation's housing program into high gear.

With unemployment still hovering between three and four million, there is no longer any blinking of the fact that subnormal housing activity is a drag on the economic progress of the whole nation.

This is happening when the capacity and ingenuity of our people are pushing farther the frontiers of science and technology in the service of mankind. For what good is man's attainment into the far reaches of outer space to the man who cannot get out of the slums surrounding him in his day-to-day life?

The American housing dilemma is two-fold. It is not only that we are not building as much housing as we need; it is also that we are not building the kind of housing that is most needed.

Most of the housing being built is beyond the financial reach of the majority of families. The situation described by a Senate staff report of a few years ago that "the housing industry [has reached] a point where it is serving primarily the upper income groups" is still true.

We are neither producing enough houses nor are the houses we are producing meeting the greatest need. We should be building at least 2,000,000 houses a year. Periodic short spurts in which housing construction reaches a level of 1,200,000 or 1,300,000 units for a few months and then reverts to 1,000,000 or less will not begin to meet our total housing need.

In fact, housing construction will continue to fall short of housing requirements until we have a forward-looking national housing policy which will bring good housing within the financial reach of all families.

There are two large areas of unmet needs—low income and middle income. Despite the vicious attacks against the low-rent public housing program, there is still widespread recognition that only this program can provide decent housing within the means of low-income families.

At the time of writing, there is hope that the 1959 housing bill reported out by the House Banking and Currency will authorize construction of some 150,000 to 200,000 housing units as quickly as they can be built.

two decades. The population of our metropolitan centers will increase by 50 per cent. We must begin now to provide the houses for our expanding population.

Effective programs to make housing available to middle-income families will bring us closer to the goal of decent homes for every family regardless of region, income or race.

Good homes for all Americans are in the nation's best interest.

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American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations
815 16th St., N. W. Washington 6, D. C.
GEORGE MEANY *President*
WM. F. SCHNITZLER *Secretary-Treasurer*

Publication No. 96

AFL-CIO HOUSING COMMITTEE

HARRY C. BATES, Chairman

Printed in U. S. A.

The outcome of the issue is in doubt, but if we cannot obtain enactment of this authorization this year, we must renew our efforts next year.

The needs of low-income families for decent housing are urgent. Moreover, unless these needs are met, urban renewal and city rebuilding cannot go forward.

Through the years there has been some recognition of the housing needs of low-income families. The public housing program has continued, even though on a limping basis. But despite the best efforts of organized labor, the National Housing Conference and other pro-housing forces, all efforts to obtain effective action to meet the needs of middle-income families have been thwarted. This is the no-man's land of housing to which attention must be directed.

Existing housing programs are not meeting the housing needs of middle-income families. According to the latest figures available, less than 15 per cent of new homes built with FHA insurance in 1958 were purchased by families with incomes of less than $5000. Most of those families had to stretch their family budgets to the bursting point in other to meet the charges required for the houses they bought.

In 1958, according to the Federal Reserve Board, 57 per cent of all families had incomes of less than $5000. The median income of purchasers of new FHA homes was $6800, but the average factory worker, even if he worked a full fifty-two weeks, earned only $4352.

It is sometimes claimed that, even if middle-income families cannot buy new homes, they can always buy existing homes, but the actual income of purchasers of FHA-insured existing homes was nearly as high as for new homes. In 1958 the median family income of purchasers of FHA existing homes was $6,500; and less than 20 per cent had incomes below $5000.

Since 1950 organized labor, the National Housing Conference and other groups have stated repeatedly



that the problem of making housing available that middle-income families can afford can be met only by low-cost, long-term loans for middle-income housing.

The middle-income families neither need nor want subsidies, and the middle-income housing programs which have been proposed involve no subsidies. Good housing could be made available to middle-income families on the basis of fully reimbursable

loans with an amortization of forty to fifty years and a non-subsidized interest rate reflecting the actual costs to the federal government. This rate fluctuates, but is roughly 3 to 3½ per cent.

In addition, in order to reduce the financial burdens for families in the initial years of their occupancy, principal payments might be held down in the early years to a very low level. While this would mean higher costs to the occupants in the later years of their occupancy, these increases would be offset by anticipated increases in personal incomes.

Here is what this means in dollar-and-cent terms:

At the present FHA effective interest rate of 5¾ per cent (5¼ per cent + ½ per cent mortgage insurance premium), a twenty-five-year $12,000 mortgage involves a total monthly housing cost of $119. Assuming that 20 per cent of family income goes for housing, this requires an annual income of $7125. The same $12,000 mortgage with a 3 per cent interest rate amortized over a fifty-year period involves total monthly housing expense of $77, which requires a family income of $4620.

According to the U.S. Census, in 1957 (latest data available) more than 30 per cent of families had incomes between $4500 and $7000 and some 14,000,000 families were in that income group.

As former Senator Lehman, who introduced his major middle-income housing bill in 1956, said in his report to the Senate, the problem of middle-income housing is "a national problem." And the Lehman report went on to say:

"No metropolitan area in this country has escaped the flight to the suburbs by families who mortgage their souls and assume transportation costs to places of employment that cut deeply into their budgets for food, clothing, health and entertainment to escape slum surroundings.

"When families of upper middle income and all who can possibly join them desert the city, it becomes a place for the very rich and the very poor. The best of community leadership is lost. It is a growing disease that must be arrested or our national security and way of life are endangered."

This year three bills have been introduced to deal with at least some aspects of the middle-income housing problem. The bill reported by the House Banking and Currency Committee would set up a new program of housing for the elderly as proposed by Congressman Rains. Low-interest, long-term loans would be provided to non-profit corporations for construction of housing for the elderly. It is estimated that achievable rents would be about $15 a month less than is possible under the present program of FHA elderly housing.

Senator Clark introduced a bill to provide low-interest, long-term loans

to non-profit corporations for construction of relocation housing and related facilities for displaced families or persons with low or moderate incomes. Its financing terms would require a $1200 lower annual income for a family than under the present FHA relocation housing program (FHA 221). The Clark proposal for relocation housing was not included in the bill passed by the Senate.

Senator Javits and Senator Clark have introduced a bill to establish a Federal Limited Profit Mortgage Corporation which could issue tax-exempt bonds up to a maximum of $2 billion to aid construction of 150,000 housing units for middle-income families. Mortgage loans would be made available to private rental builders and cooperatives at the interest rate at which the corporation secured its funds plus ½ per cent for a fifty-year amortization period.

The AFL-CIO will continue to work for effective middle-income housing legislation. Until such legislation is passed, we will do everything possible to encourage development of sound cooperative housing projects as the best available method of permitting middle-income families to obtain good homes at the lowest possible cost.

Cooperative housing offers special financial advantages, including the elimination of profits and the virtual elimination of reserve and collection losses.

As important as the financial advantages are the intangible advantages—the democratic participation in the management of the cooperatives, the spirit of neighborliness, the development of various types of community facilities on a cooperative basis and the group endeavor that characterizes the entire cooperative program.

Cooperative members have a sense of pride in their community and an awareness of their responsibilities to their fellow-cooperators.

Unions have shown increasing interest in the advantages of cooperative housing for union members and their families. Such unions as the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, the United Auto Workers, the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union and the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen have sponsored successful cooperatives in recent years.

I am confident that as union members see the advantages of cooperative housing, more and more unions will turn to this sound method of making available good homes at reasonable costs to their members and other middle-income families.

The home is the foundation of our American way of life. It is the home environment of the young person growing up that determines more than any other factor the character of his adult life.

Housing is America's largest single industry and in many ways its most important industry. But we have been falling behind. The population will grow to 230,000,000 within the next

The record shows -- beyond contradiction -- that from its very inception the trade union movement has consistently used whatever power it had to raise the American standard of living, to promote the interests of all the American people and to enhance the power and prestige of the nation as a whole.

POWER—for What?

By George Meany
President, AFL-CIO

There's a great deal of talk these days about the "power" of labor. Newspaper editorials and speeches by industrial tycoons emphasize the growing membership of unions, the increase in their financial resources and their developing political potential. The public is led to believe that the trade union movement has become "too powerful."

Too powerful for whom? Too powerful for what?

Are they talking in terms of exploiting the many for the benefit and enrichment of a few? Certainly not! The truth is just the other way around.

Those who have enjoyed monopolistic power over the nation's industrial life naturally fear and resent having to deal with labor on a basis of equality. And, by the same token, the politicians who serve business interests look with alarm at the political education programs conducted by the trade union movement. They are not happy about the political enlightenment of the voters. They know their control is jeopardized when the citizens of our country go to the polls in record-breaking numbers on Election Day.

Human Values

I see no harm in power, if it is power dedicated to human values, if it is power for good—and that is what the trade union movement seeks.

Obviously, concentration of power in the hands of a few can be dangerous to the general welfare. But when unions become more powerful, it means that the people of this country become more powerful. It is merely a practical application of the basic principle of democracy.

Our forefathers meant it to be that way. They believed that the enjoyment of freedom depended upon rule by the great masses of citizens. They were against monopoly of power by the wealthy. They were against monopoly of power by the military. They were against monopoly of power by the aristocracy. They were convinced that the free way of life could be safeguarded only when power over the economic, social and political life of our country was **shared** by the many. That is exactly what the trade union movement has tried over the years to bring about.

Let us look back a bit to the time when the trade union movement had very little power but consistently used what power it possessed to advance causes of benefit to all the American people.

When Samuel Gompers and his associates lobbied in the state legislatures and the national Congress for an 8-hour day, was their purpose to degrade the worker? When they campaigned for universal free education, was their objective to exploit the worker? When they battled for workmen's compensation laws were they trying to injure the interests of the American people? When they fought for union recognition and free collective bargaining, were they trying to create new millionaires at the expense of those who worked for wages?

Or was it to make life better for the worker, to obtain for him a larger share of the wealth he helped to produce, to give him greater purchasing power so that American industry and American agriculture could find a ready market for their rapidly growing productive capacity?

The record shows—beyond contradiction—that from its very inception the trade union movement has consistently used whatever power it had to raise the American standard of living, to promote the interests of all the American people and to enhance the power and prestige of the nation as a whole.

Yes, the record is clear. It proves that the trade union movement has always been in the forefront of all action—whether in the shop, in the

community or at national and international levels—to obtain a better break for the average citizen. It has been an agency not only for democracy, but for democratization. Because of union efforts the immigrants who came to our shores learned that America was really a haven for the oppressed of the world. They learned through their unions to speak the language and to appreciate the blessings of freedom. They discovered that here in America men and women could stand together and fight for justice and progress with reasonable hope of success.

Concern for Others

America's emancipation from isolationism was won the hard way—and the trade unions made a significant contribution toward the development of a more mature international policy.

We did not shrug our shoulders, as some did, and say it was none of our business if dictators engaged in wholesale murder and the degradation of humanity in other parts of the world. We insisted it was our business. We saw the inherent danger to our free way of life, whenever freedom was destroyed in other lands.

There was a time when many Americans applauded Mussolini for getting the trains to run on time in Italy. But it took an American trade unionist of Italian descent like Luigi Antonini, to awaken our people to the outrages committed by the Fascists. In like manner, labor led the opposition in America to the atrocities of Hitler and the Japanese war lords. We recognized them as enemies of free trade unions and therefore as enemies of all freedom. No group in America, from the very beginning, has been more adamant in its opposition to Communism and more active in resisting Soviet infiltration than the American labor movement.

Labor's influence in foreign affairs has not been merely negative. We have fought for justice and fair play for oppressed peoples everywhere. After the war, we helped the workers of Germany re-establish their free trade unions as a bulwark of democracy, social justice and peace. We have played a vital role in rallying support for the Hungarian and Algerian peoples in their struggle for national freedom. We are proud of the fact that we have been able to extend a helping hand, through Histadrut, to the people of Israel.

Colonialism is now a dangerous anachronism. We of labor believe that target dates should be set for ending it in Africa, Asia and wherever else it still exists. The perpetuation of colonialism by any segment of the free world merely plays into the hands of Communist imperialism.

Along with freedom, labor relies implicitly on the preservation of peace as the only sure road to human progress.

We say very simply, as we have said time and time again, that our country should meet with the other nations of the world, and directly with the Soviet Union, in a continual effort to reach real agreement which will be observed and adhered to by both parties.

But we must point out, with regard to the foreign ministers conference and to any "summit" conference that may follow, that our government and the other nations of the free world should bear in mind that the Soviet Union has an unbroken record of making agreements for the purpose of breaking them. Its word is no good.

Let the diplomats of the free world, in their anxiety to obtain concessions, remember always that we cannot rely on words without deeds. Let us be realistic. The Soviet Union can afford to be very generous

with promises for they mean nothing. We cannot relax until an enforceable agreement is made and kept, in spirit as well as in letter. That is the one hope of world peace. Meanwhile, we must shun appeasement. There is no future in it. History has taught us that, if nothing else.

In all dealings with the Soviet Union, we must lead from strength and we must always be prepared.

This advice is offered not in the spirit of saber-rattling, but as cold common-sense. Labor regards war as a completely unnecessary evil. The trade unionists of America and their families paid heavily in sweat and blood for the two World Wars and the Korean War. We dread the thought of a third World War, which may mean annihilation of all mankind.

Thus far, the cold war has proved a heavy burden to all of us. But the price of our national defense program cannot be considered too high as long as a hot war can be avoided. Nor can we hesitate to provide the military and financial aid required to sustain our allies and to prevent underdeveloped nations from going down to oblivion behind the Iron Curtain. America has always extended a helping hand to

those who wish to be free and are willing to defend their freedom and American labor whole-heartedly supports this policy.

Business in Politics

It is rather strange, in view of labor's constructive record, that in this day and age there are still people who cling to the notion that America would be better off without trade unions.

Those who keep insisting that unions are "too powerful" actually want to render unions powerless—powerless to impede big business monopolies, or to seek further improvement in the American way of life.

In this effort to destroy the trade union movement, our opponents have enlisted—for a fee, of course, a small army of professional promoters. They have organized a widespread campaign to enact state "Right-to-Work" laws which guarantee no rights to anyone but seek to wreck union security.

These "pitch men" have now come up with another gimmick to exploit. They say businessmen must get more active in politics, learn more about it and do more about it. As if this were something new!

When I was a young boy, workers trying to earn a living encountered "pink slip" days which came around each year just before election time. The workers were told, by way of a pink slip inserted in their pay envelopes, that if a certain party or a particular candidate did not win, the factory would shut down the day after election. This form of intimidation, along with heavy campaign contributions, comprised the main expressions of business political activity. In fact, some businessmen made contributions to both parties, just to make certain they would be in good shape no matter who won.

Yet certain spokesmen now say business must enter the field of politics to meet the "threat" of big labor. Well, all I can say is: "Welcome. Come on in. The water is fine."

The more they get in with their financial resources, the greater interest will be stirred up among workers. Perhaps it will help us eventually to succeed in our efforts to encourage all workers to perform their duty as citizens by exercising their right to vote.

And when we get down to such a contest between workers and big business we will do all right, because there happen to be a few more of us than there are of them.

The big propaganda stick our opponents are using against us, of course, is the exposure of corruption in some segments of the labor and management field. They feel this is too good an opportunity to let pass. They are hungry for the kill. They propose to use the exposure of the sins of a very small minority as a means to bring about the punishment of all labor. They are going all out for the enactment of legislation, not to meet the corruption problem, but to hamstring the labor movement as a whole and render it powerless.

The AFL-CIO Position

The trade union movement met this problem head-on at the meeting of the AFL-CIO General Board in April, 1958. We pointed out we had taken effective and rigorous steps to clean house. We said we would go further and cooperate with Congress in the drafting of legislation to make it more difficult for anyone to misuse union funds.

Yes, we volunteered to cooperate in writing such legislation. But, we also said in April, 1958 that we will not accept punitive legislation designed to hurt the trade union movement under the guise of a law against corruption.

This was a truly significant action. Here was a group of private citizens saying to government: "We will assist you in writing legislation to regulate and govern certain of our actions." Where else in American life is there a parallel? What business organization has ever done such a thing? And the record shows that business is not immune to sin nor free of racketeering elements.

What other group in American life, business or professional, would, in the interests of morality, ethics and self-respect, cut off 10 percent of its membership and income as a self-enforcing action against those responsible for corruption?

The AFL-CIO did that very thing by expelling organizations whose leadership was found to be tainted.

Where is the business or banking association which has shown equal courage under similar circumstances? Show me any business organization which has set up a moral code for its membership which matches the Ethical Practices Codes adopted by the AFL-CIO.

Labor still stands on the position it took in April, 1958. We are still willing to cooperate—and we have cooperated—in draft-

ing anti-corruption legislation, but we still make the reservation, and we will not withdraw from it, that we will not accept punitive or anti-labor legislation as part of this package.

The Future

Now, as in the past, labor must continue to fight for its very existence as a free association of free men and women. We still have to fight for the right to conduct our own business in our own way, for the right to make our own mistakes and to correct those mistakes, for the right to make our maximum contributions as free citizens to our free society.

In America, we have a system of government which, while not perfect, has proved itself to be of greater benefit to its citizens than anything else yet devised by the mind of man. At a time when that system faces its greatest challenge, when its very existence is threatened by totalitarian aggression, you would thing that the mutual interests of free labor and free management would draw them together. Yet we find American business mounting a furious attack upon the trade union movement which has proved a bulwark of defense to the free enterprise system.

This is typical of the short-sighted, bull-headed policy of big business through the years. Perhaps there are some aspects of life in the Soviet Union that appeal to them. Under the Red Flag there are no strikes, no slow-downs, no absenteeism, no labor problems at all. But our employer friends should realize that the Russians don't have any profit problems either.

Our road is clear. Our ideals are untarnished. Our record means something to us. We know where we are going, what our objective is. Ours is the very simple objective, in a democratic society, of securing for the workers a better and ever better share of the wealth of the nation which they help to create.

And we are going to pursue that objective with all the strength we possess.

When our opponents talk about the power of labor, their exaggerations carry little conviction. Our power is not the power of money. It is the right of free men and women in a free society to withhold their labor in the interests of justice.

Yes, the right to strike is labor's ultimate power—a power which we cannot be deprived of without fracturing the entire democratic structure

of our nation. In these modern days we don't like to use the strike weapon unless we are forced to do so. That doesn't mean we have forgotten how to use it. If employers refuse to bargain in good faith and think the time has come to get tough with labor, they will learn this truth to their sorrow.

We also have a basic political power—the power of numbers. The 17 million organized workers of America, together with their families and friends, constitute a significant number of votes in any election.

It is only since 1947 that labor has entered the political area in an organized way. We learned then, from a very simple demonstration by Congress in enacting the Taft-Hartley Act, that the gains and achievements we had won over the years could be taken away from us overnight by legislation. So the decision by labor to go seriously into the political action field was really made not by the leaders of labor but by the architects of anti-labor legislation.

We are determined to pursue our activity in this field with all earnestness. I will concede quite frankly that an effective political organization cannot be built in a day or a year. But we decided in 1947

that we had to get into this political business and stay in it until we succeeded in organizing a permanent, progressive and successful program and we are making steady progress toward that goal. In view of the increasing opposition from big business, I would predict even more rapid progress by labor's political arm in the years to come.

Using our economic strength, our political strength and any other weapon that we have the right to use, we are going to continue labor's efforts to make America a better place for all its citizens—not merely union members. Yes, even to provide a better and more stable climate for constant prosperity for employers and management.

Labor wants America to become more than an idealistic symbol for all the people of the world who believe in human freedom. We want to prove to them and to ourselves that we can make democracy work.

It is our intention to continue the fight against racial and religious discrimination until this ugly blot on our good name is eliminated.

We are going to carry on our drive to wipe out poverty and human misery not only in America but everywhere in our world.

We will use all the power and influence we have to see to it that the great scientific discoveries and inventions of our time are used not for the purposes of destruction, but for the enrichment of human life.

Let no one mistake or distort our purpose. Labor has no desire to take over America or make over America. We are not out to push any one else down or around. What we seek is a balance of power in the economic and political life of the nation. Only thus can the proper atmosphere be created for the gradual but steady improvement in the standards of the American people.

In pursuit of our objectives, we may employ new methods from time to time but we will never depart from the democratic principles laid down for us by the founders of the trade union movement 75 years ago.

Yes, labor has gained in power in America. We are proud of the way it has been used. We hope in the years to come that we will achieve greater power to work for the good of all America.



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AFL-CIO
EDUCATION
NEWS and VIEWS
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FOUR-YEAR AWARD WINNERS



1st AFL-CIO scholarship awards

Above are pictured the six winners of the National AFL-CIO Merit Scholarships for 1959. The scholarship, which was awarded for the first time this year, will enable each of the above outstanding students to attend college for four years. A full story on the scholarship program and additional background on the students appears on page 2.

Richard Olson of Council Bluffs, Iowa is interviewed on television station WOW as a winner of one of the six AFL-CIO four-year scholarships. Richard will attend Massachusetts Institute of Technology.



1959 AFL-CIO SCHOLARSHIP AWARDS



David Kennedy, whose father is a member of the Postal Clerks Union in Louisville, Ky., was a winner of the AFL-CIO scholarship in Zone 2. Among his many activities is his ham radio station.

Labor's continuing interest and concern in the education of American youth was highlighted last month with the announcement of the first AFL-CIO Merit Scholarship winners. These four-year scholarship awards, worth up to $6,000 each are for study at any college or university in the United States.

The six promising high school students from union and non-union families who received the awards were notified in a letter from President George Meany. President Meany informed the winners: "It is a combination of scholastic ability, personal achievements and hard study that has resulted in your being selected for this award."

The five boys and one girl who received the first AFL-CIO awards are: Clyde Headley, Harts, W. Va.; David Kennedy, Louisville, Ky.; Joyce Zars, Bellwood, Ill.; Bruce Kole, Oak Park, Mich.; Richard Olson, Council Bluffs, Iowa and Christopher Ehret, Santa Paula, Calif.

Each of the winners and their families were feted at local labor-sponsored luncheons or dinners where the awards were formally made. Stories and pictures of the AFL-CIO scholarship award dinners and lucheons were carried in many newspapers. Interviews were conducted by radio and TV stations of the winners. Mayors, school, labor and administrative officials were on the guest list and spoke at the various affairs.

Clyde Headley, Harts, West Virginia

Larry Clyde Headley is a Chapmanville High School senior, which is in the aptly named Lincoln County of West Virginia. It took Lincolnian perseverence on Clyde's part in order to get his education.

Clyde's father died when he was less than a year old. His mother has carried the main financial burden of raising four children.

Clyde attended elementary school in a one-room school house with one teacher for eight grades—that is, when the roads were open and the teacher could be present.

Before each school day begins, Clyde walks two miles to carry coal and mop floors in a one-room elementary school in order to help supplement his widowed mother's teaching salary. After these chores are completed he walks over the top of a mountain and boards a bus for the 17-mile ride to school.

Despite these disadvantages, Clyde's ability and willingness to work triumphed. During his high school career he has been active in sports, church and community work, and he is the only straight "A" student in his graduating class.

Clyde will major in electronic engineering at the University of West Virginia and plans a career in electronic research after he completes his college education.

On April 30, young Clyde Headley was officially presented his AFL-CIO four-year merit scholarship award at a dinner given in his honor in Charleston by the West Virginia Labor Federation. State AFL-CIO President Miles Stanley presented the award and very aptly stated, "He has won this high honor over thousands of competing students, many of whom were in more fortunate circumstances."

Joyce Zars, Bellwod, Ill.

"This is the greatest day of my life. I want to thank every member of all unions of the AFL-CIO for this wonderful opportunity," responded Joyce Zars of Proviso

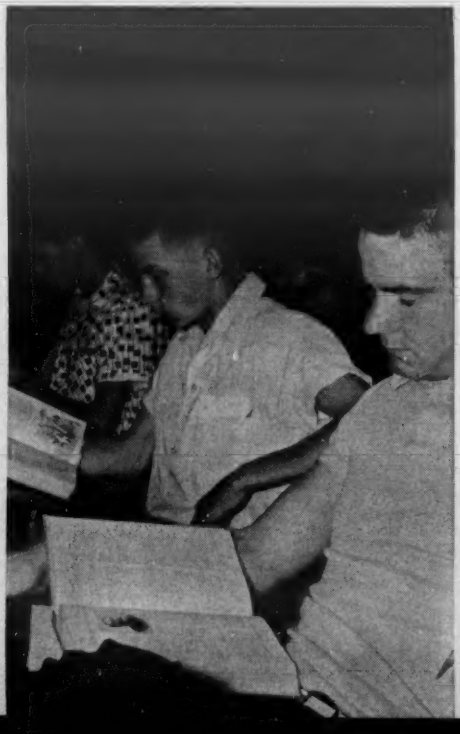


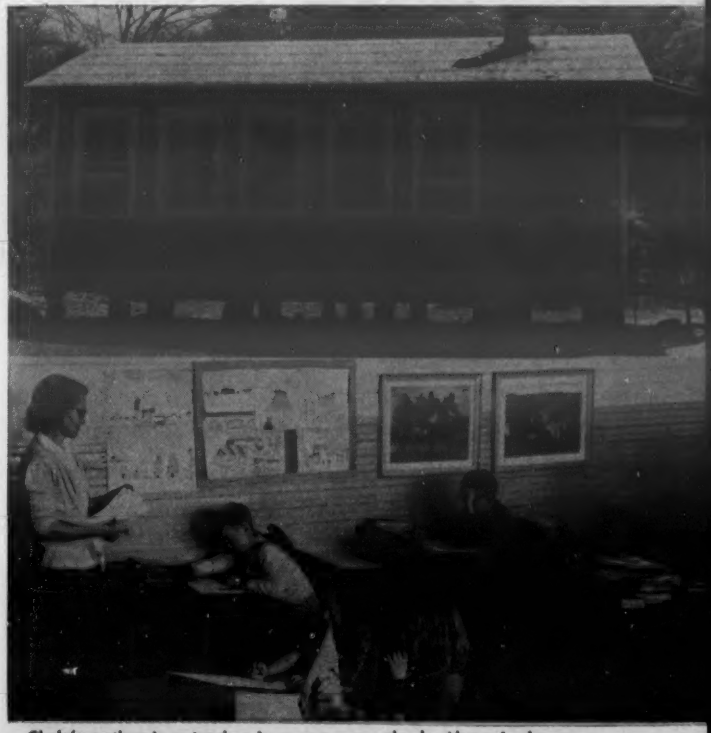
(Above) A full-page feature on Clyde Headley, AFL-CIO scholarship winner, appeared in the Charleston, West Virginia "SUNDAY GAZETTE—MAIL" on May 10, 1959.



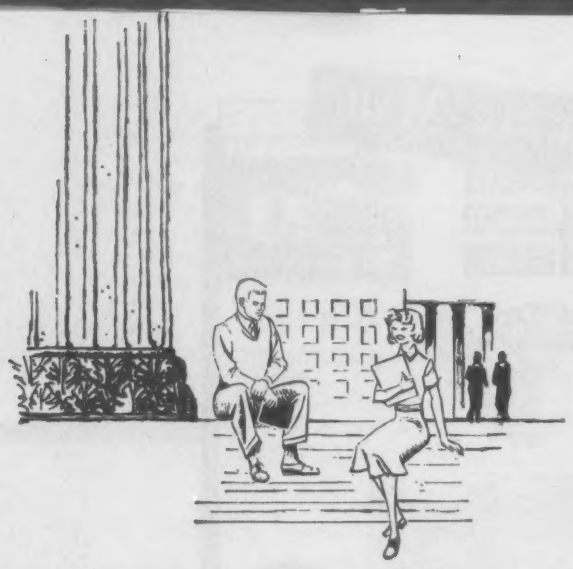
Above is Clyde Headley's home in Logan County, West Virginia.

(Below) Clyde Headley, AFL-CIO scholarship winner, (center) is shown in one of his high school classes. Clyde is one of 105 in the graduating class of the Chapmanville High School.





Clyde's mother is a teacher in a one-room school. Above is shown an outside view of the school and an inside view with Mrs. Headley teaching. Clyde serves as the janitor.





Bruce Kole, Oak Park, Mich., gets some help from his math teacher, Art Bousu.



Two classmates congratulate Bruce Kole (center) who will attend Wayne State University this fall and will enroll in a premedical course. Bruce's father was a member of the UAW Local 157, Detroit, and was active for many years in building the Auto Workers Union before he died suddenly December 1958.

East High School when presented with the AFL-CIO scholarship award by Regional Director Daniel J. Healy at a luncheon in Chicago.

The award is the result of hard work on the part of this conscientious student who really earned her place near the top of the 1959 graduating class. Miss Zars not only maintains an outstanding school record and participates in extra-curricular activities, but due to her mother's illness for several years, she has been the housekeeper for her father, mother and grandmother.

The 17-year-old Miss Zars plans to major in chemistry at Massachusetts Institute of Technology and looks forward to a career as a research chemist.

Her chief hobby is reading, but in addition to this, she runs a correspondence club for science fiction fans. She has also been elected by her high school teachers to the National Honor Society.

Bruce Kole, Oak Park, Mich.

Bruce Kole, an Oak Park, Mich., high school student whose father was a member of a UAW local at the time of his death last December, holds a membership card in the Retail Clerks International Association.

Besides being an outstanding scholar, ranking near the top of his senior class, Bruce has had to work after school in order to assist his family. For several years he had a newspaper route. At present he works in a supermarket after school hours, having started as a clerk and advanced to the position of cashier.

Bruce's counselor Mrs. Ida Enkel congratulates him on winning the AFL-CIO four-year college scholarship.



Even though he has had to work after school, Bruce has been active in various extracurricular school activities. He is president of the Biology and Human Relations Clubs, and is a member of the student council.

Bruce, who plans to attend Wayne State University, aspires to a career in medicine. His interest in this field stems from his mother, who is a registered nurse employed in a local hospital.

A certificate of the AFL-CIO award was presented at a luncheon given in Detroit in his honor. Bruce spoke to a large group of union officials, representatives of the store where he is employed, administrators and teachers from Oak Park High School. Thanking the AFL-CIO for helping him, he said: "I am going to try very hard to make a success of myself and to be a person you can be proud of."



David Kennedy, Louisville, Ky.

From the time he entered Flaget High School in Louisville, Ky., David Kennedy set out on a campaign of faithful study and work, but always found time for important school social functions and his favorite pastime—ham radio. The ham radio station which he built did much to develop his interest in electronics. He had the distinction





Gathered at an informal luncheon at the Oak Park High School are (L to R): Ida Enkel, counselor; H. T. McCreedy, director, AFL-CIO Region 9; Pat McCartney, assistant director, Region 9; Bruce Kole; Herschel Womack, Acting Secretary-Treasurer, Retail Clerks Local 876; James Housewright, assistant director, Retail Clerks Organizations; and Edward Harkins, principal Oak Park High School.

of being the first freshman admitted to the Engineers Club usually reserved for upper classmen only.

During his sophomore year he built a scale model of the WHAS-TV transmitting tower that was awarded second prize in its division of the "Youth Talent Exhibit." Also during this period David worked after school hours and on Saturdays in a neighboring pharmacy.



(At the top) Busy Bruce Kole takes time out to mow the lawn in front of his home and then rushes to the grocery store where he works after school as a cashier.

(To the right) Bruce is congratulated by Herschel Womack and James Housewright, both officers of the Retail Clerks to which Bruce Kole belongs.



Richard "Dick" Olson (far left) is shown in a scene from "Finian's Rainbow" which was produced at the Thomas Jefferson High school, Council Bluffs, Ia., in 1959.

In his junior and senior years David participated in "Youth Speaks," a city-wide student leadership organization; joined the debating team; was elected for the second time as class officer and began working on the school paper. At the end of his junior year he was selected by a competitive examination to attend the University of Louisville summer school on a Carnegie scholarship. David took two semesters of physics at the university and received A's in both.

David's father has been a member of the Post Office Clerks for 19 years and has worked at two jobs in raising his four boys.

This topflight student, who ranks number one in his graduating class, will major in electronics at the University of Notre Dame.

At a scholarship banquet in his honor, David accepted the award expressing his thanks and hoping that he would be able to fulfill the confidence placed in him.

Richard Olson, Council Bluffs, Iowa

Richard Olson, son of a 24-year member of the Railroad Telegraphers Union, is a senior at Thomas Jefferson High School in Council Bluffs, Iowa. He has been a straight "A" student for four years, a member of the National Honor Society and a member of many school groups which reflect his diverse talents.



This year it's "Dick" Olson acting as part of Enoch Snow in "Carousel," which was this year's musical production at Thomas Jefferson High School.

His educational achievements won for him selection by a faculty committee the honor of being an exchange student to Germany last summer. For three months he lived with a German family. Upon his return, he reported to various high school classes, community and church groups on his experiences.

Richard has been active in his church's choir as well as many of its other activities. At Thomas Jefferson, he has been president of the science club, a member of the school band and has been active in the Thespians and international relations clubs. Richard's hobbies, when he is not taking part in school or church functions, are debating, scientific projects and music. He played important roles in local productions of "Carrousel," "Oklahoma," and "Finian's Rainbow."

Richard plans to use his scholarship award to attend Massachusetts Institute of Technology. A hard-working student, not satisfied to rest on his laurels, he is preparing himself now for college. Attending evening sessions in an adult education program, Richard is taking a course in Russian, feeling that this will be helpful in his future work in the field of science. He plans to do college teaching or research work in the field of science when he completes his undergraduate work.

Dignitaries from labor, education and city government joined with Richard's parents and the public in honoring him at a dinner in Council Bluffs. He was interviewed on Omaha's TV station.

Christopher Ehret, Santa Paula, Calif.

Like Richard Olson of Council Bluffs, Iowa, Christopher Ehret of Santa Paula, California, is very interested in the student exchange program. He was vice-chairman of the school committee for raising money to bring exchange students to Santa Paula, and a German student lived in his home during a nine-month stay in America. The American Field Service committee offered him a scholarship for study in Germany. This he will not accept until he has completed his college work.

Christopher ranks as the number one student in his class at the Santa Paula Union High School. He is the son of an Air Force pilot, killed in a plane crash.

He plans to study at the California Institute of Technology, and major in mathematics. A final choice for a career will be determined during his college studies. Although he demonstrates a great ability in the field of mathematics, Chris is also very interested in journalism and writing. For two years he worked on the local Santa Paula paper as a part time high school sports writer. He also worked for one of the Los Angeles newspapers, reporting on various school activities.

In addition to writing and sports information columns, Chris' hobbies include stamp and coin collections, astronomy and mathematics. He is active in his church youth group programs and vice-president of the World Friendship Club, Eagle Scout and an assistant scout master in the Boy Scouts of America.

Santa Paula put on a testimonial dinner for Chris. The mayor, city officials, superintendent of schools, teachers, his parents and others turned out to extend their personal congratulations. Thomas Pitts, president, California Labor Federation and member of the State Board of Education, presented the AFL-CIO Scholarship.

how to apply for 1961 SCHOLARSHIPS



The national AFL-CIO will award $6,000 merit scholarships to six high school students of exceptional ability who plan to enter college in September 1961. Each scholarship will cover four years of study.

This scholarship program is being conducted in cooperation with the National Merit Scholarship Corporation, which distributes all necessary questionnaires and application blanks. Two scholarships will be awarded in each of three geographical sections of the United States. One scholarship in each area will be awarded to children either of whose parents are currently members of unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO. One scholarship awarded in each geographical area will be unrestricted; i.e., the student may or may not be the child of a trade unionist.

HOW TO APPLY

If you are a second semester junior or first semester senior in this 1960 spring semester you are eligible for participation in the program. The qualifyng test will be conducted in all participating high schools in April 1960.

Any student who wishes to be considered for the 1961 scholarship awards *must* take this qualifying examination.

SCHOOL PARTICIPATION IN THE PROGRAM

All public, private, and parochial schools are invited to participate in the nation-wide scholarship qualifying examination. Principals enter their schools by registering for this examination with the National Merit Scholarship Corporation.

In the event your school is not a member of the National Merit Scholarship program, you may participate individually by writing to the National Merit Scholarship Corporation which will attempt to make special arrangements for them.

WHO IS ELIGIBLE

The high school principal may select second semester juniors or first semester seniors to take the examination free of charge. If a student is not selected by his principal, he may still take the test by paying a $1.00 fee to cover the cost of administering the test. In hardship cases this fee is waived.

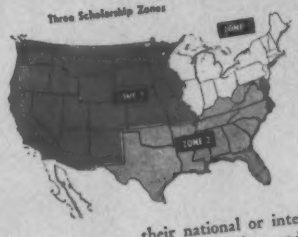
SEMI-FINALISTS

A group of top seniors, the highest scorers on the qualifying test, in each state will be advanced to the semi-finals in September 1960. They will then be asked to take a Scholastic Aptitude Test of the College Entrance Examination Board at specially designated centers in December 1960. Full information will be given them at the time of these notifications as to the time, place, and arrangements for this second test.

FINALISTS

Finalists will be announced in January 1961 after the scoring of the second examination. They are selected on the basis of scores on the two examinations, school activities and biographical information which they have supplied.

Three Scholarship Zones



Any finalist is a potential candidate for one of the three AFL-CIO unrestricted awards. To be eligible for one of the three awards made to children of AFL-CIO union members, however, the finalist must complete that portion of the biographical questionnaire asking the name of the parent or parents who are union members, their national or international union affiliation, the local or lodge number, and the city and state where the union is located.

From these two groups AFL-CIO representatives will select the six students to receive the AFL-CIO merit scholarships. Annual scholarship winners will be announced in May 1961.

WHERE AND WHAT WILL THE GRANTEE STUDY

Scholarships will be awarded for study at any accredited college or university in the United States. It will be the obligation of the winners to make all arrangements for admission to the school of their choice and to maintain good standing throughout the four-year period of the scholarship.

Federally-financed scholarships for college study would be a long step forward toward a stronger democracy and would show the world that, in America, opportunities are equal.

George Meany

GEORGE MEANY
President, AFL-CIO





Bruce Kole waits on a customer in the grocery store where he works.

It gives me great pleasure to inform you that your scholastic ability and personal achievements have won for you a four-year AFL-CIO Merit Scholarship.

The AFL-CIO is proud that we have been able to afford you this opportunity.

GEORGE MEANY
President, AFL-CIO







Clyde Headley and his mother attend the small Baptist Church in their community.

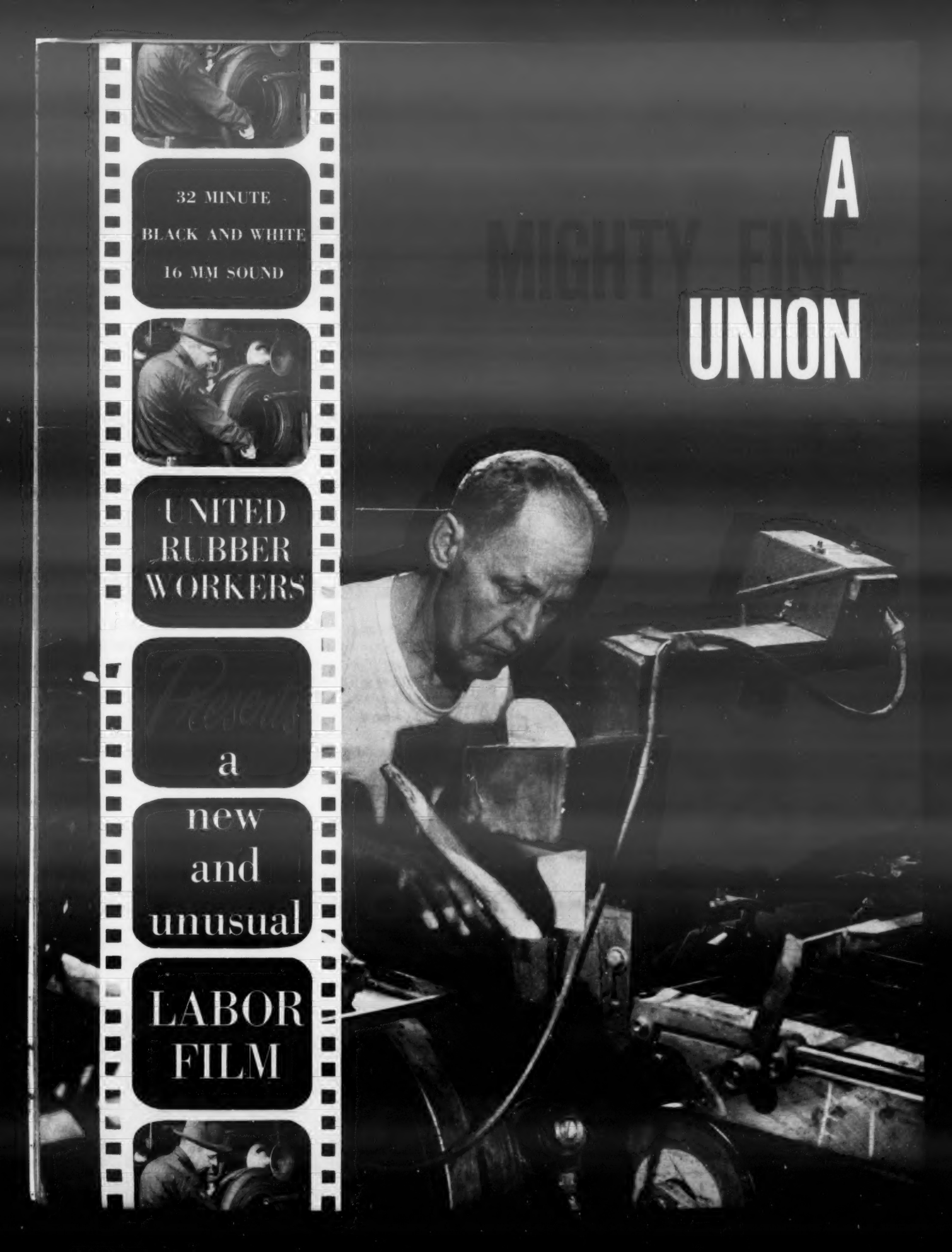
Additional materials on the AFL-CIO Merit Scholarship Awards may be secured by writing to John D. Connors, education director, AFL-CIO Education Dept., 815 16th St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C., or Edwin C. Smith, vice president, National Merit Scholarship Corporation, 1580 Sherman Ave., Evanston, Ill. The six winners of the 1960 scholarships will be announced in May 1960. Examinations to qualify for the 1961 scholarships must be taken by second semester juniors or first semester seniors in the spring of 1960.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND
CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
George Meany, President — Wm. F. Schnitzler, Secretary-Treasurer

For Additional copies write to Education Department
AFL-CIO 815 16th St., N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Publication No. 99.

17 17 PRINTED IN U.S.A.


A
MIGHTY FINE
UNION
32 MINUTE
BLACK AND WHITE
16 MM SOUND
UNITED
RUBBER
WORKERS
a
new
and
unusual
LABOR
FILM

Bob Bailey, hard-working veteran president of his local, plays leading role in A MIGHTY FINE UNION.







Larry Spence, a young militant unionist, challenges Bailey's leadership.

A MIGHTY FINE UNION

shows two men in conflict. Both men are equally loyal to the union, and before the film ends, they realize that the bond which unites them—their union—is stronger than their heated differences.

Bob Bailey, President of a Rubber Workers' local union, is challenged by a young militant, Larry Spence.

"I think the fire's gone out of you. That's why I'm running against you in this election," Spence accuses the older man.

They clash over the problem of what to do about a worker fired for absenteeism. Spence brings the issue to the local union meeting on the eve of the election. The issue is fought out, and the members make their decision.

Here is a conflict of attitudes toward problems facing modern trade unionists. Bailey is the experienced, cool-headed union leader who pleads the cause of responsibility. Spence is the high-spirited militant whose heart is fired by the sight of a fellow human being in trouble. Who wins and loses isn't as important as the fact that decisions are made by the members who hear the issue debated and make up their own minds.

This is a story of union democracy, of how a local union works. A conservative newspaper would probably call Bailey a "labor boss" by virtue of his official position. But it is a weird sort of "boss" who can be harrassed, overruled, even defeated at every turn by members of the union.

The film shows Bailey in a collective bargaining session with the company, at a grievance committee meeting, listening to personal and plant problems of members, and on the run from one crisis to another, not even able to eat a decent meal.

"You know something, Ellis?" says Bailey to one of his supporters. "If I don't get re-elected tomorrow, my wife's going to be a mighty happy woman." Bailey is busy day and night with union affairs, conferences, committee meetings, negotiations. His family life has become a shadow—this is the price he pays for dedication.



Sherman Dalrymple, first URW President, as he looked immediately after brutal beating during early organizing days. He appears in film.



Dramatic picket line scenes of 1930's are part of A MIGHTY FINE UNION.





At URW Convention we first see Bailey and Spence as elected delegates from their local.

When the election is over, Bailey tells the members: "Sure we have our differences. But, underneath it all, we're brothers and sisters in one union together.

As the film closes, the narrator points out: "This has not been a private fight between an older man named Bailey and a young man named Spence.

"This is the way workers in the United Rubber Workers and in unions across the land grapple with their problems, pull themselves forward, find their way to justice.

"Through the local union, and through the International Union, a man has a say about his job. He has a voice. He has a chance.

"The union—nothing glamorous, but an honest force in our society; a strong democratic force that has made it possible for men in our time to hold their heads high."

This film shows democracy at work in the shop and in the union hall—a mighty fine tradition of a mighty fine union, the United Rubber, Cork, Linoleum and Plastic Workers of America, AFL–CIO.



Top-notch crew of film specialists made A MIGHTY FINE UNION.









Bailey speaks on discharge case at meeting of local union grievance committee.

URW Film Shows Real Spirit of Labor Movement

Charlie Byrd Trio, a superb, modern jazz group, provides an exciting musical score. Joe Glazer sings special union ballad.

George F. Johnston of Washington Video Productions directed A MIGHTY FINE UNION.









At preview in Akron, URW President L. S. Buckmaster presents gift copy of film to Russell Munn, Director of the Akron Public Library, and Martin Essex, Superintendent of Akron Public Schools.

The scenes in A MIGHTY FINE UNION were made in a rubber plant with rubber workers. The historical sequences show the turmoil and bitter struggle the union had to go through to build and grow.

But the struggles, the problems, the hopes—the heartbeat of A MIGHTY FINE UNION—could apply to most unions anywhere in America.

Building the union was just as much a struggle for steel, auto, electrical, textile, and other workers as it was for embattled URW members. The dramatic picket line scenes of the 1930's could be Detroit, Pittsburgh, or Chicago just as well as Akron.

The URW convention shown in the film where men and women from Quebec to California come together to try to solve their problems through free debate could be most union conventions where basic policy is hammered out by the rank and file.

A MIGHTY FINE UNION is a film about real union problems which rarely get in the papers but which make up 95 per cent of the union's activities.

WASHINGTON REPORTER CALLS NEW URW FILM EDUCATIONAL, TECHNICAL, ARTISTIC SUCCESS

"The United Rubber Workers have produced a new film, 'A Mighty Fine Union,' which is a masterpiece.

"The URW has produced a movie that's an educational, a technical and an artistic success. It's in part a story about the growth of the URW, but more—it's a story of union democracy in action.

"The film might open the eyes of some of the more conservative members of Congressional Labor Committees who have spent their time investigating only the abuses of unions and unionism.

ROBERT HOYT,
Washington Correspondent for the Knight Newspaper chain.

TO RENT "A MIGHTY FINE UNION" write to AFL-CIO Film Division, 815 Sixteenth St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C. Rental for this film is $3.00 per showing. List dates you would like to show this film:

1st choice _____
2nd choice _____
3rd choice _____

Ship film to:

_____
Name

_____
Address

_____
Organization

_____
City *State*

TO PURCHASE "A MIGHTY FINE UNION" write to United Rubber Workers, Education Department, 87 S. High St., Akron 8, Ohio. Purchase price is $90 per print. Preview copy available upon request.

☐ I wish to purchase film
☐ I wish to preview film for possible purchase

Ship film to:

_____
Name

_____
Address

_____
Organization

_____
City *State*



REPORT ON EDUCATION



BETTER SCHOOLS FOR A BETTER AMERICA

Labor believes that the American people are interested in enhancing our entire culture; in stimulating the exchange and communication of ideas; in developing inquiring minds in our young; in improving the knowledge of government and laws, and in broader understanding of our free enterprise economy. These are the fruits of education.

Can we afford to deny our children their right to a better education?

American labor says "No." We pledge ourselves to an unrelenting drive for better schools for a better America.

George Meany

President AFL-CIO



HELPING TO DEVELOP UNDERSTANDING OF TRADE UNIONS IN THE SCHOOLS

What can the labor movement do constructively about the apparent anti-union attitudes among many high school students and at the same time protect the freedom of teachers to teach?

The following four articles help analyze this problem and describe the programs which have been developed at different levels of the labor movement. The first, written by a professor of sociology who also teaches in the U. of Illinois labor education program, describes the actual operation of a new program in this field by a local central labor body. He also details the hard facts of widespread anti-union attitudes among high-school students—even the sons and daughters of trade unionists. The next two articles, describe how two state AFL-CIO's have worked on this problem, particularly in getting the study of unions introduced into the curriculum. The kind of program and experience of an international union is described in the final article.



UNIONS TAKE THEIR STORY TO QUAD-CITY HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

A new approach to labor education, at least new for them, was undertaken last year by the Education Committee of the Quad-Cities Federation of Labor representing affiliated unions in Rock Island, Moline and East Moline, Illinois, and Davenport, Iowa. But this "labor education" program was directed at neither union members nor traditional "workers." High school seniors and their shop teachers, social studies teachers, audio-visual aids directors, school librarians, student counselors and high school principals were the students.

Dick Steelman, a long-time member of the American Federation of Teachers and Chairman of the Quad-Cities Federation Education Committee, himself a primary school principal, had long felt that labor was not getting its story to the new generations of union members and potential union members—the high school seniors. He was also convinced that the students' own teachers represented a very important channel bridging the gap between the seniors' student careers and their work careers, most often as new union members. He proposed to the Quad-Cities Federation that something be done about this. Approval to go ahead was granted and a moderate budget allocated to cover incurred expenses.



Dick contacted the Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations at the University of Illinois for whatever help they might be able to give in developing some kind of program aimed at telling labor's story to the students and their teachers. What emerged was a three-fold effort.

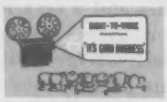
A scholarship program, administered by the University, was established. An $800 award was made to the high school senior writing the best essay on the theme, "Why Labor Should Oppose 'Right-to-Work Laws.'" The winning student could use his award to attend any college or university of his choice and would be given $200 a year to help him through. The program was an immediate success.

The second part of the new "labor education" program involved making arrangements with all high school principals in the four cities for a group of speakers to meet with all of the high school seniors in their social studies classes. The purpose here was to try to show the students that the trade union movement was not all, or

even in small part, what the McClellan Committee purports it to be.

Steelman and L. W. Christensen, a Machinists' Union local business agent and a member of the Education Committee called on eight area high school principals to arrange the visits to the senior social studies classes. They were pleased with and almost surprised by the friendly reception they got from all the principals, parochial as well as public school. They explained in general terms the purpose of the program and the detailed mechanics they had in mind. Each senior social studies class in every school was to be visited on the same day by a speaker designated by the Quad-Cities Federation. The speakers, drawn from the local trade union movement and the staff of the University, would spend about half of each fifty-minute class session pointing up some of the high-lights of union history and in general, describing how unions work and why. The rest of the period would be spent answering any questions the students raised. The purpose, Steelman said, was not to "sell" unions but to explain them. One of the eight high school principals felt that he could not agree to the program. He frankly and confidentially admitted that he did not think his Board of Education would approve and was reluctant to test them on this kind of program. There are, incidentally, no trade union representatives on the Boards of Education in any of the four cities, all of which are heavily industrialized and constitute the heart of the agricultural implement industry in the country. A number of top corporation executives, however, are found among the Board members.

On Friday, April 24, ten speakers, seven from the union movement and three from the University spoke to more than 1900 high school seniors in their social studies class rooms. Classes ranged from 30 to 45 students at a time and from five to seven consecutive fifty-minute class periods. The experience was physically exhausting but very exciting.



USE UNION FILMS

Teachers in junior and senior high schools have found that labor movies add reality to discussions of modern industrial problems. A movie which has been used successfully with high school groups is "The Grievance," a lively 32-minute film set in a truck assembly plant. The movie centers around a grievance which starts when a worker refuses to work on a job he considers unsafe, and shows how this problem goes through the various steps of the grievance procedure. Class discussion following this movie can bring out the reasons why workers want unions and grievance procedures, and the way this procedure operates.

A good movie to present labor history graphically is "With These Hands," made by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. It tells the story of the union through the eyes of Alexander Brody, a cloak operator who has lived through the early struggles and is now about to retire on a pension, won by his union. The film runs for 50 minutes and is suitable for both junior and senior high students.

Labor films such as these can be rented from the AFL-CIO Film Division, Washington 6, D. C. Rental fees run around $3 to $4 per showing. The AFL-CIO film catalogue, "Films for Labor," is available on request.

In general the social studies teachers were tolerant in the public schools and warmly sympathetic in the Catholic schools. But their students, for the most part, differed significantly. The question period following each short initial presentation conveyed the students' image of unions as a mixture of misinformation, distortion, prejudice and ignorance in varying degrees. I spoke to more than 175 students through the day and only very few who asked a question or offered a comment showed even the most rudimentary knowledge of or sympathy with unions. Other speakers found a wider range of student reaction, running from outright open hostility to genu-



USEFUL MATERIALS ABOUT THE LABOR MOVEMENT FOR PUBLIC SCHOOLS

What can you recommend to a social studies teacher, high school librarian or principal if you're asked for brief, printed materials about trade unions and reflecting labor's point of view?

Here are a few which will be useful:

THIS IS THE AFL-CIO • A brief 10-page booklet describing what the AFL-CIO is, how it functions, what it stands for and what unions have accomplished. (No. 20. AFL-CIO. 5c each; $3.00 for 100.)

WHY UNIONS? • Succinctly states why we need unions and what they stand for. (18 pp. No. 41. AFL-CIO. 10c each; $7.50 for 100.)

A MESSAGE TO HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS. . . . Why unions such as the Steelworkers exist and what they do. (10 pp. United Steelworkers Education Dept., 1500 Commonwealth Bldg., Pittsburgh 22, Pa. Free.)

WHAT'S RIGHT WITH LABOR • A forceful speech in the Senate by Minnesota's Senator Hubert Humphrey. (6 pp. Sen. Humphrey, Senate Office Bldg., Washington 25, D. C. Free in limited quantities.)

THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES • Describes the background, structure, activities and goals of the union movement. Author is Jack Barbash. (28 pp. Public Affairs Pamphlets, 22 E. 38th St., New York 16, N. Y. 25c each; 10-99 copies, 20c each.)

BRIEF HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT • Short history issued by U. S. Dept. of Labor which includes a chronological list of important events. (85 pp. Supt. of Documents, U. S. Gov't. Printing Office, Wash. 25, D. C. 35c each.)

FORWARD MARCH OF LABOR • Brief, good history of labor by Joe Glazer, URW education director and Theresa Wolfson, professor at Brooklyn College. (32 pp. League for Industrial Democracy, 119 E. 12th St., N.Y., N.Y., 15c each; quantity rates.)

STRUCTURE OF THE AFL-CIO • Detailed structure chart of the AFL-CIO with brief description on back. (2 pp. AFL-CIO. Free.)

STRIKES • Good, straightforward description of why unions strike. Answers common public attitudes about strikes. (8 pp. November '58, Collective Bargaining Report. AFL-CIO Research Dept. Single copies free. $4.50 for 100.)

LABOR SCRAPBOOK • Interesting collection of excerpts, documents, quotes, poetry and songs reflecting the highlights of U. S. labor history. (40 pp. United Rubber Workers Education Dept. URW Bldg., Akron 8, Ohio. Single copies free; 15c each in quantity.)

LABOR AND THE AMERICAN WAY by Mark Starr, ILGWU education director. Excellent for high school students. (64 pp. Oxford University Press. 114 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 45c each.)

ine curiosity and a very few with understanding sympathy. In each of my classes the students present were in large proportion children of union members in the area. The implications are disturbing.

WHAT KIND OF QUESTIONS DID THE FUTURE UNION MEMBERS ASK?

Typical was the young man who wanted to know why workers went on strike "because all they ever got out of it were big debts and higher prices when it was over."

I found no students, though there must have been some, who were not convinced that unions were the cause of inflation.

Of course, many questioners wanted to know why the unions were run by crooks and racketeers; others asked if the unions "were supposed to be democratic organizations, how come nobody goes to meetings?"

Several young men about to graduate and look for work in the agricultural implement factories asked why some unions seem to strike every year while others don't. (One questioner's father was a UAW member in the local John Deere plant.)

Why do unions have seniority systems which only keep the "good young guys" from getting ahead, was another often-asked question.

"How come when there are lay-offs some men will get laid off while younger men without families continue working?" asked a student whose father was out of work for some months because his department in a tractor factory was shut down while others continued to operate. (The local union apparently had a departmental seniority system.)

A particularly inquisitive and informed young girl prefaced her question by noting that unions were organized to protect workers from the big corporations. "But," she asked, "who is going to protect the worker from the powerful labor leaders?"

And so the questions went—most of them couched in hostility generated by misinformation of ignorance, though occasionally stemming from genuine intellectual curiosity and even more infrequently from sympathy and knowledge.

The total experience, at least for this participant, was dismaying. Remember, I said to myself, these are not the children of the top corporation executives but are mostly children of factory workers and skilled tradesmen—mostly the off-spring of dues-paying union members and the strata of young people who will lead tomorrow's labor movement. They will come to their first jobs and find themselves members of unions which they know little or nothing about or to which they are hostile. The departmental steward and the local officers start with at least one strike against them.

All of the speakers tried their best in the very limited time available to correct falsehoods and distortions and to give as much useful information as was possible without anger or apologies — only explanations and straight information. But we hardly scratched the surface. We could not even begin to undo what the mass media, apathetic parents, often sympathetic but harrassed and over-worked teachers had done, or failed to do, over many years. The real job, in my judgment, has to be done by union members, by parents and by the teachers. The third phase of the Quad-Cities program was addressed to the latter.

The day following the high school speaking date, on Saturday, about 40 teachers responded to the invitation of the Quad-Cities Federation to attend an all-day conference at a local downtown hotel. Arthur Kane, of the AFL-CIO Department of Education, spoke on the general problem of "Labor and Education in the U.S."; Lee Chapman, an IAM Grand Lodge Representative, spoke on "Why Labor Opposes 'Right-to-Work' Laws." A free-for-all "What's Your Question?" session followed the free luncheon. A panel of local teachers started the questioning off.

In all, something like five or six thousand pieces of AFL-CIO literature were distributed to the students and teachers and bibliographies of union materials, appropriate for high school students, were prepared by the University's Labor and Industrial Relations Institute and given to the teachers.

* * *

The program has now been carried on for two successive years. Steelman and his fellow Quad-Cities Federation officers hope to make it a permanent and central part of their activities. The need is enormous; the expense slight; the effort considerable. The pay-off . . . tremendous satisfaction and perhaps a little more light on what must otherwise be a very dark image of unions held by today's young people—including sons and daughters of union members.

BERNARD KARSH
Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations
University of Illinois

LABOR-MANAGEMENT STUDY UNITS PREPARED BY OREGON SCHOOLS



Two separate units on labor-management relations are in use in 12th grade social studies classes in Oregon schools. One is a part of the high school curriculum for Portland and is mandatory; the other is for schools outside Portland and is optional. Both include the history of labor unions, their structure and methods used by both labor and employers in the process of collective bargaining.

Over six years ago steps were taken in Portland toward including the study of labor unions in the school curriculum. After a delegate to the Central Labor Council had complained of reports of anti-union propaganda in the schools—reports that could not be verified but which probably were at least partially true —the Council voted to request the school superintendent to have the study of unions made a part of the course of study. The superintendent replied that he would be willing to discuss the matter with representatives of the State AFL-CIO Council

TEACHING UNITS ABOUT LABOR USED IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

A number of teaching units about unions, prepared with the high school teacher in mind, are available and others are in the process of development. They include:

THE STORY OF LABOR IN AMERICAN HISTORY • Prepared for use in a high school history course. Includes outline of content, suggested teaching procedures, references and bibliography and a suggested unit test. (28 pp. Minnesota AFL-CIO, 47 W. 9th St., St. Paul, Minn. 1-5 copies, 50c each; 6 to 25 copies, 40c each.)

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS • Prepared for 12th grade social studies classes of Portland, Oregon. Includes suggested approaches, topics and problems alongside of suggested activities and useful instructional materials, evaluation suggestions and a bibliography. (35 pp. mimeo. Curriculum Division, Portland Public Schools, Portland, Oregon. No price given.)

SOCIAL STUDIES IN OREGON SECONDARY SCHOOLS • Contains a unit on Industrial, Economic, and Social Progress in the U.S. (pp. 175-180) which lists a number of concepts to be understood about labor and suggested activities. (260 pp. Supt. of Instruction, State Library Bldg., Salem, Oregon. No price given.)

and the Education Committee was given the job of carrying out this assignment.

A conference was arranged and several members of the Education Committee met with the superintendent and some of his staff. At first there was noticeable tension on both sides. The school administrators were obviously suspicious of labor's motives; the union committee feared it would get off to a bad start or run into insurmountable obstacles. But gradually the atmosphere changed; both sides relaxed and the discussion became both frank and cordial.

The union committee explained that it was not asking for labor propaganda in the schools. Attention was called to labor's opposition to the propaganda campaign carried on in the schools by the National Association of Manufacturers and the committee said that, to be consistent, labor could not copy NAM's tactics. It was agreed that one of the objectives of the schools should be to help students understand the American industrial system. This, the labor committee contended, could not be done without a study of labor unions.

The school superintendent admitted that labor was making a legitimate request and before the close of the conference, he promised that a unit on labor-management relations would be prepared for use in senior social studies classes. He also said that suggestions from the union committee as to content of the course would be welcome.

The superintendent kept his word. A classroom teacher—one without anti-union bias—was chosen to prepare the unit. The Education Committee of the Central Labor Council had the opportunity to review the unit before its adoption and most of the suggestions of the committee were incorporated in the final draft. In 1956 the unit became a part of the regular curriculum for the 12th grade and it is now used in all Portland high schools.

STATE VISIT PREPARED

In the meantime a revision of the social studies curriculum for Oregon schools outside Portland was underway in the State Department of Education. The fact that the chairman of the Education Committee of the Oregon AFL-CIO was a member of the State Board of Education—the body with final authority in the adoption of school curricula—made it fairly easy to secure the inclusion of a labor-management unit in the revised course of study. In fairness to members of the professional committee that revised the curriculum, it should be noted that none of them objected to the inclusion of a unit dealing with labor unions, indicating a more enlightened attitude than had existed a few years previously.

After the State Department of Education had finished its first draft of the revised curriculum, a meeting was called of representatives from the Association of University Women, the League of Women Voters, American Legion, National Association of Manufacturers, Chamber of Commerce and other special interest groups, to give an opportunity for criticism of the proposed course of study. The meeting was anything but placid. Vigorous opposition came from representatives of the American Legion and the NAM. However, the attacks were mainly directed, not at the labor unit, but at American history and government. Charges of "Communist influence" were hurled at the committee that had worked on the revision of the course. One person rather timidly said that he felt that "too much attention is given to labor unions"; but aside from this remark, little attention was paid to material dealing with labor-management relations.





When the smoke of battle finally cleared and a few minor changes were made in the text, the curriculum for high school social studies, including the unit on labor-management relations, was approved by the State Board of Education and became the official guide for Oregon high schools outside of Portland.

There are no reliable statistics to indicate how many schools are using the unit on labor but from data coming to the office of the Oregon AFL-CIO, it seems probable that at least half of Oregon high schools make it a part of the regular course of study.

These are a few of the questions and topics for discussion found in these units:

"Attitude of employers, government and courts toward unions prior to the 20th century."

"Find out approximately how many labor disputes in your community have been settled in the

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past year without strikes."

"Do both sides in labor controversies have the same opportunity to present their case to the public?"

"Why do unions demand repeal of some parts of the Taft-Hartley law? Why was this law passed?

Neither of these units is perfect. In some places the authors, in their desire to be impartial, seem to have over-emphasized the point of view of employers. However, both units, if taught by well-informed, fair-minded teachers, will give students an understanding of why unions exist, how they function and their importance in the nation's industrial system.

MAY DARLING, Chairman
Education Committee
Oregon AFL-CIO

OFFERING LABOR MATERIALS FOR SCHOOL USE HELPS TEACHERS



A program of labor material for school use, instituted by the Connecticut State Labor Council a year ago, has now experience from which some conclusions may be drawn.

The Council and its education director, who administers the program, do not of course pretend to have all the answers with respect to assisting teachers in presenting units on labor relations in their "problems of democracy," history, and economics classes. However, an account of the program as it functioned during its first year, with a discussion of the suggestions and questions posed throughout the year, might be helpful to other state organizations which may consider such a program.

During its first year of operation the program was remarkably successful. All 245 junior and senior high schools in the state were given a subscription to the AFL-CIO News, in part as a means of introducing the materials program to the schools. After that, materials have been distributed only at the request of school principals, librarians, or teachers. Occasional mailings to all senior or junior high schools or both, describe materials that are available and request the return of a postcard, if copies are desired.

These materials included:

1. **LABOR'S ECONOMIC REVIEW and ECONOMIC TRENDS AND OUTLOOK, monthly publications of the AFL-CIO Department of Research.**
2. **THIS UNION CAUSE, by Katherine Shippen, a simply and well written labor history published by Harper & Bros. and written especially for high schools.**
3. **A kit of pamphlets about labor. Included were five pamphlets published by the AFL-CIO: THIS IS THE AFL-CIO, AFL-CIO CODES OF ETHICAL PRACTICES, FACTS vs PROPAGANDA (about "right-to-work"), LABOR LOOKS AT THE 85th CONGRESS, WHY UNIONS; and THE RIGHT TO WORK, published by the Catholic Council of Working Life; THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES, by Jack Barbash, published by Public Affairs Committee; AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT, a history of labor, published by the United States Department of Labor; a union contract. (The union contract included in the kit was the agreement between Royal-McBee Corp. and UAW Local #937. It is a simply written contract, one whose clauses are fairly typical. Including a contract was suggested by some of the social science teachers, who said that though they discussed union contracts in their classes neither they nor the majority of their students had ever seen one.)**

For an idea of the remarkable response to the materials program, a

UNIONS SUPPORT THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

There are many speeches, articles and policy statements reflecting trade union support of the public schools. Here are some of them:

1. CRUSADE FOR PUBLIC SCHOOLS • Gives the history of union action in support of public education. By John D. Connors, AFL-CIO education director. (10 pp. American Federation of Teachers, 28 E. Jackson Blvd., Chicago 4, Ill. Free.)

2. AFL-CIO RESOLUTIONS ON EDUCATION • Includes resolutions on many aspects of public school problems adopted by 1957 AFL-CIO Convention. New resolutions adopted by the 1959 AFL-CIO Convention will be available later in the year. (15 pp. Pub. 9A. AFL-CIO. Free.)

3. LABOR AND EDUCATION IN 1956 AND 1957 • Includes AFL-CIO Executive Council Report on education, report of Convention Education Committee and resolutions and debate at 1957 AFL-CIO Convention. Also contains list of college scholarships offered by AFL-CIO affiliates. (101 pp. AFL-CIO. 25c each.)

4. EDUCATION IS NOT A LUXURY • Simple discussion of school problems and why we need expanded education, federal aid, etc. (16 pp. UAW, Solidarity House, Detroit 14, Mich. 10c each.)

5. LABOR'S STAKE IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS • IAM Pres. A. J. Hayes calls for labor and school administrators to work together to solve current school problems. (2 pp. IAM Education Dept. 1300 Connecticut Ave., Wash., D. C. Single copies free.)

6. HOW LABOR CAN HELP IMPROVE PUBLIC EDUCATION • Forceful speech by IUE president James B. Carey on historical labor support of schools and contemporary school problems. (6 pp. IUE, 1126 16th St., N.W., Wash. 6, D. C. Free in limited quantities.)

7. EDUCATION IS OUR FINEST WEAPON • Contains excerpts of speeches by Harry Van Arsdale, New York City central labor council president, IUE Pres. James Carey and testimony of AFL-CIO Education Committee Chairman Peter Schoemann for federal aid to education. (8 pp. AFL-CIO Education Dept. Free.)

8. WHY HAVE PUBLIC SCHOOLS • Written by AFL-CIO Education Director John Connors. It discusses school problems and analyzes opposition to federal aid. (6 pp. No. 73. AFL-CIO. 2c each; $9 for 500.)

look at the percentage of requests for THIS UNION CAUSE is interesting. The book was requested by 66% of the public high schools, 55% of the parochial schools, 41% of other private schools, 100% of the state technical high schools.

Overall, the following distributions were made:

1. Kits of pamphlets (as many as needed were offered) 665
2. THIS UNION CAUSE (single copies were offered) 183
3. Subscriptions to LABOR'S ECONOMIC REVIEW and



ECONOMIC TRENDS AND OUTLOOK (offered only to the senior high schools) 141

There are two other important aspects to the materials program:

LABOR FILMS FOR SCHOOL USE

Selection of useful films is a difficult problem. Most labor films are made for union audiences, and, in addition, when shown are usually followed by discussion led by someone in the labor movement. This is not true of school showings when the films are available through a central film library.

However, two films have been purchased and deposited with the Audio-Visual Center at the University of Connecticut. They are "Push Buttons and People," a film about automation produced by the UAW, and the "right-to-work" film, "It's Good Business," made by the Council for Industrial Peace.

Films deposited at the Center will be available to teachers for a $1.00 service fee which the Audio-Visual Center charges for all contributed films and will be publicized in its newsletter and catalogue. The Audio-Visual Center has a few other labor films such as "Local 100," "The Shop Steward" and "With These Hands." The State Labor Council will publicize the labor films and add other suitable films.

RESOURCE UNIT ON LABOR FOR STUDENTS AND TEACHERS

A teaching unit on labor being prepared by John Glynn and Urbane Hennen of the University of Connecticut for the Connecticut State Labor Council has been reviewed this summer in draft form by teachers attending the Economic Education Workshop of the Connecticut Council for the Advancement of Economic Education. A committee of teachers will use it experimentally this fall in their social studies classes. Their comments and suggestions will be incorporated in the final draft of the unit. Though this may seem a slow way of preparing a teaching resource unit, both the authors and the Council feel that it is an important step in the preparation of the unit if it is to have value as a tool to bring about a greater understanding of the labor movement.

It is hoped that this teaching unit will serve as a guide for teachers in their presentation of trade unions and their role in our society.

The importance of working closely with educators on a materials program cannot be overemphasized. Only if materials—books, pamphlets, publications, films—fill actual needs of student and teacher will they be used. It is for this reason that materials in the Connecticut program are sent only to teachers who request them.

We are fortunate in Connecticut in having an active Council for the Advancement of Economic Education. Our relationship with this organization has made possible a fruitful contact with social science teachers. An instance of this was a May 1959 conference which was co-sponsored by the Connecticut Council of Social Studies and the Connecticut Council for the Advancement of Economic Education. Theme of the conference was "materials for schools sponsored by outside organizations." The group, a large one, was divided into smaller discussion groups to hear from representatives of various private interest organizations—insurance, banking, utilities, industry, labor—about their materials programs.



Approximately thirty-five teachers participated in the labor group for an excellent discussion of our materials program and the labor movement in general. (Incidentally, requests to participate in the labor discussion ran about four to one above requests to participate in any of the other groups.)

The authors of the resource unit, one the director of the labor program at the University, the other an associate professor in the School of Education, were present to discuss the



FOR DISCUSSIONS ON ECONOMICS

College students and some high school groups will find thoughtful discussions of current economic problems in the AFL-CIO's monthly **LABOR'S ECONOMIC REVIEW.** Each 8-page issue gives background information on one problem and presents labor's point of view on it.

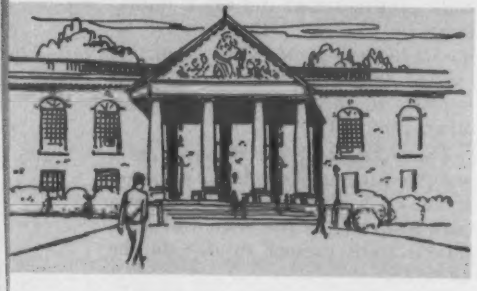
For example, a recent issue dealt with our natural resources and outlined the kind of federal program which labor advocates to preserve them. College economics classes might also find useful the "Economic Review" for February 1959 which discusses state and local taxes and shows how various types of taxes affect upper and lower income groups. Still another interesting issue of the "Review" deals with the need for reapportionment in Congressional and state legislative districts, with a chart showing how present districts give rural voters more influence in state legislatures, out of proportion to their numbers.

To receive the "Economic Review" regularly, write the AFL-CIO Research Department, 815 16th Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C. Subscription price is $1.50 per year, but single copies of any issue are free of charge to teachers and students.

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unit and to reassure the teachers concerning its objectivity. In this regard, the Connecticut State Labor Council has established an editorial policy which may be unique in the field of school materials provided by special groups. The Council has said to the authors that the content and philosophy of the unit is to be theirs, that it will exercise no censorship on the project.

The whole materials program was enthusiastically received, as it has



been with other teacher groups. One senses that the teachers have received so much material from other groups, primarily the NAM, they are relieved that labor materials are finally available to enable them to present to their students a more balanced picture of the labor relations and economic scenes.

One suggestion, made at this conference and elsewhere, was for speakers from the labor movement. If an announcement were made to schools of the availability of speakers from the labor movement, the response would be overwhelming. Indeed, it was, when just such an announcement was made some years ago by the Connecticut Federation of Labor.

Teachers and students alike appear to want the personal contact with the labor movement that a speaker gives them. Here again, careful selection is in order. Many union officials, excellent at the bargaining table, are inarticulate before a class of students, or are too preoccupied with day-to-day union affairs to have informed themselves adequately on the broader aspects of the labor movement on which they surely will be queried.

The Connecticut State Labor Council is planning to establish a speakers' bureau made up of men and women throughout the state who will be able to fill speaking engagements at schools. In the process of setting it up, workshop sessions will be held for prospective speakers. At the same time kits of materials covering subjects which participants may expect to be asked about will be presented to them.

Another suggestion made at the conference discussed above, and one which will be implemented during the coming year, had to do with teachers-in-training at schools of education and teachers' colleges. A young man training to be a teacher at the School of Education, University of Connecticut, asked for twenty kits of materials for his fellow students and indicated his concern that apparently no effort was being made to reach prospective social studies teachers. Consequently, the materials program will be broadened to include the ten or more private and public colleges in Connecticut which train teachers.

* * *

If any conclusion can be drawn from the working of the Council's school materials program after one year of operation, it is that at least in Connecticut, a definite need is felt on the part of teachers and students for labor's point of view. How well that need is filled depends on the care and thought given to the administration of the program and on the continued contact with school people —for evaluation, for suggestions and for criticism.

RUTH WARREN GREENBERG
Education Director
Connecticut State Labor Council



AFL-CIO DEBATE KIT AVAILABLE

The high school debate topic this year deals with the subject of what labor-management relations policy will best serve the people of the U. S. This gives labor an opportunity to offer teachers and debaters materials and help.

The AFL-CIO has prepared a Debater's Kit containing a number of useful pamphlets. The debate topic is divided into three parts—whether there should be substantially increased controls over labor unions, whether Section 14-B of the Taft-Hartley Act should be repealed, and whether we should have compulsory arbitration of labor disputes. Materials in the AFL-CIO Kit deal with all three phases of this subject.

To obtain this Debater's Kit, write the AFL-CIO Education Department, Washington 6, D. C. Local unions might write in for several Kits and have their officers present them in person to teachers and students of the high school debate team. There is no charge for the kit.

The principal and a few of the students look over the UAW Labor Bookshelf presented to the Ferndale, Michigan, High School by UAW Representative John Burton.

Insert: Walter Reuther, UAW president, presented the 1000th set of books in the UAW's Labor Bookshelf program to the principal of the Inkster, Michigan, High School just before he spoke at the school's graduating ceremonies.



"LABOR BOOK SHELF" FOR SCHOOLS PART OF UAW PROGRAM



To date, more than 1,300 schools, located in nearly 500 cities and 30 states, have accepted as gifts from UAW local unions the five books about labor which are included in the UAW's "Labor Book Shelf."

The total value of the books presented exceeds $15,000. Probably no single International Union would be prepared to lay out so much money for such a purpose, but to the participating local unions the cost ($11.75 per set) is relatively small.



The books included in the "Labor Book Shelf" are Levinson's LABOR ON THE MARCH; Barbash's THE PRACTICE OF UNIONISM; Lester's AS UNIONS MATURE; Shippen's THIS UNION CAUSE; and LABOR IN AMERICA by Starr and Faulkner.

Many large UAW local unions have purchased and placed more than one "Labor Book Shelf." It is hoped that before the end of the current fall term the books will have been placed in 1,500 schools.

In addition to the Labor Book Shelf, the UAW Education Department participates in a number of other activities which have as their purpose the development of improved relationships between labor and education.

Each year, for example, in cooperation with the Michigan AFL-CIO, the UAW plays host at resident institutes for teachers. This year, such institutes have been held in three Michigan communities: Lake Gogebic, Gaylord and Port Huron. About three hundred teachers participated in these events — with about two-thirds of this number attending the institute which was held at the FDR-AFL-CIO Labor Center at Port Huron.

The teachers who attend the institutes are guests of the cooperating organizations. They are responsible only for their own transportation; board and room is furnished free. Programs are organized so as to allow a maximum of time for open question and discussion periods.

In addition, the UAW furnishes most of the material which is mailed to teachers throughout the state by the Michigan AFL-CIO. In the past 3 years, six such general mailings have been made to every school in the state. In many cases three or four pieces of literature have been included in the mailings. The teachers to whom the materials are sent are invited to write for additional copies. Generally, the requests are for ten or twenty additional copies. In response to these requests as many as 17,000 pieces of a single piece of literature have been furnished social studies teachers.

ANOTHER SIDE TO THE NEWS



Many central labor bodies have offered subscriptions to the AFL-CIO NEWS to high school and public libraries. The weekly AFL-CIO NEWS carries up-to-the-minute reports on union activities and on other current news important to labor and the public.

A subscription to the AFL-CIO NEWS costs $2.00 per year; ten subscriptions, $1.50 each. Why not have your central body contact high schools in your town and ask them whether they would like to receive it?

Local unions can carry this idea one step further by offering libraries a subscription to the publication put out by their own international union.

As part of the same program, copies of the AFL-CIO Economic Review are sent each month to every high school in Michigan—and individual social studies teachers, upon request, are given subscriptions to the same publication.

In Indiana, the UAW invites six or seven college students each year to attend the union's summer school on scholarship. Board, room and transportation is paid for by the local unions in that state. Faculty members at a number of the state's colleges are asked to select *influential* students to whom scholarships are offered. In most cases the students participating have been class or student body presidents, or holders of similar campus positions. Almost without exception, the students have reported that participation in a union summer school has had an important effect upon their opinions about the labor movement. Many have testified to their intention to let students "back home," know about their experiences.

Beginning next year, an attempt will be made to spread this program to the regional schools which are sponsored by the UAW each year in all of its regional sub-divisions.

Currently, representatives of the UAW Education Department are working with officers of the Wayne County AFL-CIO Council on a "handbook" of labor-management problems which will be used by teachers in the Detroit Public Schools. This is a unique venture. The committee developing the handbook includes representatives of labor, management and the schools. The committee, it is hoped, will draft a text which will be "objective" and mutually acceptable to educators, to labor and to management. Because of the manner in which it is being developed, it may be that this text will become useful in communities outside Detroit.

BRENDAN SEXTON
Education Director, UAW





A LABOR SCHOOL BOARD MEMBER LOOKS AT EDUCATION

In nearly every community the schools today are faced with pressing new problems. Local union officers and staff can do a great deal to help by taking active part in school affairs—serving on school boards, working in the Parent Teachers Association, attending budget hearings, and supporting local bond issues and tax raises when necessary.

By doing this, labor gains a voice in school affairs and can help our schools meet today's educational needs. The article on this page discusses some of the problems of our schools as seen by a Steelworker who serves on the Chicago Board of Education.

School Board members from the ranks of organized labor have a precious opportunity to perform a unique and necessary public service. Since our public school systems are used predominately by children from wage-earning families, no educational program geared to their needs can be truly adequate without the labor point of view.

Trade unionists serving on public school boards automatically assume a large obligation to uphold the democratic precepts which originally brought about free education after a great deal of prodding by early American labor groups. More specifically, they have the following responsibilities:

1. **To demand equality of educational opportunity.**
2. **To press for more school buildings, classrooms, teachers and other educational facilities.**
3. **To correct biased teaching methods and help balance the frequently one-sided education approach in such areas as labor-management activities.**
4. **To insist on decent salaries for teachers, administrative personnel and other school employees.**
5. **To work for academic freedom and promote a full exploration of ideas in search of truth.**

The need to correct educational inequalities takes first priority because this is actually the most pressing problem in many of our public schools. Too many of our children are being robbed of an equal opportunity to learn by being forced to attend segregated schools. While this is mainly a problem in our Southern states, the same inequities exist even in such enlightened cities as Chicago and New York because of classroom overcrowding, teacher shortages, decrepit school facilities and neighborhood or area segregation. Every representative of labor has a duty to wage an unrelenting war against all such educational discrimination.

The need for more schools, teachers and educational plants goes hand in hand with our need to improve and strengthen the general level of our education standards. It is not enough to share equally what we now have. There must be a determined effort to expand the total educational program so that every child is assured of the very best it is humanly possible to provide. This calls for a larger share of our tax dollars for our schools. It means we must support federal aid to education. It entails general recognition that a stronger public school system is a wise and necessary investment in our democratic form of government.

No complete study of the problem has ever been made, but there is enough evidence to show that children from worker families pick up their first anti-union prejudices in the classroom from uninformed teachers or biased textbooks. When labor-management relations are studied, there is a strong tendency for our schools to overemphasize the business viewpoint and play down labor's side. Only a few school textbooks today fairly present the role of trade unions in our society. A recent check shows none which honestly and fairly relate the history of organized labor. The views of powerful corporate interests, seemingly, have no trouble reaching our teachers and the students.

It will take a tremendous amount of coordinated effort to correct this and other similar distortions which creep into our classrooms. But individual board members can strike a real blow for fairness and help secure some semblance of balance by focusing attention on the problem, demanding the use of textbooks which are unbiased and stopping the flow of unsolicited anti-labor propaganda which floods some of our schools.

Why are decent salaries and good working conditions necessary for teachers and other school employees? Simply because those responsible for conducting our education programs cannot do their best work if they are beset by economic pressures. A good teacher will be an even better one if he or she is paid well and can work in happy surroundings. Then, too, many competent and qualified teachers are forced to abandon a career in education because of the disgracefully low compensa-

Even if America's educational retrogression were to be considered in a vacuum, the picture would be disturbing. But looking at it, as we must, in comparison with the enormous strides taken by Soviet Russia, our retreat becomes alarming.

Let me emphasize that I am no admirer of the Kremlin's educational concepts. The needs of humanity, on both sides of the Iron Curtain can never be satisfied by chemical, electronic or rocket exploits.

But that doesn't take away the threat to our national security posed by Soviet Russia's educational advances. That threat is ominously symbolized today by the Lunik, the Sputniks and by Russia's acknowledged superiority in long range missiles and rocket engines. The very fact that Soviet Russia's educational progress has become a potential weapon in her arsenal of international aggression compels us to give priority to improvement of our own educational system as a vital part of our national defense program.

GEORGE MEANY, AFL-CIO President

tions offered. This also discourages other potential teachers from making the great investment in time and money needed to equip them for an educational position. If we are to maintain and increase the quality of our education, we must do what is necessary to end the teacher shortage. High wages and good working conditions will thus do much to strengthen our educational system.

Freedom in education, while listed last, is not a whit less important than the other points cited here. Unfortunately, public education to a large extent fell victim to the hysteria which touched our nation in the hey-day of McCarthy. States like Illinois imposed "loyalty oaths" on all teachers, subjecting them to the unwarranted indignities of a signature test against subversion before they were permitted to continue teaching. The attendant threat and menace has warped efforts to be objective in the classroom. The consequences have been heavy because self-respect has been damaged and a free exploration of ideas in search of truth has been crippled. How can our students cope with insidious communist propaganda when neither they nor their teachers are permitted to examine this doctrine freely—even in a clinical way?

If we of labor believe in our democratic form of government and uphold the right of free expression, we must insist on academic freedom for teachers and strive for a free, unfettered search for truth in our schools. This is the positive way to strengthen our educational system.

There are many other areas in which the union member on a school board can supply a fresh and vigorous outlook in education. Those mentioned here, however, are among those that cry for more universal understanding and acceptance.

RAY PASNICK, Member
Chicago Board of Education.
Midwest Rep., Steelworkers' Education
and Public Relations Depts.



WORKING WITH THE AFT LOCALS TO IMPROVE EDUCATION

There is a growing realization among the leaders of Central Trades and Labor Councils and those of locals of the American Federation of Teachers that labor-teacher cooperation is the key to public school improvement in their communities.

Similarly, the united effort of state AFL-CIO bodies and federations of teachers in state legislatures is increasingly producing state financial aid for the schools as well as teacher welfare laws.

Delegates to the 43rd annual convention of the American Federation of Teachers in Minneapolis in August, took the significant step of requiring that all its state and local federations affiliate with their labor body.

Labor-teacher cooperation for better schools is a two-way street. Every informed laboring man knows he has a stake in the schools and in better paid, better qualified teachers. Every informed teacher knows that labor, which initiated the first public schools, is the top ally of education for education's sake.

> **One of the first steps which should be taken by the central labor body and the union teacher group is a survey of school needs. This should not be the kind of a "study" that comes to a dead end as so many school surveys do.**

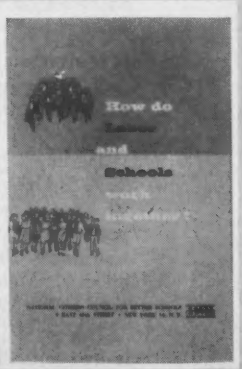
The study should cover such questions as: Are there enough buildings? Are classes overcrowded? Is the school administration comprised of people who put tax savings above public service? Are there representatives of labor on the board of education?

Are teachers sufficiently paid? Are they encouraged to stay in teaching by a good tenure (job security) law? Are there other inducements and rewards for teaching? Paid sick leave? Health and accident insurance paid for by the school district? Duty-free lunch periods?

PAMPHLET OF THE MONTH

HOW DO LABOR AND SCHOOLS WORK TOGETHER? is a new pamphlet published by the National Citizens Council for Better Schools which discusses this question. The pamphlet's introduction points out that public school administrators in industrial areas who replied to a recent questionnaire, "on the whole, . . . welcome labor cooperation, but from the point of view of some, labor's help is neither continuous nor as wide-ranged as it might be."

It then goes on to briefly review labor's historical and continuing interest in public education, its stand against outside pressures being brought to bear on the schools and teachers and other policies. A section on the administrative structure of the public school system includes a somewhat frank discussion of some of the "mutual misconceptions" of unions and union leaders on the one hand and educators and the community on the other. Also included are some two dozen suggestions, based on experience, for increased cooperation ranging from how individual union members can learn firsthand about schools, through exchanging views with school people, helping with vocational training and guidance, helping supplement school programs and aiding in publicizing and financing school



A final section contains a good list of questions for unions to ask themselves and for schools to ask themselves on this subject of labor-school cooperation.

(32 pp. National Citizens Council for Better Schools, 9 E. 40th Street, New York 16, N.Y. Up to 25 copies, 25c each; the next 26-100 copies, 20c each; additional quantity rates.)

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Curriculum — what is being taught and how—should also be looked into. Are your children getting the knowledge that will help them in their adult lives? Are teachers so over-burdened with extra duties that they are unable to give proper attention to their classes?

The Central Labor Body delving into its public schools will also encounter other questions and issues which arise constantly and frequently. Many have simplified their methods of getting at the bottom of school problems by appointing informed teachers union leaders to their Education Committees. Is the current school project which is getting so much publicity in your local newspapers, good or bad? If your Education Committee is manned or chaired by teachers, you can get the answer quickly.

Teachers work inside the schools and know the score. They can give members of other unions the necessary insight into school problems in this era of education for the space age!

Parents have remained aloof from their schools and their teachers too long, and regrettably teachers for fear of administration retaliation have often not carried their problems to the public.

Cooperation—working together—by parents and teachers in the central labor body, will swing open closed doors and again make your public school the foundation of your community.

CARL J. MEGEL
President, American Federation of Teachers



ADEQUATELY FINANCED SCHOOLS REQUIRE FEDERAL AID

Expenditures for education have grown during the years in all areas, but quite often the growth has been too little to take care of the increased demands, as well as the fact that the financial support has always been deficient in providing an adequate program for all the youth of the nation.

In 1900, $137,687,746 went for teachers' salaries, as compared with $4,200,542,000 in 1954. The overall expenditures of government have been more rapid than this. $476 million was spent by the Federal Government in 1902 and this increased to $72,710 million in 1956. During the same period of time, the State expenditures went from $179 million to $18,390 million, and the local expenditures increased from $909 million to $21,374 million. **The one major difficulty has been that the expenditures for education have not increased at the same rate as other governmental expenditures.**

From a percentage point of view, the Federal Government has increased from 30 percent of the total expenditures in 1902 to 65 percent in 1956. The States remained about steady, going from 11 percent in 1902 to 16 percent in 1956, but the local sources declined greatly, from 58 percent in 1902 to 19 percent in 1956. The number of dollars increased for each, as noted above, but this is not reflected percentagewise. **This indicates that public education must look to the Federal Government for additional financial support since this is where the major amount of money is and there is little indication that the shift percentagewise will develop in the other direction.**

The Federal Government is the only party that can supply ample money to all sections of the Nation and thus insure an adequate foundation program for all youth.

This need for additional finance, as reflected in low teachers' salaries, is also true in the area of school buildings. Numbers again tell much of the story. In 1900, there was a total of 94,883 students who were graduated from American high schools. The total number of students increased to 1,318,700 in 1956. The total number of students is constantly increasing, hence the need for additional classrooms and buildings is growing, but the construction is falling behind and will continue to do so during the years ahead unless relief is forthcoming now.

It is neither wise nor desirable to reduce the school day in order to serve more students in the same building. Class size should not be raised above 25 either.

The most conservative estimate of space needs is very large. One often quoted is that there are 1,843,000 students in excess of normal capacity of the accessible publicly-owned school plants. Of this figure, 1,250,000 represents the elementary need, and 593,000, the secondary. Most school financial authorities say these figures are too conservative.

The need is also critical in higher education. In 1900, there were 22,173 men students and 5,237 women, or a total of 27,410. These increased in 1956 to 198,233 men and 110,578 women, or a total of 308,811. Expressed another way, using more recent data, there were 3,258,556 students enrolled full-time and part-time in degree-credit institutions during the fall of 1958.

Dr. James B. Conant has pointed out that there are about 21,000 high school districts, but only about 4,000 are large enough to have a minimum of 100 in each graduating class. Two-thirds of the school population is located in the 4,000 districts. Reorganization of school districts would thus place the existing teachers more wisely as to need and service and point to where the additional ones should be placed.

It is important to look to financial solutions too. **Education must be given higher priority in the Federal budget.** While there is little chance for tax reduction in the years ahead, there will be resistance to tax increases. There will probably be slight tax increases through the years, but public education must share more in the existing tax dollar now in order to receive the slight increases with the passing of time. Since American children are our first national resource, it is imperative that the Federal Government accept the additional responsibilities now in order to insure a sound and adequate foundation program for all American youth. **At least 10 percent of the current Federal budget must be channeled into such a program now and kept at this percentage for the years ahead if America is to have an adequate educational program.**

The American Federation of Teachers has shown deep concern in the area of taxation and finance during the past year through the following publications:

1. **SURVEY OF TEACHERS' SALARIES, SEPTEMBER, 1958. This study concerns school districts throughout the nation with a population of 10,000 or more. A new study is now being prepared.**
2. **FINANCIAL COMPARISON OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS BY STATES. This publication is concerned with four approaches to financial comparisons of public schools by states. These are: personal income per pupil enrolled in public schools; state support per pupil enrolled; per cent of school revenues provided by state support; and current expenditures for public education from state and local sources as a per cent of personal income payments.**
3. **RECIPROCITY IN TEACHER EDUCATION. This publication is a study of states that cooperate with other states in granting certificates to teachers to teach in states other than where they were trained, provided they are qualified for a certificate in their home state. The financial point involved here is the fact that thousands of teachers lose status on salary schedules through lack of reciprocity.**
4. **SCHOOL EXPENDITURE, TAX RATES, AND ASSESSED VALUATION. This publication is concerned with city expenditures for public education in relation to the total city budget in the largest cities in the nation. Tax rates and assessed valuations are noted.**
5. **SALARY DATA, PAID SCHOOL DAYS, AND FRINGE BENEFITS. This publication is a study of salaries in the largest cities in the nation, as well as the suburban area of Chicago. Fringe benefits and paid school days for teachers in these same districts are given.**
6. **HOW THE SCHOOL DOLLAR IS SPENT. This publication is concerned with the amount of the school dollar that is allocated to administration, instruction, maintenance of the plant, operation of the plant, other school services, transportation, and fixed charges.**
7. **EDUCATION AROUND THE WORLD. This study is the number of students being educated in the nations of the world and the types of education provided.**
8. **SURVEY OF RECENT EARNED DEGREES. The financial importance of this study is the classification of students in America as to section of country, sex of students in providing the proper types of education, and the population of public and private institutions.**
9. **PERSONNEL RELATIONS FOR TEACHERS. This publication is conceived to be a guide to teachers in their personnel relations with school districts, the patrons, and the administration. To the extent that there are many financial problems involved, it is appropriate here.**

DR. GEORGE S. REUTER, JR.
Research Director, American Federation of Teachers

EDUCATION FOR CIVIC LITERACY

How can the public school prepare our boys and girls to be the active participating citizens, without whom democratic rights will die by default? We assume that the school will train them in reading, writing and arithmetic. We know that it can help them to acquire vocational skills. But living is more than making a livelihood. Education in the public school must have a larger aim than saving our boys and girls from illiteracy. It should certainly give us individual competence to earn a living and enjoy life fully. Yet, without civic competence, it will fail to create healthy, happy human beings in a free society.

In the first place, the public school should explain its own origin. It should show why opportunity, even in the "land of opportunity," remained incomplete until all children had access to free public education. Further, the civic responsibilities of a free society can only be undertaken successfully if education is continually improved both in quality and quantity.

Children in their early days are unconsciously influenced by the home and by the school. Youngsters in large classes, ordered about by a teacher who must use the methods of the drill sergeant, are likely to acquire the twin attitudes of rote learning and unquestioning obedience. Youngsters who are encouraged to reason things out for themselves and to look at both sides of a question before they decide are more likely to become intelligent, discerning citizens. Guiding and encouraging the mental growth of the student tests the skill and devotion of the real teacher.

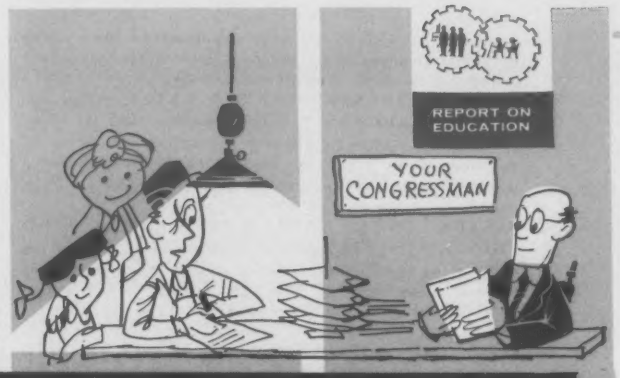
There is a view widely held, that argument, contradictory viewpoints and interpretation have no place in high school classes. Maybe, it is argued, they should be introduced only in college. However, our boys and girls even in high school can be shown that good citizens disagree about important principles and methods. They should be trained to get information on all sides of a question and so encouraged to develop their powers of judgment.

The good teacher respects the integrity of his pupils. He knows that the youngster who is merely taught to obey without explanations is likely to rebel or to become ideal material for authoritarian government later on. He knows that education is a cooperative effort. The tragedy of much of our education is that it creates a distaste for learning in many pupils; that often a reaction to dogmatic teaching is rejection, and sometimes this has disastrous consequences.

So far as it is practicable, the public school in our free society should provide exercise of the rights and responsibilities which the students will have to assume in adult life.

To paraphrase Cromwell, the good citizen must know what he stands for and love what he knows. And no section of our community has a greater stake than Labor in the continued growth and improvement of the public school along these lines.

MARK STARR
Education Director, I.L.G.W.U.



CONGRESS STALLS ON FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION

The first session of the 86th Congress followed closely in the footsteps of its predecessors: it failed to pass any general federal aid to education legislation.

Nor were the reasons for this failure any different than in other recent Congresses. On the one hand, the Administration was reluctant to propose an adequate program, and on the other, the majority party in Congress was reluctant to enact an inadequate program.

Although similar programs had been advocated before, President Eisenhower first proposed federal aid to education legislation in 1955. His program then was to help localities borrow money through bond issues, a worse than useless idea to which he reverted this year. The Democratic-controlled Congress ignored the Eisenhower recommendation and proposed, instead, a $1.6 billion grant program.

Pressure mounted until, in 1956, the White House decided to back a grant program of its own—1.25 billion dollars over five years.

When the Democratic program came to the House floor for a vote, a cynical maneuver was employed to defeat it. By supporting and adopting an amendment barring aid to racially segregated schools, the so-called "Powell amendment," opponents of federal aid were able to insure a solid Southern vote against the bill.

When the vote came on the whole bill, it was defeated 225 to 194. Ninety-six Republicans who had voted for the Powell amendment voted against the bill itself.

In 1957 the President again proposed a grant program—$1.3 billion over four years. The House Committee reported a compromise measure, calling for $1.5 billion over five years for school construction.

History repeated itself when this measure came to the House floor. Powell was not present for the debate, so Rep. Wainwright (R-N.Y.) offered an anti-segregation amendment, which was adopted on a teller vote, 136 to 105.

At this point, liberal House Democrats, hoping to avoid a total defeat, quickly agreed to support an amendment substituting the President's original bill for the committee compromise, without a Powell-type amendment.

Before this move could be made, however, Rep. Howard Smith (D-Va.), following a huddle on the floor with Minority Leader Charles Halleck (R-Ind.), moved to strike the enacting clause from the bill. The motion carried, 208 to 203, and the bill was dead.

Wainwright, who had offered the anti-segregation rider, voted with 97 Democrats and 111 Republicans to kill the bill. He had also voted to kill the 1956 measure.

This year, President Eisenhower backed off from his previous grant programs, and requested only a scheme to help localities float bond issues for construction. Democrats countered with a multi-billion dollar program of grants for school construction and teachers' salaries.

When the Congress adjourned in September, some progress had been made. Stalled in the House Rules Committee was a bill reported by the Education Committee, H.R. 22. A modified version of the Metcalf (D-Mont.) bill, it calls for $4.4 billion in grants over the next four years. In August, the Senate Education Subcommittee unanimously approved a $1 billion, two-year grant program for construction only.

The need for federal aid to education remains critical. The second session of the 86th Congress, if it is to make for itself a responsible record, must pass a federal aid bill. You can help by getting your local or central body to make a contact with your area Congressman and Senators. Labor needs to stress the importance of this legislation at the local level. You can help as an individual by writing or talking to your Congressman about this issue NOW, before the new session starts and all the other pressures are put upon them.





EXCERPTS FROM THE AFL-CIO 1959 CONVENTION EDUCATION RESOLUTION

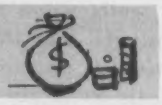
In all of the more than 130 years during which American trade unions have supported the idea of a free, universal, educational system, never have the schools faced a greater crisis. The situation is so serious that a question arises as to the basic policy to be followed. The AFL-CIO urges the American people to decide.

The fundamental issue is whether we want and will invest in an educational system adequate to the unprecedented demands of the Space Age or whether what remains of our school system will be allowed to continue its rapid deterioration.

The United States Office of Education has just released the report of the Official U. S. Education Mission to the U.S.S.R. The Mission, headed by U. S. Commissioner of Education Lawrence G. Derthick, reported that the Russians are spending about 10 to 15 per cent of their budget on education, as against our 5 per cent. The report states wisely: "We cannot afford to be apathetic about educational developments in the U.S.S.R. Clearly the Soviet Union is bent on overtaking and surpassing us as a world power."

The world's leading democracy, dedicated to the self-determination and self-rule of peoples everywhere, spends only a relative pittance on the educational system which must provide most of its youth with the understanding necessary to rule themselves.

TEACHERS' SALARIES



The first step in re-establishing in the public mind in the United States the importance of the teacher is a step which requires government leadership. That step is to pay our teachers a fair salary.

At the beginning of the 1957-58 school year, according to the United States Office of Education, we had 91,200 full-time teachers in our schools on an "emergency" basis, as the holders of substandard certificates. Since then the situation has changed—for the worse. When the 1958-59 school year began, we had 92,337 "teachers" with inadequate preparation.

The figures speak with crystal clarity as to why more qualified young people are not attracted to teaching. For the school year 1956-57, the median salary of all beginning teachers was $3,600. The average teacher's salary in the United States, for the year 1957-58, was only $4,520.

These underpaid teachers last school year instructed 1,148,000 more children than they did during the preceding academic year. Inevitably, the question arises as to whether we are exploiting our teachers or our children, or both.

Less than 15 per cent of the men between 35 to 54 years of age in the United States who have completed college earn as little as $4,000, according to the U. S. Bureau of the Census (1956). This indicates how far below average our teachers' incomes are.

The AFL-CIO heartily endorses the provision of Section 6 of the Murray-Metcalf School Support Act of 1959 for grants to the states to be used for teachers' salaries. This is a vitally important step forward in discharge of the national government's obligation in respect to this national problem and an aid in raising our teachers to the honored place in the community they deserve.

We approve the necessary safeguard of Section 8 that the federal grants not be used as an excuse to reduce the states' school effort or as a substitute for the states' essential effort.

CLASSROOM SHORTAGES



The second step in making the public aware of the educational deficiencies in America is to call attention to the soaring enrollments in our elementary and secondary schools and the inadequate facilities in which these children are being taught.

There are two ways in which we can obtain adequate school buildings for our children. The first is by legislation growing out of disaster. This is how we obtained much of the mine safety legislation in this country. The second is by legislation before the disaster occurs. This takes positive government leadership.

The United States Office of Education reported that as of September, one year ago, public school enrollment was 1,843,000 over the normal classroom capacity. Five and 4/10 per cent of our total enrollment is in excess of classroom capacity. The states reported that in September 1958, we needed 65,300 classrooms just to house the overflow, and an additional 75,200 classrooms to replace facilities which are obsolete or otherwise unsatisfactory. Thus, for last school year we needed at least 140,500 additional instruction rooms.

In view of the acute shortage of classrooms over the nation, we urge enactment of the proposed School Support Act of 1959 and its Section 5 provision for grants to the states for school construction. We note with approval that the funds will be granted to give priority to the school districts with the gravest need and which are least able to finance their needed additions.

The proposed authorized appropriations of about $4 billion over four years are inadequate in view of the paramount needs noted by the bill and the critical urgency of those needs; however, it is the best bill pending. We in the AFL-CIO believe we can afford to educate our children properly. It is unthinkable that anyone would seriously deny the need at this late date. We hold that America can afford all that it needs.

SCHOLARSHIPS—THE NEXT STEP



The third area of importance in education is the necessity for a federally financed scholarship program on as broad a scale as the financial assistance provided to veterans of World War II and the Korean conflict.

Recent surveys show that nearly 100,000 students in the top quarter of their graduating classes do not go to college because of lack of funds. Can our country afford not to develop the abilities and talents of these students?

We support federal grants to qualified candidates, to study whatever courses they choose at whatever approved institution they pick. Experience with the G. I. Bill of Rights demonstrated the unparalleled value of a program on this basis.

The AFL-CIO has urged Congress to enact a program of federal scholarships for competent high school graduates, with each grantee attending the accredited college or university of his or her choice. We oppose suggestions that a candidate must pass either a "need" test or a "means" test, just as we oppose any such provisions in social security, the workmen's compensation program or fire protection.

A truly crippling amendment, to the AFL-CIO, would be one restricting the scholarship program to those studying in the fields of current interest to the government. Whatever any given national Administration may feel has priority, we do not believe that society's long-term interest dictates such a restriction. . . . We urge that moral values, the arts, humanities, the learned professions, teaching, all deserve as much consideration.



1829

"Public funds should be appropriated to the purposes of education, upon a regular system, that shall ensure the opportunity to every individual of obtaining a competent education before he shall have arrived at the age of maturity."

Adopted by 3000 mechanics and workingmen, December 29, 1829. New York, N. Y.





1887

"The American Federation of Labor recommends to the law makers of this country the enactment of compulsory education laws in the different states of the Union whereby parents will be compelled to send their children to school, so as to enable them to acquire an education fitting them to become intelligent and important factors in the regulation of the laws and the system of government under which they live; and, furthermore, that the science of government shall be taught in every public school in the United States."

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR CONVENTION, 1887
Baltimore, Maryland



1938

"This convention approves the principle of federal aid for schools and the program laid down by the President's Advisory Committee on Education."

CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS CONVENTION, 1938
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

1959



"The Third Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, in view of the unparalleled threat to the free world which can only be met by a vastly expanded and improved American educational effort, calls upon members and affiliates, state and local governments, and the Congress to consider this question of education as parmount and urgent.

"We support a realistic program of federal aid for fair teachers' salaries.

"We support a realistic program of federal aid to education to relieve the dangerous classroom shortage.

"We support a broad program of federally-financed scholarships for higher education of our most able young people to study the courses of their choice in the institution of their choosing.

"We support expanded and improved programs of apprenticeship and vocational education appropriate to the needs of a changing technology.

"We urge the Congress and the Executive to bend every reasonable and proper effort to bring about speedy compliance with the Supreme Court announcement that equal educational opportunity does not permit racial segregation."

AFL-CIO CONVENTION, 1959
San Francisco, California

LABOR SUPPORTS BETTER EDUCATION · *Join Us Today!*

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
George Meany, President — Wm. F. Schnitzler, Secretary-Treasurer
815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

17 17

Printed in U.S.A.

A leading spokesman for organized labor describes what unions want—and don't want—from hospitals

The case for unionization of hospital workers

Nelson H. Cruikshank

HOSPITAL administrators currently are laboring with the thorny problem of whether or not their employes should be represented by unions in collective bargaining.

Actually, the decision is not theirs. It is one which can, should and is being made by the workers themselves.

Once the majority of a hospital's employes decide they want a union, the conscientious administrator — whether or not he agrees with the decision — has no honorable alternative but to negotiate in good faith with the chosen representatives of his workers.

And once the basic step of union recognition has been achieved, the union has no honorable alternative but to refrain — so long as methods for resolving differences are provided — from any action which would impair in any way the hospital's humanitarian mission in caring for the sick and injured.

There is no law* that requires a private, nonprofit hospital to engage in collective bargaining.

But neither is there any law which forbids it.

At issue is nothing more or less than the moral code by which most of us try to live. To undergird this moral code, there is the tremendous influence of community opinion which plays such a major role in the practical application of union-management relations — and neither side can truly afford the luxury of ignoring or defying the power of public opinion.

It is my hope that hospital management will approach the inevitable age of collective bargaining with a feeling that it is a logical and desirable development in an era of group communication, rather than with a feeling that organized labor has a pistol at its head.

When unions were struggling over the years to win recognition from private industry, it always came as a shock to the average employer to discover that his employes really wanted union representation.

The industrialist liked to believe, and often managed to convince himself, if no one else, that he knew each of his employe's needs and interests; and that a union would only interpose some shadowy "outsider" between his benevolent management and the members of his "one big family," even though that "family" often numbered hundreds of thousands.

The hospital administrator who imagines he can maintain effective communication with his employes on an individual "my-door-is-always-open" basis lives in a dream world. He may find it a pleasant world, while it lasts, but not real.

The simple fact, whether we like it or not, is that we do deal with each other through organizations and groups. Hospitals do in fund raising, and they do in arranging for an insured basis of payment for care.

Dealing with employes through the organization of their own choosing is another facet of the group pattern.

"Collective bargaining," writes President Ray Amberg of the American Hospital Association in the *A.H.A. Journal*, "has arisen as a desire for a democratic method to solve the problems of employer-employe relations principally due to the lack of proper functioning of the direct employer-employe method."

He adds that hospitals "no longer possess the right" to deny workers the "privilege" of collective bargaining.

No Guarantee Against Ulcers

Naturally, collective bargaining will not solve all of a hospital's personnel problems, nor will it keep personnel directors from getting ulcers. Despite the necessary ingredients of sincerity and good faith on both sides, there will be strong differences of opinion and frayed tempers before agreement is reached. But there will exist — and this is important — a forum for resolving these differences. As any experienced personnel director can attest, responsible unions provide a safety valve which helps to settle legitimate grievances promptly, weed out the irrational gripes, and clear up honest misunderstandings.

"But hospitals are different!"

So goes the arguments of those who assert that unions have no place in a hospital because every job, no matter how lowly, is essential to the providing of vital services to the sick.

Isn't this argument an application of a double standard?

No administrator would expect the physician or surgeon to work for less than the going rate in his profession,

Nelson H. Cruikshank is director of the Department of Social Security for the A.F.L.-C.I.O.

*That is, no federal law. A few states have laws requiring collective bargaining for hospitals.

Reprinted from The MODERN HOSPITAL, *July 1959*

yet too often they tell the $35 a week elevator operator, attendant or laundry worker, in effect: "Your services are so essential you should work for less money and fewer benefits than persons doing less important work in less socially useful industries."

While hospitals are primarily humanitarian, some aspects of their operations are purely business in character.

As I read advertisements in hospital and medical journals – especially when I note prices – I see no evidence that business concerns which sell to hospitals operate on a humanitarian basis. I can't imagine an administrator appealing to an equipment manufacturer or drug concern to sell his products to the hospital below cost because the hospital is a humanitarian institution.

It is equally true that some hospital jobs are among the essential business operations of the institution. This is nonetheless true simply because the law says a hospital is not "engaged in commerce."

It is a tragic thing when a person works at a job simply because he has to earn a living, and the job has no meaning beyond the weekly pay check. Every job should have meaning and significance in terms of its economic and social contribution, whether in a hospital or a button factory.

But the effort to instill in the worker's mind a sense of "participation" in a socially useful undertaking will have a hollow ring as long as it is offered as a substitute for decent wages and for working conditions that recognize the individual's true worth and dignity.

The emotional heart of the argument against union recognition lies in the belief that this will somehow make strikes against hospitals "inevitable."

As a matter of fact, they are more likely to be inevitable if unions are not recognized – for then there will be no machinery for workers to bring their problems and proposals to management through their chosen representatives.

Ironically, the much publicized New York hospital strike, which pulled the whole discussion of unions in hospitals out of the academic field and into the headlines, came about solely because of failure to recognize a union – a union which has repeatedly declared its willingness, if recognized, to sign a binding no-strike agreement.

At two hospitals which recognized the union and accepted the Twentieth Century concept of employer-employe relations, there has been no strike.

And Dr. J. A. Katzive, executive director of Maimonides Hospital in Brooklyn, which has had a contract with the union for 10 years, has declared: "We've had absolutely no problems at all. Relations with the union have been entirely satisfactory."

Even in the tension and bitterness which inevitably resulted from the refusal of the other hospitals to sit down and talk with the union, the strikers have made it clear they are available for emergency duty in any case involving a patient's health.

The same organized labor movement which unites so solidly in support of the right of hospital workers to union representation would be equally united in condemning any union which bypassed mediation or arbitration and violated a no-strike pledge.

Because conflict makes news, hospital administrators with no firsthand knowledge get a distorted picture of labor from the newspaper headlines.

But when purely emotional issues are put aside, the basic argument against union recognition becomes a dollars-and-cents issue.

Granted, says the hospital administrator, many of our employes are poorly paid. We can't afford any more money. If his is a voluntary hospital he will point to the dependence on fund drives to close the gap between revenues and expenses.

Union organization – let's face it – will increase wages and, consequently, costs of hospital care.

Inevitable Wage Increases

Some wage increases are inevitable, union or no union. As Dr. Russell A. Nelson, director of Johns Hopkins Hospital, has said: "That involuntary philanthropist, the hospital employe, has apparently rebelled at his traditional role of subsidizing hospitals. Today he will and does leave us for the office and factory if we offer him no more than the opportunity to contribute his services to a charitable institution at a reduced rate."

If the cost of running a hospital goes up because it starts paying decent wages, this is one of the facts of life – both for the administrator and the community at large.

That community includes the other organized workers, whose trade union movement has been a leader in developing the broad base of community support necessary to sustain the many worth-while charitable undertakings.

Organized labor has always stood ready to do its share. But isn't it asking too much to approach labor for support at the same time that the humanitarian institutions are fighting the very foundation of trade unionism – recognition and collective bargaining – with the same tired arguments used by the industrialists of yesteryear?

Organized labor often speaks of "democracy in the workplace." To its millions of members, this phrase can be translated to mean a voice in working conditions and a sense of human dignity and respect on the job. Hospital employes can hardly be blamed if they, too, aspire toward these objectives.

It is hard to believe that any carefully considered "principle" can serve to deny these hospital employes the same rights presently enjoyed by millions of other American workers.

No Automatic Right To Strike

I would reiterate that the right to a voice in the conditions of employment does not automatically bring with it the right to strike. It does mean, however, the recognition by a hospital of the union of its employes; and it does mean that the administrator will meet with the union and resolve worker problems.

Hospital workers, it seems to me, have a right to seek such a relationship as the legitimate alternative to what otherwise would be a hat-in-hand approach at the open door of the administrator's office.

To say otherwise is to support the contention that hospital workers are somehow "different" – that in the name of dedication, they must forsake decent working conditions for themselves, and decent living conditions for their families.

If workers are to be dedicated to the institution where they are employed, this dedication cannot be used solely as a symbol of sacrifice. It must bring with it some advantages.

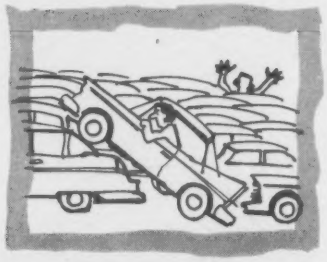
To tell today's hospital worker that he must be denied the opportunity to bargain collectively for these economic and social advantages is to inform him that he is a second-class – although dedicated – citizen. ■

CHECK LIST FOR MEETING PLACES



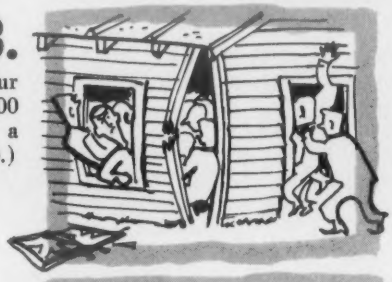
1.

Is the hall in a nice building located where the members want it? (Some prefer the hall downtown near center of activities, some like it better near the plant.)



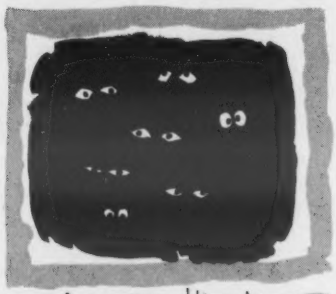
2.

Is there adequate parking close to the building?



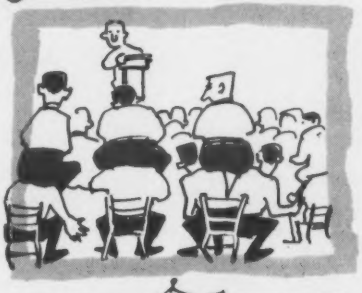
3.

Is your hall big enough to hold your entire membership? (You can't expect 500 members to come to a meeting in a room big enough for only 100.)



4.

Is the hall well-lighted and freshly painted with a bright shade of paint?



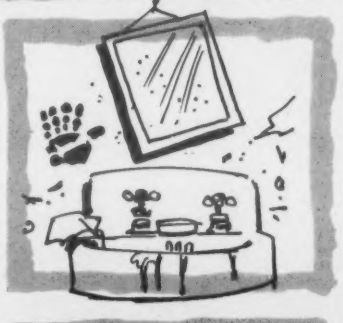
5.

Are there enough chairs to go around or too many? (For the sake of a good meeting, chairs should be centered in front of presiding officers. Don't leave extra chairs scattered around the room—especially in the back of the room.)



6.

Do you have a committee responsible for seeing that the hall is clean and ready for each meeting—with floors swept, chairs straightened and dusted, ash trays emptied, posters up, windows cleaned?



7.

Are the rest rooms kept clean?



8.

Does your hall have good ventilation for summer meetings, and is it warm enough in the winter? Does it have adequate fire protection?



9.

Is your hall noisy?



10.

Do you have a table for the latest union pamphlets, a bulletin board for notices, and a blackboard?

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17 17
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HOW TO ORGANIZE A

CREDIT UNION



Why don't you have a credit union in your local? Chances are it's for one of three reasons:

1. *Members* of your union don't realize how much it will help them.

2. *Officers* of the union don't realize how many of their members have never learned how to save, can't get low cost credit, or are paying outrageous rates on installment contracts.

3. *Both* figure it would take a lot of work to start a credit union so no one takes the initiative.

Actually, it's *easy* to start and operate a credit union. No special skills are needed. Ordinary people soon learn how to do it, and you can get expert help without any cost or obligation.

And apart from their general need for low-cost credit, union members particularly need a source of cheap credit during critical periods such as in strike situations or layoffs when members' credit can become strained enormously.

WHAT'S A CREDIT UNION?

Basically, a credit union is simply a financial self-help group, formed by people who already have a common bond, for two purposes: 1) encouraging saving; 2) providing a source of low-cost credit for the members.

Membership is restricted to those who share the common bond. Members' savings are actually shares in the credit union. These shares earn regular dividends, usually about 3% to 4% per annum. Shares may be withdrawn in a way similar to other types of savings accounts.



Interest on loans is kept as low as possible. The maximum allowed by law is 1% per month on the unpaid balance. Interest on a $100 loan repaid in equal monthly installments in a year would be approximately $6.50. Some credit unions also refund part of the interest, to make the cost even less.

Credit unions can afford to make loans at this low price and still pay sufficient dividends to attract the capital necessary to operate because they are nonprofit, voluntary groups dealing only with their members and not the general public.

All officers serve without pay, with the exception of the treasurer who may be paid if the credit union is large enough. Larger credit unions also hire a full-time staff.

Some of the Ways Credit Unions Help Union Members

1. **Make it easier to save regularly.**
2. **Teach thrift and money management.**
3. **Help members get out of debt.**
4. **Provide low cost credit for good purposes.**
5. **Most credit unions provide insurance which pays off the insured borrower's loan in case of death or total and permanent disability, at no additional charge to member.**
6. **Most credit unions also provide Life Savings insurance which can add up to $2,000 in insurance to the shares of members. Also provided at no extra cost.**
7. **Offer free counseling on family money matters.**
8. **Provide quick service in emergencies.**
9. **Give democratic control of money to the group, for their mutual benefit.**



Because they deal only with a select group of people who usually are well known to one another, they pay no investigation fees, and members have a much better repayment record than borrowers from banks and loan companies. In a word, credit unions aim for efficient operation and maximum service to the members, at the lowest cost.

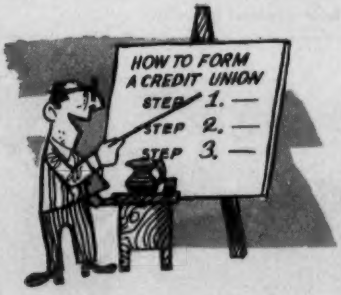
Credit unions are democratic too. Each member has one vote, no matter how many shares he has.

HOW TO ORGANIZE IN YOUR LOCAL

With a little work your local can organize and operate a successful credit union. Here is a step-by-step outline to show you how you can get started.

1. First of all, get others interested. Talk it up. Remember, a credit union is an association of people—not one man's pet project.

2. Next, avail yourself right at the beginning of the experienced help and advice which is yours for the asking. With more than 25,000 credit unions in operation, there's plenty of help to be had. Best source is your Credit Union League, a nonprofit association of credit unions in your state dedicated to furthering the interests of credit unions. The league will probably send out an experienced fieldman who will work with you closely until you're firmly on your feet. There's no charge or obligation when you ask the league for help. You also



can talk to the leaders in other local unions that already have a credit union. Get one of them to address a meeting on how it benefited the members of his local.

3. The league fieldman will ask you to call together key people from your local. He'll help you explain the credit union idea, answer any questions that come up. If the group decides it wants a credit union, he'll help you apply for a government charter.

Who may belong?

Often a member of a local union will get a credit union started in the shop where he works. Although the union

Member's Misfortune Gets a Credit Union Started

The plight of a Bakery Workers member who in rapid succession had a daughter struck by a hit and run driver, other children hospitalized by pneumonia and became too sick to work himself was the spur to the organization of the Bakery Credit Union in Little Rock, Arkansas.

Knowing that the union collection to help the family was not the whole answer, J. Garner Reynolds, the local's secretary-treasurer moved on the credit union idea. The result: in less than a year over 200 credit union members (out of 500 eligible people), assets over $16,000, payroll deductions to the credit union averaging $5 per week per member, 120 loans outstanding and no losses on loans.

Reynolds not only enlisted the cooperation of the manager of the Arkansas Credit Union League in organizing the credit union, he also got the Bakery Employers Labor Council to agree to payroll deduction as a method of saving and paying off loans. He believes a primary interest in the cooperative loan organization was based on its regular savings feature. "It's easier to save off the top of a paycheck than to find something left at the end of the week," says Reynolds. Members also like the dollar-for-dollar life insurance that comes with their savings accounts in this credit union, he adds.

The credit union in this case is not only a service to members. It also helps share the expenses of the local union office.

will carry the ball in getting it underway, the organizers will invite all who work in the shop to join when its time to formally set up the organization. Credit union leaders encourage this: not only is it good public relations for the union—but it makes a better credit union too.

Every credit union is chartered by the government, either state or federal depending on the locality. Usually seven or more prospective members are required to sign the application. Each of them will be asked to invest a small amount, generally $5. When your credit union is in operation, this money will be credited to their share savings accounts. The government charter fee is small—about $10.

Together with the charter application, you'll need to file a set of by-laws containing your credit union's operating procedures. The league fieldman will supply you with a model set of by-laws.

The league fieldman will help you through the next steps which include setting up a committee to nominate officers and members of the credit committee and supervisory committee, and setting up an organizational meeting.

It's a good idea to get as many people eligible for membership in the new credit union as possible to the organizational meeting. The principles, purposes, and benefits of a credit union will be explained. Officers will be elected, and an open meeting of the new board of directors will be held.

At this first board meeting your new organization takes action on such things as applying for a bond for the treasurer, approving membership applications, opening the books of the credit union, etc. When the meeting is finished your credit union is in operation!

All of us tend to be cautious where our pocketbooks are concerned. Don't be surprised if all your potential members don't stampede to sign up in the first couple of months. To many, credit unions are still a new idea. An active, imaginative education committee can make a real difference in getting members to join and understand how the credit union can help them.

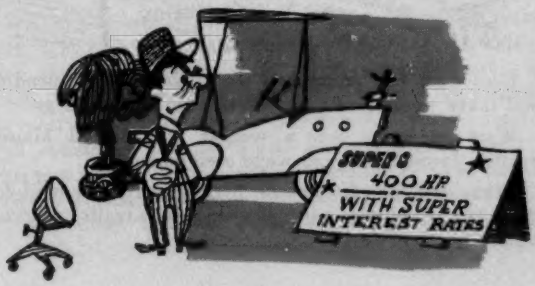
And as your assets grow, so will your ability to make loans. It's there where union members are often taken for a ride by loan sharks, finance companies and appliance dealers. Low-cost loans are the purpose of a credit union. The number of loans stamped "approved" by your credit committee is one of the yardsticks of the kind of service your credit union is giving its members.

During the first year of operation, it's inevitable that your officers will come up against problems. But remember you will always be able to get experienced help from other credit unions in your area, from your league, or from the Credit Union National Association (CUNA), an international, nonprofit association of credit unions throughout the world. It's a movement made up of people who are out to prove that the brotherhood of man is a practical idea.

For further information on organizing and operating a credit union, write The Credit Union National Association, Madison 1, Wisconsin.

AFL-CIO PAMPHLET

"Safeguarding Labor's Dollar," by Leo Perlis, AFL-CIO publication No. 85, is now available, in reasonable quantities, free of charge from the AFL-CIO Publications Department. The four-page leaflet describes the new program on consumer counseling which will be carried out through the AFL-CIO Community Services Activities in cooperation with the Union Label and Service Trades Department, AFL-CIO. The leaflet will be useful to local unions interested in starting a program in consumer counseling.



AFL-CIO STARTS CONSUMER COUNSELING PROGRAM

HOW TO GET MAXIMUM SPENDING POWER AND QUALITY OUT OF EVERY DOLLAR YOU EARN



Ever wish you could find the leaks in your spending and make your money go where you want it to go?

Want to learn how a worker can defend himself against garnishment and wage assignment?

Often wonder whether the higher price you paid for that rug, appliance or television set really reflected higher quality?

At any time could you have used a check list of easy tests to determine the quality of a used car?

Did you know that lower grades of food offer the same and sometimes better nourishment than expensive fancy grades?

Do you understand why home prepared foods are almost invariably cheaper than partially or wholly prepared purchased foods?

What does the union label actually represent?

These are just a handful of the consumer questions being answered daily through labor's new consumer effort under way in scores of communities across the country.

Conferences, clinics and information courses—all geared to protecting the hard-earned dollar of the American worker—make up the newly-launched consumer counselling program of the AFL-CIO Community Service Activities in cooperation with the Union Label and Service Trades Department, AFL-CIO.

The project represents the first time a major consumer effort has been launched on a mass scale across the nation.

Basically, the program is one of information. Courses patterned after the union counselling plan are being given for union members. Conferences are being held on consumer problems. Consumer clinics are being conducted in union headquarters and elsewhere. All of these are open to union members and their spouses.

The consumer classes are two-hour sessions held over eight to twelve weeks. Course topics include the union label and the consumer; how to set up and operate a family budget plan; the general techniques of buying the most for your money; borrowing money and credit; legal assistance and protection for consumers; health; insurance; and group buying. Selection of these topics followed intensive study of such authoritative lists as the national Better Business Bureau's top ten classifications of public inquiry and complaint.

The consumer clinics are envisioned as sources of direct aid to the consumer. A panel of experts will conduct each clinic which will be open to any interested person.

Directly upon announcement early this year of the details of the consumer program, community services committees of local unions, CSA staff and volunteers swung into action. Among the cities now tackling consumer problems are Columbus, Ohio; Boston, Mass.; Des Moines, Iowa; Milwaukee, Wis.; Minneapolis, Minn., and Los Angeles, Calif.

The state of Wisconsin has offered further evidence of labor's concern in the consumer field. The state AFL-CIO has had a bill introduced in the legislature calling for creation of an office of Consumer Counsel to be appointed by the Governor.

Meanwhile, the national CSA office in New York City is under way with demonstration projects in consumer counselling in six test cities—Bridgeport, Conn.; New Haven, Conn.; Newark, N. J.; Trenton, N. J.; Utica, N. Y.; and New York City. Every phase of the new program is being tested and studied with full reports scheduled to be issued later this year.

Among the first cities to inaugurate a full-scale consumer information course was Columbus, Ohio, where the Federation of Labor and CIO Council set up a 10-session course running from April through June. More than 100 union members and their wives or husbands turned out for the opening session held in the City Council's chambers. Evidence of the city's interest in the program was seen in the fact that the opening address was delivered by the mayor of Columbus. Subsequent sessions in Columbus will cover subjects ranging from family meal planning and small loans to auto insurance and medical costs.

Currently, the AFL-CIO Community Service Activities national office at 9 East 40th Street in New York City has detailed course outlines available for use by local community services committees or other labor bodies desiring to initiate consumer information programs.

The course outline covers 10 sessions—each session on a broad consumer topic. For example, one of the sessions sets forth specific buying techniques such as the need for comparison shopping, buying in bulk, timing your buying to secure lowest prices and buying on the basis of grade standards and labels. The outline for each session concludes with suggested methods of presenting the material and a listing of films and literature available on the specific topic.

One of the most significant areas included in the course centers on legal assistance and protection for the consumer. Not only laws governing such matters as weights and measures, insurance, food and beverages, sanitation and standards, but also the legal aspects of wage assignments and garnishments are considered.

The importance of this phase of consumer information was highlighted recently by Leo Perlis, CSA director, who stated: "While the great majority of American businesses are ethical, millions of dollars are wasted annually because of the unscrupulous tactics of a minority."

Of the overall consumer program, the CSA director stated: "The need for consumer counselling is great. There can be no question that, perhaps more than any other CSA program, consumer counselling can be of value to every AFL-CIO family."

"Through serving AFL-CIO members, we will be serving the broader community," he added.

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PUBLICATION NO. 100

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND
CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

GEORGE MEANY, *President*

WM. F. SCHNITZLER, *Secretary-Treasurer*

Washington 6, D. C.
815—16th Street, N.W.

Credit Union Saves Member $105

Elmer L. Suppus, a member of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers in Los Angeles, recently saved himself $105.46 simply by coming to his union's credit union.

Elmer is a dishwasher. Recently, his car began to groan loudly. He intended only to have a rebuilt motor installed at the advertised price of $129, but by the time the overhaul was finished, Elmer found his bill had more than doubled to the grand total of $260.79.

He didn't have that much money. The garage man sympathized and said he would see if he could get the bill financed so Elmer could repay it in monthly installments.

The papers were drawn up and Elmer agreed to make the payments of $25 a month.

Then came the real blow:

He received through the mail a payment book from a finance company calling for $25 a month for 15 months. He did some figuring.

Fifteen payments at $25 each month meant he would repay a total of $382.50 for a loan of $260.79.

The interest, he figured, would be $121.71, and the rate of interest would be almost 50 per cent.

Elmer Suppus went to his credit union office. "I know I was foolish to get myself into this kind of jam," he said, "but is there anything you can do to get me out?"

There was.

The credit union checked with the garageman and arranged to have the loan company papers cancelled entirely.

Then the credit union made a personal loan to Elmer Suppus to take care of the bill.

Under terms of the credit union loan, Elmer will pay $16.25 interest, as compared to $121.71 for the deal with the commercial loan agency, a net saving to Elmer Suppus of $105.46.

"I'm not only paying off my credit union loan, but I'm also building up a small savings account in the Credit Union," Elmer reports happily.

"I had to learn the hard way that you really pay through the nose when you deal with one of those loan sharks."

AMERICA'S RESPONSIBILITY

FOR THE

PRESERVATION OF HUMAN FREEDOM

by AFL-CIO President

GEORGE MEANY

This pamphlet is based on an address by AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany on Aug. 31, 1959 at the 60th national convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars at Los Angeles, Calif. The VFW presented Mr. Meany with its first gold Americanism award at the convention.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND
CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
815 16th St. N.W. Washington 6, D. C.

GEORGE MEANY, President
WM. F. SCHNITZLER, Secretary-Treasurer

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What is Americanism? What is the most valuable thing in our life as Americans? To American labor, Americanism is a way of life based on human values, on the right to worship God in the way we please, on men not on money, on character and capacity and not on color, on opportunity not on origin, on aspiration rather than on acquisition. We look upon our democracy not only as a heritage—but also in part at least as our own achievement, with a continuing responsibility upon *all* Americans to constantly work for the improvement of our democratic institutions. Americanism cannot be the monopoly of any organization, movement or individual.

Much of our national strength is rooted in the diverse backgrounds of our people. If we go back far enough, we are all foreigners. Whether we came via Plymouth Rock, or Ellis Island, or as refugees from Communist-enslaved Hungary, we were impelled by a yearning for freedom, dignity, opportunity for creativeness and growth and not only by a hope for material improvement. This common faith, this common hope, has welded us into one nation of many peoples.

We dare not take our liberties and our national security for granted. Never, for a moment, can we take our eyes off the reality of our times. The aggressor we face is ruthless and fully armed with the deadliest modern weapons.

The world crisis has made us more aware of the weaknesses and shortcomings of our democracy. The totalitarian despots are counting on these weaknesses to help them triumph. We must not slacken our efforts to overcome such weaknesses as racialism, discrimination, recurring economic recessions, unemployment and poverty. Failure to overcome these weaknesses would jeopardize our democracy.

We of American labor have the greatest faith in the effectiveness of democratic institutions and processes as instruments for solving economic

problems and furthering happiness in the daily lives of our people.

Political democracy cannot grow or even continue for long without our economy prospering and growing. Economic democracy must go hand-in-hand with political democracy. Theodore Roosevelt once put the problem this way: "If democracy is to mean the happiness and contentment its founders intended for all Americans, we must pass prosperity around."

Defending Democracy

Our democracy cannot be defended successfully by military force alone. Social and economic security is indispensable to national security. Denial of industrial freedom and social and economic insecurity are enemies of democracy within our lines. We must overcome these enemies from *within* in order to take the full moral and political offensive against our enemies from *without*. Communism, Fascism, Falangism, and every other type of tyranny thrive on social maladjustment and economic insecurity.

If we look at Americanism in a practical sense, and not as a platitude, then we will see clearly that one of the most vital and indispensable expressions of American democracy is the labor union. I say this with a full realization of the errors and weaknesses of our movement. The right of workers to join one with another for the purpose of collectively securing a fair share of the wealth created under our American system is a basic right without which there would be no protection for workers against economic exploitation.

American business has learned quite well to adapt itself to technological change. But, unfortunately, quite a few business men still refuse to adapt themselves to social change and progress. Failure in this respect can only lead to a bankruptcy even more costly than that which would result from refusal to adapt business to technological change.

On a number of recent occasions, the Soviet dictator, Mr. Khrushchev, has said that his totali-

tarian system is new and young and that the democracy we in America cherish is old. He has bragged that Soviet Communism is the wave of the future and that the future belongs to his slave empire. In the role of a prophet, Khrushchev reminds us of Hitler who often boasted that his Nazi empire would last 1,000 years. Need we remind the Communist dictator about what happened to Hitler and his prophecy?

Dangerous Illusions

Khrushchev knows his tyranny, but he certainly does not know his history. Historically speaking, the democracy which our country represents is new and young. Democracy is the most forward-looking, and advanced system of human relationships—being based on human dignity, equality, opportunity and justice. The tyranny that Moscow represents is old. It is totalitarian slavery. The only thing really new about Soviet tyranny is its masquerading a movement for profound social reform and its utilization of modern technology and industry for bolstering its despotism. Khrushchev's Communism is but another reactionary and dreadful episode in the long history of man's uphill struggle for dignity, decency, and democracy.

In recent weeks, there has been much talk emphasizing America's desire for "peace and friendship" with the Russian people. There never was any question about the American people being genuinely friendly towards the Russian and the other Soviet peoples. We want "peace and friendship" with the Russian and the other enslaved peoples of the Soviet Empire. However, *the issue in the world today is not "peace and friendship" but peace and freedom.* This is the issue at the heart of the world crisis. It is not an issue merely dividing the Kremlin from the White House or the Moscow regime from the American people. It divides the Moscow regime from its own people. In a world of peace and freedom, there would be no problem of friendship between nations. But in a world where peace can be dictated by blackmail or the

ballistic missiles of despotism, there can be no real friendship, there can be no freedom, and there can be no peace—unless it is the peace of the prison or the peace of the graveyard.

But military attack is not the only danger our country faces today. We must also guard against dangerous illusions about our enemy and his hypocritical pretensions.

Wishful thinking has led some to delude themselves into believing that the Communist dictators are hostile to America because they do not know enough about our country and have some misconceptions about our democratic way of life and the loyalty of our people to our free institutions. Therefore, say these self-deluded: let the Communist dictators come to our land as our guests, let them see for themselves the truth about our country and they will lose their misconceptions. Then, they will become friendly to us, world tension will be lessened, and the danger of war will be ended. It is all so simple.

No illusion could be more dangerous. The Soviet rulers have unlimited access to the facts about life in our country. They have the most extensive and effective intelligence espionage service in the world. Very likely, the Moscow dictators are far better informed in a detailed sense about our defense system, our economy, our labor unions and our political parties than the heads of our government are about what goes on in the Kremlin.

It is not so much ignorance or misconception of our democratic way of life which has prompted Stalin and Khrushchev to wage cold war against us and to threaten humanity with atomic destruction. In fact, the more Khrushchev and his Communist regime know and understand our democracy and the full support it enjoys among our people, the more they fear and hate it as the obstacle in their drive for conquering the world and remolding it on the Soviet pattern.

The Communist rulers are prisoners of their own dogma. Twenty-five years of American recognition of the Soviet government have meant the presence of many of its diplomats in our

country. Leading Soviet figures have been participating actively in the affairs of the United Nations. Molotov, Manuilsky, Mikoyan and Kozlov amongst other Moscow bigwigs have visited our country and have had every opportunity to see it first hand.

Did any of them lose any of their misconceptions about us? Did their regime change its policies and work for peace and friendship as a result of their having been confronted with the realities of our land?

Facts Speak Loudest

These Soviet visitors reported faithfully and fully to Stalin and Khrushchev on what they had seen and learned. Yet these "educational" tours did not stop Khrushchev from telling us: "We will bury you." Apparently visits by officials like the one Mr. Mikoyan and Mr. Kozlov made to the United States did not provide the means of frank and full discussion of some of our problems and the development of solutions for them. Nor did these visits by Mikoyan and Kozlov bring about any change in the Soviet pattern of diplomatic negotiations. As Secretary of State Herter declared after his last return from the Geneva Conference of Foreign Ministers: "The Soviet Union pursued an objective that made successful negotiations impossible."

The Moscow rulers continue to spend hundreds of millions of dollars a year on jamming our broadcasts.

They do not allow their subjects, the plain people, to leave the USSR and come to our country as tourists.

Obviously the Kremlin dictatorship is afraid to trust its own people with ideas different from or critical of Communism.

These days, some are getting excited about cultural exchanges with the Soviets. Some are even deluding themselves into hoping that these cultural exchanges will get Moscow to call off the cold war. This is no time for wishful thinking. Let us be realists. Under Khrushchev, as

under Stalin, the Soviet peoples lack the basic democratic rights which they must have in order to have free and genuine contacts among themselves. Until the Soviet peoples get these democratic rights, they certainly will not be able to have free and genuine cultural contacts and exchanges with other peoples.

Until the average Russian worker and peasant, and not only the handpicked Soviet representative or espionage agent, can visit our country, it is self-deluding to talk about "people-to-people" exchanges between the USSR and the United States.

And until those who do visit us can, upon their return, report freely to the people on what they saw and learned in America—without fear of imprisonment or execution for treason—it is an insult to common sense for anyone to pretend that the Russians are free to exchange ideas with other nations.

Visitors and tourists who have recently returned from the Soviet Union tell us that there is great friendship among the Russian people for the American people. The visit by Vice President Nixon has confirmed this. However, it is also evident that this obvious friendship of the Russian people toward the American people has had no impact on the Soviet government's foreign policy.

It is in the very nature of the dictatorship that what the people think and feel on foreign as well as domestic affairs is not reflected in the actions of the ruling clique.

Crux of World Crisis

The Kremlin has tried to make it appear that the crisis of our times is due to a conflict between American capitalism and Communism. This is sheer nonsense. The crisis today is not between American capitalism and Soviet Communism. We in the United States never had and *do not have today* capitalism as it was known to Marx and the Socialists of Europe and Asia. The growth of our free economy has not been hampered by feudal barriers or cartels. More-

over, our economy has shown great resiliency and a capacity to adapt itself to change.

The real struggle in the world today is between democracy and despotism, between human freedom and tyranny.

We must understand that Communism is predicated on the basis of a definite objective.

Its fundamental principle is world domination with the aim of remolding the entire world—including the United States—on the pattern of Soviet tyranny.

The Communists have been unrelenting in the fanatical pursuit of this aim. They may vary their strategy and tactics, but they never change or even swerve from their fundamental aim. The Communists are past masters in combining rigidity of purpose with flexibility of tactics.

The over-riding aim of every Communist Party, no matter where located, is to subvert and overthrow by force every form of government—except the so-called proletarian dictatorship.

Communism is a world-wide system of rule. It is, therefore, quite natural that its decisions and deeds should be determined and directed by the strongest State under Communist control. Today, Russia is that state. Since the Soviet rulers are also the rulers of world Communism, they always consider its interests, or the interests of any non-Russian Communist regime as subordinate to or identical with the interests of Soviet Russia.

If any Communist Party or individual Communist outside the USSR should balk at this absolute Russian monopoly, he gets booted as a revisionist, deviationist, or a traitor. What happens then?

Clearly, under such a system there are no American Communists, but only Communists in America. Communists in democratic countries may, at one time or another, say they are for democracy and peaceful democratic methods, but secretly and actually they continue to be

dedicated to the overthrow of all democratic institutions.

Some of our businessmen seem to be in a great hurry to trade with the Soviet Union. The Kremlin needs such trade to build up a huge modern chemical industry and to develop automation in its production. Let these "get-rich-quick" industrialists ponder the basic dogmas of Russian Communism before they rush to do business with Khrushchev. Need we remind them of what happened after some profit-hungry industrialists and financiers "did business" with Hitler?

Khrushchev would have us believe that some bilateral arrangement between the Soviet Union and the United States is the surest way to avert a world war. His arrangement would, of course, have our country recognize the legality of the Kremlin territorial grabs. Moscow wants time in which to consolidate its conquests. It wants America, as the most powerful democracy, to accept as final the status of the captive peoples. American acceptance would shatter the morale and hopes of the oppressed for freedom, and, thereby, serve to stabilize and strengthen the Iron Curtain Empire.

Moscow wants bilateral hob-nobbing and talk-fests in order to sow suspicions of America among our allies and take the ground from under the foundations of NATO.

Khrushchev—Truculent Aggressor

In his recent "sweetness and light" speech thanking President Eisenhower for inviting him to the United States, Khrushchev reiterated his determination to snuff out the freedom of West Berlin and absorb all Germany into the Communist slave empire.

Nowhere in Europe is the fraud of Soviet Communism so painfully glaring as in the Russian Zone of Germany which incidentally is the only area in Europe with a declining population. According to the latest official "Statistical Year Book" of the Soviet Zone Administration, the population of this area fell by more than a

million between 1950 and 1958—from 18,388,200 to 17,311,707.

Some in our midst are prisoners of the illusion that Stalin pursued warlike foreign policies but Khrushchev is more peaceful. Nothing could be further from the truth. The Twentieth Soviet Communist Party Congress did not change Stalin's foreign policy. It did not say a word against the Stalin annexations and aggression of the post-war period or his unleashing of the cold war. It made no decision that "Communism will now try to achieve its international objectives by peaceful means rather than by force."

At the Twentieth Soviet Communist Party Congress in February 1956, Khrushchev sharply criticized the dead Stalin for his brutal mistreatment of some of his closest and most loyal followers. But, while making this criticism, Khrushchev did not dare to reverse Stalin's basic economic and international course, because such a reversal would have shaken the very foundations of the Soviet slave empire.

And lest we forget, it was Khrushchev who supported Peiping's military attacks on Quemoy and Matsu and the rape of Tibet. It was Khrushchev himself who directed the butchery of the Hungarian people when they sought freedom and genuine peaceful co-existence with the Soviet Union and the rest of the world. Nor is the present Soviet-provoked Berlin crisis exactly a demonstration of "peaceful means." As a matter of fact, in his ultimatum of November 27, 1958, Khrushchev was far more truculent and aggressive towards Berlin and German national reunification than Stalin ever was.

In the days of Molotov, whom the free world found to be very rigid and stubborn, the Soviet rulers, on occasion, even paid lip service to the idea of unification of Germany through free elections.

These days the columns of *Pravda* are oozing "sweetness" towards the United States! How reminiscent of the "Geneva Spirit" of 1955! But

let no one forget that this "spirit" was followed by Hungary and Khrushchev's threats to launch a missile attack on London and Paris during the Suez crisis in 1956!

No one should oppose negotiations with the Kremlin on any level in the interest of peace and freedom. But let us have no illusions. A change of phrase, a slick maneuver, pretension to international honor and morality does not mean a change in Communist basic aims. Only a change in deed, a change of Soviet purpose and practice can really be meaningful. Such a change has not taken place in the Kremlin hierarchy.

For Peace and Freedom

If we do not delude ourselves, then there is no basis for panic or pessimism about the future of our country.

No doubt, Communist despots, like their predecessors—the Pharaohs of old, the Kaiser in World War I and like the Hitler of yesterday—have been able to organize production and harness effectively the technology of their times to the pursuit of aggression and war. Hitler was even more ahead of us in missiles than Khrushchev is today. We should neither minimize nor exaggerate the Soviet capacities to challenge us in the realm of economy.

We of American labor prefer our democracy—with all its imperfections—a million-fold to the perfect totalitarian despotism behind the Iron Curtain. This is the categoric position of American labor.

Ours is a human country—with all the frailties and all the failings that are human. In our country, there is much to be improved and remedied and many wrongs to be righted on both sides of the Mason and Dixon line. I am confident that these will be righted by those who love America and *not* by those who hate our democratic way of life and want to replace it with Communism or any other despotism.

Let us remove the shortcomings and weak-

nesses in our own social fabric—racial discrimination, unemployment, un-American living conditions.

In Latin America and Africa, as well as in Europe, let us talk and act as friends of the oppressed and never as friends of dictators and oppressors.

Let our government exercise a greater initiative in extending democracy and freedom by working to have our Allies break with all colonialism.

Let us improve the substance and manner of our helping the newly-established and economically underdeveloped nations to grow into healthy and prosperous democracies. Remember, life is still a nightmare for hundreds of millions throughout the world — the under-fed, under-educated, under-housed, and under-productive.

Let us rebuild NATO and enlarge its purpose through effective cooperation by its members in promoting economic progress and prosperity, mutual assistance in the realm of technology and science, and the strengthening of the military forces.

Let us strive to turn the United Nations into a more effective instrument of world peace on the basis of its Charter. Under no circumstances, can we accept the transformation of the United Nations into a reformatory for international criminals like the Chinese Communist dictators.

Last but foremost, let us build an America that will be strong enough, along with our Allies, to deter and if need be defeat those who stand in the way of world peace and the freedom of mankind.

How to apply



1960 AFL-CIO COLLEGE MERIT SCHOLARSHIPS

The national AFL-CIO will award $6,000 merit scholarships to six high school students of exceptional ability who plan to enter college in September 1960. Each scholarship will cover four years of study.

This scholarship program is being conducted in cooperation with the National Merit Scholarship Corporation. Two scholarships will be awarded in each of three geographical sections of the United States. One scholarship in each area will be awarded to children either of whose parents are currently members of unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO. One scholarship awarded in each geographical area will be unrestricted; i.e., the student may or may not be the child of a trade unionist.

HOW TO APPLY

If you are a second semester junior or first semester senior in this 1959 spring semester you are eligible for participation in the program. The qualifying test will be conducted in all participating high schools on April 28, 1959. There will be an alternate date of May 2, 1959, for testing in those schools that prefer to test on Saturday.

Any student who wishes to be considered for the 1960 scholarship awards *must* take this qualifying examination.

SCHOOL PARTICIPATION IN THE PROGRAM

All public, private, and parochial schools are invited to participate in the nation-wide scholarship qualifying examination. Principals enter their schools by registering for this examination with the National Merit Scholarship Corporation.

In the event your school is not a member of the National Merit Scholarship program, you may participate individually by writing to the National Merit Scholarship Corporation which will attempt to make special arrangements for them.

WHO IS ELIGIBLE

The high school principal may select second semester juniors or first semester seniors to take the examination free of charge. If a student is not selected by his principal, he may still take the test by paying a $1.00 fee to cover

the cost of administering the test. In hardship cases this fee is waived.

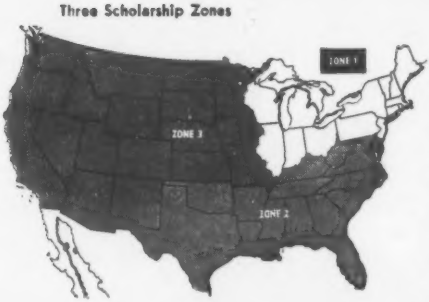
SEMI-FINALISTS

A group of top seniors, the highest scorers on the qualifying test, in each state will be advanced to the semi-finals in September 1959. They will then be asked to take a Scholastic Aptitude Test of the College Entrance Examination Board at specially designated centers in December 1959. Full information will be given them at the time of these notifications as to the time, place, and arrangements for this second test.

FINALISTS

Finalists will be announced in January 1960 after the scoring of the second examination. They are selected on the basis of scores on the two examinations, school activities and biographical information which they have supplied.

Three Scholarship Zones



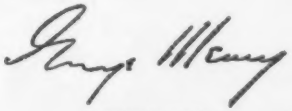
Finalists interested in being considered for the AFL-CIO merit scholarships must complete that portion of the biographical questionnaire asking the name of the parent or parents who are union members, their national or international union affiliation, the local or lodge number, and the city and state where the union is located.

From this group AFL-CIO representatives will select the six students to receive the AFL-CIO merit scholarships. Annual scholarship winners will be formally announced in May 1960.

WHERE AND WHAT THE GRANTEE WILL STUDY

Scholarships will be awarded for study at any accredited college or university in the United States. It will be the obligation of the winners to make all arrangements for admission to the school of their choice and to maintain good standing throughout the four-year period of the scholarship.

Federally-financed scholarships for college study would be a long step forward toward a stronger democracy and would show the world that, in America, opportunities are equal.



GEORGE MEANY
President, AFL-CIO

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND
CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
815 16TH STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C.
GEORGE MEANY, PRESIDENT — WM. F. SCHNITZLER, SECRETARY-TREASURER

For further information, contact:

Mr. Edward C. Smith, Vice President, National Merit Scholarship Corporation, 1580 Sherman Ave., Evanston, Ill., or Mr. John D. Connors, Director, Department of Education, AFL-CIO, 815 Sixteenth St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

17 17
(Printed in U.S.A.)



Decisions

and

Recommendations

of the

AFL-CIO

Impartial Umpire

American Federation of Labor and
Congress of Industrial Organizations

George Meany
President

Wm. F. Schnitzler
Secretary-Treasurer

Printed in U. S. A.



Decisions and Recommendations of the AFL-CIO Impartial Umpire

Volume I

1954-1958

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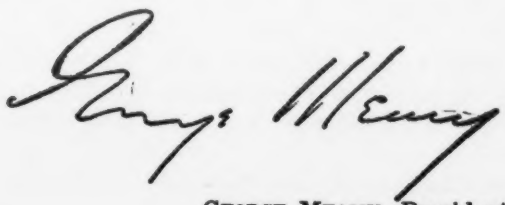
Foreword

This publication of the actions taken by the Impartial Umpire under the No-Raiding Agreement and the Constitution of the AFL-CIO is real and living proof of the progress that has been achieved since the historic merger of December 1955.

The sharp reduction in raiding cases is a testimonial to the good faith of the affiliates of the AFL-CIO in carrying out the basic principles of the AFL-CIO Constitution.

The decisions contained in this publication should prove of great value as a guide to the application of the principles of the No-Raiding Agreement in the Constitution to the day-to-day problems affecting AFL-CIO affiliates.

It is my hope that the publication of these decisions and the other pertinent material included in this volume will accelerate further the decline in raiding that has marked the course of the AFL-CIO since its foundation.



GEORGE MEANY, President

Introduction

The AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agreement was not only a first and indispensable step toward the achievement of organic unity between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, but it has become one of the demonstrable benefits of the merged organization.

Almost from the very outset of the meetings held between representatives of the AFL and the CIO the fact was recognized that one of the principal points of friction between the two organizations arose from "raids" conducted by affiliates of each federation. "Raids" were defined as attempts by a union to organize or to represent employees as to whom an established bargaining relationship existed between their employer and another union.

That such "raiding" was a genuine bar to unity conferences is illustrated by the fact that during 1951, 1952 and 1953 AFL affiliates conducted, through petitions filed with the NLRB, some 790 such raids on CIO affiliates affecting 213,144 union members. During the same period, CIO affiliates conducted, through the NLRB, 936 raids on AFL affiliates affecting 357,783 union members. There were, in addition, raids in which the NLRB machinery was not involved.

Understandably, therefore, there was a unanimous agreement by members of the Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee, formed to explore the possibilities of organic unity between the two organizations, that the elimination of raiding constituted a necessary first condition to the achievement of organic unity.

A subcommittee of the Joint Committee, established to make a statistical study of raiding cases filed through the NLRB, probed further into the NLRB records and developed additional facts.

First, this subcommittee learned that two out of every three raiding attempts through the use of the NLRB failed.

Next, the fact was established that raids stimulated retaliation; raiders were raided in return.

Thus, AFL affiliates "successfully" switched some 44,879 members from CIO affiliates during the years 1951-1953 inclusive; but, simultaneously, the CIO affiliates "successfully" switched some 40,755 members from the AFL affili-

ates. Actually, the net change in all these so-called "successful" raids amount to but 4,124 members during the three-year period.

In short, the net change amounted to 7/10 of 1 percent of the 570,927 members involved in raiding. Meanwhile, some 4,467 members were lost to unionism as a result of "no union" votes—a membership loss greater than net change in affiliations due to "successful" raids.

The statistical evidence produced by the subcommittee substantiated the knowledge and experience of the Joint Committee. Common sense dictated creation of a "No-Raiding Agreement" based upon the fundamental policy that no union affiliated with either federation should attempt to organize or to represent employees as to whom an established bargaining relationship exists between their employer and a union in the other federation. The Joint Committee authorized its subcommittee to draft a proposed No-Raiding Agreement. In due course the AFL and the CIO adopted the No-Raiding Agreement, effective June 9, 1954, binding only on the affiliates of each organization which became signatories to it. Each federation agreed to urge its affiliates to become parties to the agreement.

Operating Under the Agreement

The provisions of this agreement are to be found in an appendix to this publication. Basically, each affiliate signing this agreement agrees that neither it nor any of its locals will:

(a) organize or represent or attempt to organize or represent employees as to whom an established bargaining relationship exists between their employer and a union signatory to this Agreement;

(b) seek to represent, or obtain the right to represent such employees or to disrupt the established bargaining relationship; or

(c) engage in any cessation of work or refusal to transport, install or otherwise work on or with materials or any other form of concerted activity in support of an attempt to organize or represent such employees by a union other than the union which has the established bargaining relationship.

The phrase "established bargaining relationship" was defined to mean any situation in which a union or a local either

(a) has been recognized by the employer (which, for this purpose, shall include any governmental agency) as the collective bargaining representative for the employees involved for a period of one year or more, or (b) is certified by the National Labor Relations Board, or other federal or state agency having jurisdiction, as the collective bargaining representative for the employees.

The procedure under which alleged violations of the agreement are settled consists first, of notification to the other union concerned; second, direct consultation between the unions directly concerned; third, if necessary, mediation by the Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-CIO or his designated representative; and finally, if necessary, submission of the dispute to an Impartial Umpire whose decision shall be final and binding.[1]

There have been a total of 196 cases processed under the terms of the AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agreement for the period beginning June 9, 1954 and ending December 31, 1958.

Of these 196 cases the Impartial Umpire David Cole rendered 38 decisions with 3 cases pending before him for similar action.

However, some 149 cases were resolved by the parties themselves and there are 6 cases now being processed.

The No-Raiding Principle in the AFL-CIO Constitution

Since the No-Raiding Agreement had contributed so effectively to the subsequent merger of the AFL and the CIO in 1955, inclusion of the no-raiding principle in the AFL-CIO Constitution was a logical development. Article III, Section 4 of that Constitution states that the integrity of each affiliate shall be maintained and preserved; that each affiliate shall respect the established collective bargaining relationship of every other affiliate; and that no affiliate shall raid the established collective bargaining relationship of any other affiliate. The exact language of this article of the Constitution appears in the appendix to this publication along with the related Article XVIII.

By introducing the no-raiding principle into the AFL-CIO Constitution, that principle was made applicable to all affili-

[1] United Textile Workers of America v. Textile Workers Union of America, 42 LRRM 2605 (1958). The U. S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit held an award of the umpire to be enforceable in a court of law.

ates. However, where an affiliate was a signer of the No-Raiding Agreement its terms were still applicable and disputes between signators were processed under the terms of the agreement with the final step of a final and binding decision by the Impartial Umpire. Raiding cases involving affiliates not parties to the agreement were to be processed under procedures established to implement Article III, Section 4 of the Constitution with the final step of a recommendation by the Impartial Umpire. These procedures also were applied where one affiliate was a signer of the No-Raiding Agreement and one was not.

Operating Under Article III, Section 4 of the AFL-CIO Constitution

The procedure under which alleged violations of Article III, Section 4 of the Constitution shall be processed was established by the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO as follows:

"1. All disputes concerning charges of violation of the No-Raiding principle expressed in Article III, Section 4 of the AFL-CIO Constitution shall be processed under the provisions and procedures of the No-Raiding Agreement, referred to in Article XVIII of the AFL-CIO Constitution, *provided that with respect to such disputes the Impartial Umpire shall issue recommendations for settlement in lieu of decisions or awards.*

"2. In the event a complaint is filed with the President by an affiliate alleging that another affiliate has refused to abide by a decision of the umpire administering the No-Raiding Agreement or the recommendations of the umpire administering the No-Raiding provision of the Constitution, the President of the AFL-CIO shall endeavor, by consultation with the appropriate officers of both affiliates, to secure forthwith compliance. In the event compliance is not obtained, the President shall promptly report to the Executive Council. Upon such report being submitted, the Executive Council shall consider the same, shall hear the appropriate officers of the affiliates involved and shall make such decision as is necessary to insure compliance with the decision or recommendation as the case may be."

There have been a total of 70 cases processed under Article

III, Section 4 of the AFL-CIO Constitution, for the period beginning March 17, 1958 and ending December 31, 1958.

Impartial Umpire David Cole has rendered 15 recommendations and 6 cases are presently pending hearing by him.

Some 41 cases have been resolved by both international unions involved and 1 case is presently being processed.

There have been a total of 7 cases which have been marked closed as they involved the Amalgamated Lithographers of America at the time of their disaffiliation.

The No-Boycotting Principle in the AFL-CIO Constitution

In the basis of agreement contained in the No-Raiding Agreement there was a provision that the signers would refrain from engaging "in any cessation of work or refusal to transport, install or otherwise work on or with materials or any other form of concerted activity in support of an attempt to organize or represent such employees by a union other than the union which has the established bargaining relationship." This aspect of the No-Raiding Agreement was subsequently reflected in Article II, Section 8 and Article III, Section 4 of the AFL-CIO Constitution. In general, the specific language common to both articles is that the integrity of each affiliate of the AFL-CIO shall be maintained and preserved. The actual language appears in the appendix of this publication.

Operating Under Article II, Section 8 and Article III, Section 4

The procedure under which alleged violations of Article II, Section 8 and Article III, Section 4 of the AFL-CIO Constitution shall be processed was established by the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO as follows:

"1. No affiliate of the AFL-CIO shall engage in any boycott, cessation of work, or refusal to transport, install or otherwise work on or with materials which have been manufactured or processed by workers represented by any other affiliate.

"2. All disputes concerning charges of violations of the obligations herein imposed shall be settled under the procedures applicable to the No-Raiding Provision, Article III, Section 4 of the AFL-CIO Constitution."

Thus the fact is made clear that boycotting shall not be used as a device for raiding any more than the use of NLRB machinery through filing petitions for representation where an established bargaining relationship was already in existence.

There have been a total of 33 cases processed under Article II, Section 8 and Article III, Section 4 of the AFL-CIO Constitution. Some 26 of these cases are presently pending hearing by Impartial Umpire David Cole. There are 3 cases which have been resolved by the parties themselves and 4 additional cases are now in this process.

The Record

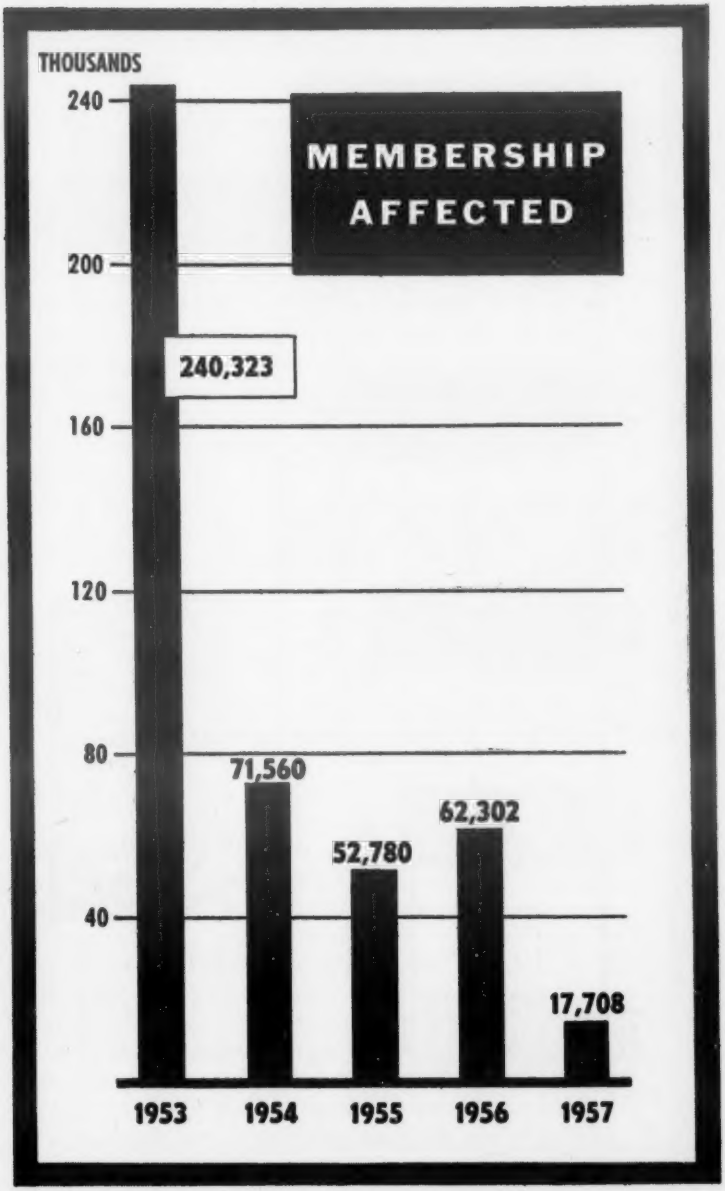
Up to this point the origin and development of the idea of preventing raids has been presented. The creation of the No-Raiding Agreement before the merger and the adoption of that principle in various parts of the AFL-CIO Constitution after the merger have been detailed. There remains the all important question of what impact the no-raiding idea has had in practice. It is significant to note that literally several hundred raids were resolved before an official complaint was lodged. An answer to the above question was obtained from the official files of the NLRB.

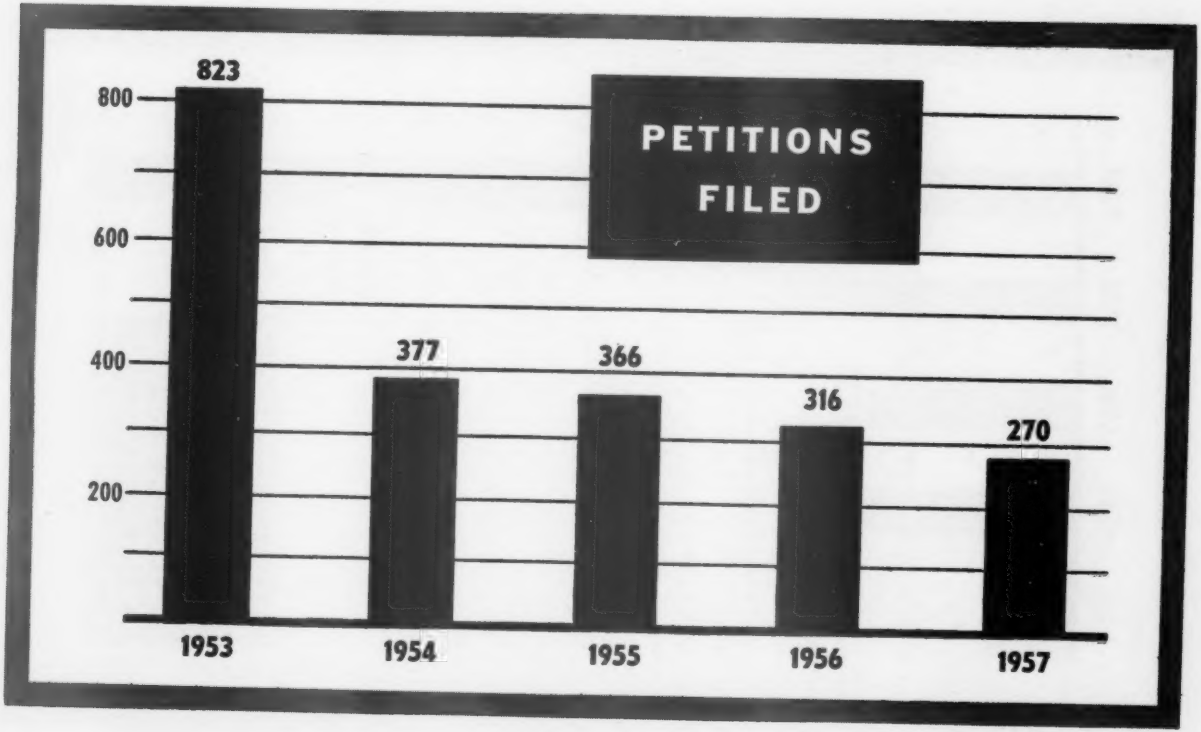
An examination of the records of the National Labor Relations Board for the years 1956 and 1957—the first two years since the merger of 1955—relating to the filing of representation petitions where a collective bargaining agent had already been established, i.e., "raiding" reveals the following facts:

	Petitions Filed	*Petitions Won*	*Membership Affected*	*Average Case Size*	*Members Won Initially* *
1956	316	94	62,302	197	8,808
1957	270	78	17,208	64	5,153

The significance of these figures is given added meaning by comparing raiding experience in 1953—the year preceding the establishment of the original No-Raiding Agreement of

* Initially because these figures do not reflect losses sustained by raiders who were raided in return.


THOUSANDS
240
200
160
120
80
40
MEMBERSHIP AFFECTED
240,323
71,560
52,780
62,302
17,708
1953
1954
1955
1956
1957


PETITIONS
FILED
800
600
400
200
823
377
366
316
270
1953
1954
1955
1956
1957

1954—with 1957 by which time the no-raiding principle had been incorporated in the Constitution of the AFL-CIO.

	Petitions Filed	*Petitions Won*	*Membership Affected*	*Members Won Initially*
1953	823 (100%)	226	240,323 (100%)	27,829
1957	270 (–67.2%)	78	17,208 (–92%)	5,153

This statistical story is reflected in the preceding charts.

But the record of raiding is not simply the recording of the number of petitions filed by an affiliate; to do so would depict the affiliate as being customarily a "winner" since only the members won *"initially"* would be indicated.

Actually, the full record includes not only members won by raiding but also members lost as a consequence of the raiders being raided in retaliation. Therefore, the *net results* are the true criteria for each affiliate engaged in raiding. Here is the full record of raiding showing net results for the years 1956 and 1957:

	Membership Affected	*Members Won Initially*	*Members Lost As Defendant*	*Members Won Net*
1956	62,302	8,808	3,394	5,414
1957	17,208	5,153	3,006	2,147

The significance of this record is self-evident. During the two years since the merger the number of raiding petitions filed with the National Labor Relations Board by affiliates of the AFL-CIO has decreased. This decrease reflects a continuance of such reductions in raiding since the creation of the No-Raiding Agreement of 1954 and the inclusion of the no-raiding principle in the AFL-CIO Constitution. From 1953—the year *before* the No-Raiding Agreement came into operation—to 1957 there has been a reduction of 67.2 percent in raiding petitions filed with the NLRB and a reduction of 92 percent in the number of union members involved in such cases.

Another interesting fact concerning raiding since the merger is the sharp drop in the number of workers involved in each raid. The average case in 1956 involved 197 members, but in 1957 this average dropped 64 members per case, on the average. Moreover, in 1956 some 62,302 members were involved in raids; in 1957 that number dropped to 17,208. Raids in 1957 were not only fewer than in 1956, but they were also smaller.

Raiding during the period since the merger continued this

pattern in terms of the net results. For example, in 1956 the net results of raids involving 62,302 members was a shifting of some 5,414 members.

In 1957 the net result of raids involving 17,208 members was a shifting of some 2,147 members.

Trade unionists have recognized the problem of "raiding" and have taken steps to solve it. By means of the No-Raid Agreement initially and provisions of the AFL-CIO Constitution subsequently a method was established to avoid the damaging consequences of raiding. That some appreciable progress has been achieved is now a matter of record. That still more progress will be attained can be forecast with some certainty.

Trade unionists will not be a party to practices which destroy their organizational morale, waste manpower and money, and leave unorganized the millions of men and women who need collective bargaining to achieve a decent standard of living for their families and self-respect for themselves.

The fundamental fact, however, is that the evil of raiding will not be avoided by procedures which are used after raiding has actually occurred. Raiding in the AFL-CIO will be eliminated only by the use of common sense and adherence to the basic tenets of sound trade unionism.



WM. F. SCHNITZLER, Secretary-Treasurer

DAVID L. COLE,

AFL-CIO Impartial Umpire

(S.B., 1921; LL.B., 1924)

Mr. Cole, a New Jersey lawyer, has served as Chairman of the New Jersey State Board of Mediation and Director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service. He has served on numerous presidential boards in major labor disputes, as well as on similar boards appointed by the Governors of New Jersey and Pennsylvania and by the Mayor of New York City.

He was visiting professor, 1954-1955, at Cornell's Industrial Relations School and consultant to the International Labor Organization at Geneva, 1955-1956.

He was recipient, in 1955, of the American Arbitration Association's award for distinguished service in industrial relations.

The Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee has recently appointed Mr. Cole to a panel of nine labor law experts to make recommendations to revise the Taft-Hartley Act.

He is trustee for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, American Arbitration Association and Rutgers University.

DECISION NO. 1-54

October 4, 1954

Between

UNITED PACKINGHOUSE WORKERS OF AMERICA, CIO

And

AMALGAMATED MEAT CUTTERS AND BUTCHER UNION OF NORTH AMERICA, AFL

(Swift & Co., Moultrie, Georgia)

For convenience, the above-named international unions will be called the "Packinghouse Workers" and the "Meat Cutters" respectively. The Packinghouse Workers, affiliated with the CIO, complains that the Meat Cutters, an affiliate of the AFL, is organizing and attempting to represent the production and maintenance employees of Swift and Company at Moultrie, Ga., who have been represented for years by the Packinghouse Workers, in violation of the No-Raiding Agreement of June 9, 1954. These two unions, together with more than 90 other international unions in the AFL and the CIO, were among the original parties to the No-Raiding Agreement.

Section 2 of the No-Raiding Agreement provides:

"2. The American Federation of Labor and each union signatory hereto affiliated with it, and each of them, agrees that neither it nor any of its locals will, directly or indirectly, (a) organize or represent or attempt to organize or represent employees as to whom an established bargaining relationship exists with the Congress of Industrial Organizations or with any union which is signatory hereto affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations (including any of the locals of such union); (b) seek to represent, or obtain the right to represent, such employees or to disrupt the established bargaining relationship; or (c) engage in any cessation of work or refusal to transport, install or otherwise work on or with materials or any other form of concerted activity in support of an attempt to organize or represent such employees

by a union other than the union which has the established bargaining relationship."

The Packinghouse Workers charge the Meat Cutters with violating this provision by issuing on July 13, 1954, a charter to employees who for some 10 years have been members of, and represented by Local 269 of the Packinghouse Workers, and by filing a petition, in the name of its Local 522, for an election with the National Labor Relations Board on July 19, 1954.

In October 1944 Local 269 was certified by the NLRB as the bargaining agent for the maintenance and production workers at the Moultrie plant of Swift and Company, and throughout the intervening period it has continued to act as such. In fact, in the most recent negotiation, concluded on September 27, 1954, and resulting in an agreement to run until September 1, 1956, provision is explicitly made for the employees at Moultrie, although there is a side letter of stipulation referring to the pending NLRB proceeding providing that the representation rights may be altered as a result thereof.

The jurisdiction of the Impartial Umpire is narrowly restricted in Section 5 (e) of the No-Raiding Agreement as follows:

> "In any dispute submitted to him in accordance with the provisions of this paragraph, the Impartial Umpire shall have jurisdiction only to determine whether the acts complained of constitute a violation of this Agreement."

The essential question is whether on June 9, 1954, the date when the No-Raiding Agreement was made, an established bargaining relationship existed at the Moultrie plant with Local 269 of the Packinghouse Workers. If so, the Meat Cutters, and its locals, by virtue of Section 2 of the No-Raiding Agreement, have agreed neither directly nor indirectly to organize or represent or to attempt to organize or represent the employees in question, or to disrupt the established bargaining relationship.

While it was evident that by June 9, 1954, the leadership of Local 269 was displeased with the Packinghouse

Workers and the likelihood was that steps would be taken to disaffiliate and to arrange for a new union affiliation, the fact nevertheless is clear that as of that date Local 269 still had an established bargaining relationship with Swift and Company.

In May 1954 Local 269 sent its duly elected delegates to the convention of the Packinghouse Workers at Sioux City, Iowa. On June 7, it transmitted its per capita tax for the month of May, and the receipt for this payment was dated June 10. On June 15 the minutes of this local reveal that its president was to meet on June 16 with a representative of the Meat Cutters "to discuss the possibility of the local getting into the AFL." Application cards for membership in the Meat Cutters were first distributed on June 16, and it was on this date or shortly thereafter that an application was made for a new charter. The charter was issued by the Meat Cutters on July 19. Most noteworthy is the fact that the resolution of the membership to withdraw from the Packinghouse Workers was not adopted until the meeting of July 12, 1954.

The reasons for the disagreement and friction between the Packinghouse Workers and Local 269 have no bearing on the question to be decided. It should be noted, however, that the Meat Cutters did not plunge into the dispute without regard to the No-Raiding Agreement; it withheld the new charter until July 13, and before it accepted the application it was convinced that the membership intended to withdraw from the Packinghouse Workers, and so informed the office of the AFL. It also appears that these two unions have had their own no-raiding agreement since June 23, 1953, and that on at least one occasion the Meat Packers decided not to press a complaint of violation of that agreement when it was satisfied that the Packinghouse Workers had a better chance of being selected as the bargaining representative rather than a rival, unaffiliated union. The Meat Packers believed that in this instance the workers had made clear their intention to withdraw from the Packinghouse Workers.

An intention to withdraw is, however, not a withdrawal, nor is it sufficient to constitute a break in the established bargaining relationship of the certified bargaining repre-

sentative. Some time before Local 269 had also indicated displeasure with its international union but subsequently decided to pay up its obligations and place itself in good standing.

Within the clear meaning and intent of the No-Raiding Agreement, on June 9, 1954, the Packinghouse Workers had an established bargaining relationship with Swift and Company at Moultrie. Therefore, the subsequent issuing of a charter to these employees by the Meat Packers and the subsequent filing of the petition on July 19 with the NLRB constituted a violation of the No-Raiding Agreement.

DAVID L. COLE

DECISION NO. 2-55

January 10, 1955

Between

UPHOLSTERERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION OF NORTH AMERICA, AFL

And

UNITED FURNITURE WORKERS OF AMERICA, CIO
(Pratt, Read & Co., Inc., Ivorytown, Connecticut)

Appearances:

For Upholsterers' International Union of North America, AFL

William F. Schnitzler, Secretary-Treasurer, AFL
George Bueker, Vice President
Alfred Rota, Vice President
Tony Remshardt, Vice President

For United Furniture Workers of America, CIO

James B. Carey, Secretary-Treasurer, CIO
Morris Pizer, President
David E. Feller, Associate General Counsel, CIO
Martin Raphael, General Counsel, United Furniture Workers of America, CIO

In this dispute, which was heard in Washington, D. C., on January 6, 1955, the Upholsterers' International Union, AFL, charges that the United Furniture Workers, CIO, is in violation of the AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agreement in trying to replace the Upholsterers' International Union, AFL, as the collective bargaining representative at Pratt, Read & Co., Inc., at Ivorytown, Connecticut.

Upholsterers' International Union, AFL, has been the recognized collective bargaining representative at this plant since 1948. From 1941 to 1948 United Furniture Workers, CIO, was the bargaining representative. In 1950 and again in 1952 United Furniture Workers, CIO, filed representation petitions before the NLRB and each time Upholsterers' International Union, AFL, was certified as the choice of the employes. On October 4, 1954, United Furniture Workers,

CIO, again instituted a representation proceeding by mailing its petition, which the NLRB acknowledged as filed on October 6, 1954. On October 9 the Upholsterers' International Union, AFL, wrote to the United Furniture Workers, CIO, complaining that this constituted a violation of the No-Raiding Agreement, to which the United Furniture Workers, CIO, promptly replied, pointing out that the Upholsterers' International Union, AFL, was not a party to this Agreement.

It was shown at the hearing that Upholsterers' International Union, AFL, had formally undertaken to become a party to the Agreement by executing on September 23, 1954, the necessary instrument of ratification and adherence and by delivering this instrument to the Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL, in Los Angeles while he was attending the AFL Convention. This instrument, however, was transported from Los Angeles to the AFL office in Washington, along with a large quantity of convention papers, and the Secretary-Treasurer of CIO was not notified thereof, nor was it forwarded to the Impartial Umpire, until October 12, 1954.

The NLRB processed the petition of the United Furniture Workers, CIO, in the normal course. It conducted a hearing on October 20 and on November 16 ordered an election within 30 days. The election was held on December 2, 1954, and on December 10, 1954, the NLRB certified that United Furniture Workers, CIO, had been selected by a majority of the employes as the collective bargaining representative at this plant. Since this certification United Furniture Workers, CIO, has been carrying on negotiations with Pratt, Read & Co., Inc., but no agreement has as yet been reached.

In the meantime the procedures set forth in Section 5 of the No-Raiding Agreement were followed, and the efforts of the parties being unsuccessful, the dispute was submitted to the Impartial Umpire on November 23, 1954. The hearing was twice postponed, by mutual consent, and was finally held, as stated, on January 6, 1955.

The No-Raiding Agreement consists of two parts. The first was executed by the Presidents and the Secretary-Treasurers of the AFL and CIO on December 16, 1953.

The second document is dated June 9, 1954, and is entitled Memorandum of Understanding Supplementary to the No-Raiding Agreement between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and bears the signatures of the two Presidents. This Memorandum of Understanding includes Appendix A which lists the AFL affiliates which had by June 9, 1954, delivered instruments of adherence and ratification, and Appendix B which lists similar CIO affiliates. Provision is made in the Memorandum of Understanding for subsequent adoption of, and adherence to, the No-Raiding Agreement by additional AFL and CIO affiliates. These provisions are as follows:

> "Any union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor or the Congress of Industrial Organizations may hereafter adhere and become signatory to the No-Raiding Agreement by executing an appropriate instrument of ratification and adherence and by delivering said instrument to the Secretary-Treasurer of the federation with which it is affiliated, who shall thereupon notify the Secretary-Treasurer of the other federation and deliver to the Impartial Umpire provided for under the Agreement, the executed instrument of adherence and a copy of its letter of notification.
>
> "The instrument of adherence shall only become effective 10 days following the receipt by the Impartial Umpire of the instrument of adherence and copy of the letter of notification, provided for above.
>
> "The Impartial Umpire shall maintain at all times a current list of the unions signatory to the No-Raiding Agreement."

United Furniture Workers, CIO, is listed in Appendix B of the Memorandum of Understanding as one of the original signatories. Upholsterers' International Union, AFL, announced in the spring of 1954 that it would not become a party to the No-Raiding Agreement unless United Furniture Workers, CIO, was excluded, and it was not until AFL President George Meany appeared before the executive board of Upholsterers' International Union that it was persuaded to alter its position. This occurred on September

17, 1954, but the signing of the instrument of ratification was delayed until September 23 because a copy of the form had to be sent out from the Washington office.

It is urged that in view of the reasons for the delay in completing the formalities of becoming a signatory, and in keeping with the general purpose of the No-Raiding Agreement, the signature of Upholsterers' International Union, AFL, should be taken as having been duly filed with the Impartial Umpire promptly after September 23, 1954, the date on which it was actually affixed to the instrument of ratification.

This may not be done. In 5(e) of the No-Raiding Agreement the authority of the Impartial Umpire is narrowly restricted, in this language:

> "In any dispute submitted to him in accordance with the provisions of this paragraph, the Impartial Umpire shall have jurisdiction only to determine whether the acts complained of constitute a violation of this Agreement."

Obviously, when United Furniture Workers, CIO, filed the petition with the NLRB on October 4, or on October 6, 1954, when the Board received it, Upholsterers' International Union, AFL, was not a party to the No-Raiding Agreement, under its provisions, and the raid by United Furniture Workers, CIO, at the Connecticut plant was therefore not a violation of the Agreement. Parties to the Agreement do not agree not to raid other unions in general, but only not to raid other unions which are under a similar restriction by virtue of the No-Raiding Agreement.

Moreover, several paragraphs of the Agreement reveal that the parties gave thought to the problem of the pendency of rival claims at the time when the Agreement became effective, and made specific provision to preserve the rights in pending representation proceedings. Paragraph 9(c) of the original Agreement provides:

> "This Agreement shall not apply to disputes in which representation proceedings are pending before the National Labor Relations Board, or other appropriate federal or state agency, on January 1, 1954, and so long as such proceedings are pending. Both organizations will exercise

their best efforts in the interim, to minimize such disputes."

Paragraphs 4 and 5 of the Memorandum of Understanding extended this preservation of the claim to representation rights as follows:

> "The date January 1, 1954, in paragraph (c) of Section 9 of the No-Raiding Agreement shall be understood, interpreted and applied, with respect to any of the unions listed in Appendix A and Appendix B attached hereto, as meaning June 9, 1954, the date on which the instruments of adherence and ratification of the unions attached hereto have been delivered and declared effective."

> "The date January 1, 1954, in paragraph (c) of Section 9 of the No-Raiding Agreement shall be understood, interpreted and applied, with respect to any union hereafter adhering to the Agreement, as meaning the date on which such adherence shall become effective, as provided for below."

Finally, in support of its refusal to withdraw its claim to representation in this case, United Furniture Workers, CIO, insists that it filed its petition before it knew Upholsterers' International Union, AFL, had agreed to join in the No-Raiding Agreement, that even if this fact had become known on September 23, 1954, it would still have had the right to file a petition within the 10 day waiting period thereafter as provided in Paragraph 7 of the Memorandum of Understanding. It maintains that it had made such proggress in its current drive at Pratt, Read & Co., that it would unquestionably have filed its petition, for it had in its possession much more than the requisite number of signed membership cards for many weeks prior to September 23, 1954.

The United Furniture Workers, CIO, therefore, not only contends that the Umpire must rule on the facts as they actually existed as of the date of the alleged violation, but demonstrates that if the adjustment were made which the Upholsterers' International Union, AFL, urges, by holding that its ratification was in practical effect filed three weeks before its actual filing date of October 12, 1954, this still

would not have made any difference in the representation drive at the Pratt, Read Company.

On the facts submitted, the decision is that the acts of United Furniture Workers, CIO, complained of by Upholsterers' International Union, AFL, do not constitute a violation of the No-Raiding Agreement.

DAVID L. COLE

DECISION NO. 3-55

April 1, 1955

Between

TEXTILE WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA, CIO

And

UPHOLSTERERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION OF NORTH AMERICA, AFL

(Acme Bedding Co., St. Louis, Missouri)

In this case the above named Textile Union, CIO, complains that the Upholsterers' Union, AFL, has violated the provisions of the No-Raiding Agreement by filing a petition, jointly with the Brotherhood of Teamsters, AFL, with the NLRB for an election and to establish its right together with the Teamsters to represent the production and maintenance employees of the Acme Bedding Company of St. Louis. The Teamsters Union is not a party to the No-Raiding Agreement. TWUA, CIO, contends that it has had an established bargaining relationship with this employer as to the employees in question for a number of years, and that, therefore, the acts of the UIU, AFL, by which it has been attempting to organize or represent these employees are in violation of paragraph 2 of the No-Raiding Agreement, which reads as follows:

> "The American Federation of Labor and each union signatory hereto affiliated with it, and each of them, agrees that neither it nor any of its locals will, directly or indirectly, (a) organize or represent or attempt to organize or represent employees as to whom an established bargaining relationship exists with the Congress of Industrial Organizations or with any union which is signatory hereto affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations (including any of the locals of such union); (b) seek to represent, or obtain the right to represent, such employees or to disrupt the established bargaining relationship; or (c) engage in any cessation of work or refusal to transport, install or otherwise work on or with materials or any other form of concerted activity

in support of an attempt to organize or represent such employees by a union other than the union which has the established bargaining relationship."

The Agreement defines "established bargaining relationship" in these words:

> "the phrase 'established bargaining relationship' means any situation in which a union or a local, as herein defined, either (a) has been recognized by the employer . . . as the collective bargaining representative for the employees involved for a period of one year or more, or (b) is certified by the National Labor Relations Board or other Federal or State agency having jurisdiction as the collective bargaining representative for the employees."

It should be noted that there is no requirement in the agreement that there be a subsisting written contract between the employer and the union which has the bargaining relationship, and that nowhere in the No-Raiding Agreement is the Umpire given authority to base his determination on whether some other union may or may not be stronger in a given industry or area than the union which has the established bargaining relationship. The Umpire's jurisdiction is closely restricted. In paragraph 5(e) it is stipulated:

> "In any dispute submitted to him in accordance with the provisions of this paragraph, the Impartial Umpire shall have jurisdiction only to determine whether the acts complained of constitute a violation of this Agreement."

This point is made because the president of the Upholsterers' Union appears to be under the impression, judging by a letter he wrote to the Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL on February 16, 1955, that the protection of the No-Raiding Agreement does not apply to unions which have bargaining relationships in industries in which the complaining union does not have what he terms "legitimate jurisdiction." By this he seems to mean, e.g. that the Textile Workers Union has no rightful place in the bedding industry. There is nothing in the No-Raiding Agreement which excludes from its provisions the established bargaining relationships of a union in industries other than those customarily organized by this union. This is not an agreement under which jurisdiction is to be governed by the nature of the industry. The

only test, under the Agreement, is whether the complaining union has an established bargaining relationship as to the employees in question. If it has, then the other signatory unions are bound by their agreement neither directly nor indirectly to organize or represent or to attempt to organize or represent the employees in question.

TWUA, CIO, was certified by the NLRB as the collective bargaining representative for the production and maintenance employees of Acme Bedding Company at its St. Louis plant on November 15, 1946. On August 21, 1950, after a card check, two mutually selected neutrals again certified that a majority of the employees desired to have the TWUA represent them, and on December 5, 1950, a collective bargaining agreement was executed. This agreement had a one-year term but it provided for automatic annual renewals unless either party gave 60 day's prior written notice of its desire to have the agreement terminate on its next expiration date. Proof was offered from both TWUA and employer sources that no such notice has been given. TWUA maintains, therefore, that the collective bargaining agreement is still in force and that its present term runs until December 5, 1955. It is clear that after the first year of the agreement the employer continued to deal with TWUA as the recognized union. In October, 1952, TWUA and the employer negotiated a general wage increase of 10 cents and jointly applied to the Wage Stabilization Board for approval. On February 16, 1953, they negotiated and agreed upon three additional paid holidays. In November, 1954, there were negotiations concerning new piece rates.

The Upholsterers' Union, AFL, was not an original signatory to the No-Raiding Agreement, but it signed the necessary instrument of adherence and ratification on September 23, 1954, and this instrument was filed with the Impartial Umpire on October 12, 1954, as required by paragraph 6 of the Memorandum of Understanding of June 9, 1954. In November 1954 the UIU, in concert with Local 688 of the Warehouse and Distribution Workers Union of the Brotherhood of Teamsters, demanded of the employer that it be recognized as the bargaining agent for the production and maintenance employees, and on November 19,

1954, these two unions filed a joint petition with the NLRB. These are the acts of UIU which the TWUA complains of as constituting a violation of the No-Raiding Agreement.

On February 17, 1955, the NLRB directed that an election be held, and the election date was set as March 16, 1955. In the meantime the complaint had been submitted to the Impartial Umpire and a hearing was scheduled for March 11, 1955, at Washington. The UIU declined to appear on the ground that the TWUA had not complied with the procedural requirements of the No-Raiding Agreement, particularly that the offer to meet and discuss the problem, as required in paragraph 5(b) had been made by a representative of the TWUA other than William Pollock, the executive vice-president, whereas Mr. Pollock is the representative of TWUA designated under paragraph 4 "authorized to receive all complaints of violation" of the No-Raiding Agreement. Although UIU was in error in its position, since the efforts to settle the dispute may be made by any authorized representative and not necessarily by the one designated to *receive* complaints, the Washington hearing was postponed to March 28 in Philadelphia. Philadelphia is the home city of the UIU. Between March 11 and March 28, there was a conference between representatives of the two unions in Philadelphia, and there was a conference between the Secretary-Treasurers of the two Federations, but the issue remained unresolved. The NLRB election, through the intervention of the Secretary-Treasurer of AFL, was postponed to March 30.

Although ample notice was given of the hearing on March 28, the UIU requested that it be postponed to April 11 because local counsel in St. Louis was busy. This request was denied, and the hearing went on as scheduled, with the UIU representatives not appearing.

Because of the absence of the UIU representatives, there was of course no presentation of this union's explanation or justification of its attempt to organize and represent the employees for whom the TWUA claims to have an established bargaining relationship. This is unfortunate, but if the proceedings conducted by the Impartial Umpire are to have dignity and command respect, then no party to a dispute can be allowed to decide when, where and how the

hearings are to be conducted. For good cause the Umpire will always try to accommodate the parties and meet their convenience, within reason. He has done so, on request, several times. In fact, in this very case he overlooked UIU's refusal to appear at the first hearing in Washington, although the representatives of TWUA and the Secretary-Treasurer of both the AFL and CIO were present. He arranged for a further hearing in UIU's home city 17 days later. Its officers were notified of the new date by telephone and by wire five days in advance. Subsequently, they insisted on a postponement for approximately two weeks because local St. Louis counsel was busy. Considering the informality of the proceedings, the availability of other officers and representatives, and the procedural background of the case, this request was promptly denied. Under the circumstances, the challenge of UIU to the authority of the Umpire to control the hearings before him had to be met, and the hearing went on as scheduled.

UIU apparently has a mutual working arrangement with an affiliate of the Teamsters with respect to organizing efforts. Such an arrangement may well lead to conflicts with the undertakings and promises of the Upholsterers' Union in the No-Raiding Agreement, in which it has agreed that it will not directly or indirectly attempt to organize or represent employees as to whom an established bargaining relationship exists with an affiliate of the CIO which is also a party to the Agreement. In all disputes before the Impartial Umpire the No-Raiding Agreement will be given priority and will be enforced.

After the hearing in Philadelphia on March 28, the Umpire determined that the acts of the UIU complained of by TWUA constituted a violation of the No-Raiding Agreement and so advised all the parties in interest by telegram, informing them that he would shortly issue an opinion setting forth the grounds and reasons for his determination. This determination is hereby restated and reaffirmed for the reasons set forth above.

DAVID L. COLE

DECISION NO. 4-55

June 2, 1955

Between

AMALGAMATED MEAT CUTTERS AND BUTCHER UNION OF NORTH AMERICA, AFL

And

LEATHER WORKERS INTERNATIONAL UNION OF AMERICA

(A. C. Lawrence Leather Company, Peabody, Massachusetts)

The above-named AFL union charges the CIO Leather Workers Organizing Committee with violation of the AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agreement by reason of its activities at A. C. Lawrence Leather Company, Peabody, Massachusetts.

At this plant the International Fur and Leather Workers Union of the U. S. and Canada and its local, designated as A. C. Lawrence Leather Workers Union, Local 33, have had contractual relationships with the employer for several years. In June, 1950, the CIO expelled this union and revoked its certificate of affiliation, during the drive of the CIO to purge itself of Communist-directed affiliates. The Fur and Leather Workers continued as an unaffiliated or independent union until steps were taken in December, 1954, and in January and February, 1955, to become part of the Amalgamted Meat Cutters, AFL. This consolidation has been emphatically disapproved by the Executive Council of the AFL.

Nevertheless, an agreement to merge was entered into by the Amalgamated and the Fur and Leather Workers on December 28, 1954, providing, among other things, for certain steps to be taken to consummate the merger. It was stated that the effective date of the merger agreement would be within 30 days of December 28, 1954, upon its approval by a Special Convention of the Fur and Leather Workers, but at the Special Convention it was decided to submit the agreement to the locals of this union for a referendum vote, postponing the effective date to February 22, 1955.

In the meanwhile the Leather Workers Organizing Committee of the CIO had become active in its organizing efforts among workers in the leather industry, particularly in plants in which the Fur and Leather Workers held contracts. Local 33 and A. C. Lawrence voted on February 15, 1955, strongly against the merger agreement, and on February 17, 1955, in favor of disaffiliating from their former international union and to affiliate themselves with the CIO union. On March 2, 1955, the Leather Workers Organizing Committee notified the employer that it claimed to represent its employees. The Amalgamated promptly made a similar claim, contending that its Local 33L was actually the former A. C. Lawrence Leather Workers Union, Local 33. The Employer decided to withhold recognition from both rival unions, although it notified the employees it would continue to observe the essential terms of its existing agreement, which had not yet expired. On March 3 the company filed its petition with the NLRB to ascertain which union was entitled to the bargaining rights, and on March 11 the CIO LWOC filed its own RC petition with the Board requesting that it be certified. Hearings and other proceedings have been conducted by the NLRB, and this dispute is still before the Board unresolved.

The Amalgamated urges that the LWOC, CIO is in violation of paragraph 3 of the No-Raiding Agreement, more specifically clauses (a) and (b), which provide that:

> "The Congress of Industrial Organizations and each union signatory hereto affiliated with it, and each of them, agrees that neither it nor any of its locals will, directly or indirectly, (a) organize or represent or attempt to organize or represent employees as to whom an established bargaining relationship exists with the American Federation of Labor or with any union which is signatory hereto affiliated with the American Federation of Labor (including any of the locals of such union); (b) seek to represent, or obtain the right to represent such employees or to disrupt the established bargaining relationship; . . ."

It charges the violations are evidenced by the aforementioned notice of March 2, 1955, of the CIO union to the A. C. Law-

rence Leather Company and the NLRB petition which LWOC filed on March 11, 1955.

The background and the unusual nature of this dispute have engendered a good deal of heat, and consequently a number of questions have been raised. Most of these questions need not be disposed of in this proceeding in order to arrive at the decision on the specific charge of raiding in violation of the No-Raiding Agreement. The policy decisions which both the AFL and the CIO must make are not reviewable by the Impartial Umpire under the No-Raiding Agreement, nor do they have any bearing on the narrow question before him. When the No-Raiding Agreement was announced, the joint unity committee of the two federations stated that it was the necessary first step toward organic unity, and it is safe to assume that all policy decisions will be made in this context, but this is not to suggest that the Impartial Umpire has any authority or function with respect to such decisions.

Of the issues raised at the hearing some fall within the category of policy decisions to be made by the two federations. Some are technical or legal items which will be resolved under the law by the NLRB or the courts in the proceedings now pending; if the raiding charge is not sustained. Some relate to how the merged, single federation will implement the principles of the new constitution, of which a draft has now been published. Other questions will be cleared up by the revisions that will have to be made in the No-Raiding Agreement after the labor movement has been unified, since it is now generally agreed that this Agreement will continue in force after the merger.

These observations are appropriate because of a variety of kinds of concern expressed at the hearing, among which are those related to the general desirability of eliminating rivalry within industries by encouraging competitive unions to amalgamate, and the fear that serious harm will result if an affiliated union is permitted to absorb a union expelled by one of the federations. As indicated, the decision in this case does not call for reassurance by the Impartial Umpire. There have been many mergers of international

unions over the years without the benefit of a no-raiding agreement, and under the stimulus of the major consolidation there will undoubtedly be many more.

The point about which this decision must turn is that relating to the finality of the Amalgamated—Fur and Leather Workers merger. The Amalgamated insists that its present local, 33L, is identical with the local formerly called the A. C. Lawrence Leather Workers Union, Local 33. The LWOC, on the other hand, urges that the membership of the former local now makes up the LWOC Local 33. Each has offered to assume the former local's end of the unexpired collective bargaining agreement with the company, but the company has declined to accept either as the successor or as the same local under a different name.

While it is not necessary in this case to approve or disapprove the ruling, the fact is that recently, in December, 1954, the U. S. Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit overruled the NLRB and held that when a group of employees voted to be represented by the Blacksmith Union, the resulting certification could not be transferred to the Boilermakers Union with which the Blacksmiths shortly thereafter merged, even though merger negotiations were in progress at the time of the election. See Dickey vs. NLRB, 35LRRM2239. If a merged union finds it needs re-certification in its dealings either with the employer or with some other union, then it should undertake to obtain it by filing an appropriate petition with the NLRB, as was done by the IUE when it absorbed the UE local at the General Electric plant at Schenectady. If the ruling in the Dickey case is now the law, as it appears to be, since the NLRB has taken no appeal, then this interpretation of the law cannot be overruled by the simple device of having the merger agreement provide otherwise, as was done in paragraph 3(g) of the agreement of December 28, 1954, between the Amalgamated and the Fur and Leather Union.

The more basic question is whether it was intended in the No-Raiding Agreement to prevent raiding of the kind being conducted by the CIO Leather Workers under the circumstances of this case.

When the No-Raiding Agreement, announced originally on December 16, 1953, was completed by the signing of the Memorandum of Understanding on June 9, 1954, provision had to be made for representation proceedings then pending before federal or state agencies. These raids were excluded from the effect of the Agreement. See paragraph 9(c) of the Agreement and paragraph 4 of the Memorandum of Understanding. It was deemed necessary to make special provisions with respect to international unions which would thereafter become parties to the Agreement. Under paragraphs 5, 6, and 7 of the later document, subsequent adherents must follow certain prescribed steps before the Agreement will apply to them, and representation proceedings instituted or pending prior to 10 days after the instrument is finally filed with the Impartial Umpire do not come within the restrictions of the Agreement.

In this case a union not affiliated with either federation when the Agreement went into force urges that it is automatically and immediately entitled to the benefits of the Agreement upon being merged into another union which is a party. This would give such a union greater benefits than are provided for affiliated unions which come under the Agreement after its initial effective date, for in the latter case representation proceedings already pending or which are instituted within 10 days after all the formal steps required for adherence would not be proscribed. In fact, in one case decided by the Impartial Umpire a union affiliated with one of the federations which elected to become a party to the No-Raiding Agreement after June 9, 1954, was denied protection against raiding in a proceeding instituted by a union of the other federation after the former executed the instrument of adherence. This denial was by virtue of the explicit provisions of the Agreement and of the Memorandum of Understanding cited above. The simple fact is that representation proceedings instituted by a specified date are not outlawed, but on the contrary are exempted from the provisions of the Agreement.

If the Fur and Leather Union, a union not eligible to be a party to the Agreement, could affiliate with the Amalgamated, one of the original signatories and thereupon claim all the benefits to which the Amalgamated is entitled, the

Fur and Leather Union would thereby be given a retroactive type of protection accorded neither to original signatories nor to AFL or CIO unions which become subsequent parties.

In view of the prescribed formal steps which must be taken by an affiliated union which desires to become a party to the Agreement, as set forth in paragraphs 6 and 7 of the Memorandum of Understanding, it must be held to be reasonably implied that an unaffiliated union would at the very least be required to become unconditionally and unqualifiedly a part of one of the signatory unions before it may presume to invoke or exercise any rights under the No-Raiding Agreement. This is so even though the complaint is made in the name of the signatory union which is the surviving union after the merger.

The Amalgamated asserts that the Fur and Leather Union has become absolutely and unqualifiedly a part of the Amalgamated, pointing to the first sentence of pargraph 12 of the merger agreement of December 28, 1954, between Amalgamated and the Fur and Leather Union, in which it is stated, "The parties agree that their merger shall be permanent."

The facts, however, deny this statement. There are several reasons. First, as of December 28, 1954, it was still necessary, under the terms of the merger agreement, for the agreement thereafter to be approved by a Special Convention of the Fur and Leather Union. At this Special Convention it was decided to submit the question to the locals of the Fur and Leather Union for a vote by referendum, and, significantly, the very local here involved, Local 33, voted against the merger on February 15, 1955, and two days later which was still prior to the effective date agreed upon, voted to disaffiliate from the Fur and Leather Union and to affiliate itself with the CIO Leather Workers Organizing Committee. Second, while the effective date was stated to be February 22, 1955, it is expressly provided that the merger agreement must be submitted for approval to the 19th General Convention of the Amalgamated, which will not take place until June, 1956, and if said Convention does not ratify the agreement then the status quo as of February 22, 1955, is to be restored. This in itself would

be sufficient reason to find that the merger has not yet been concluded. But there is additional proof in the provisions of the merger agreement that the parties definitely regard it as tentative, and subject to undoing, which is the third reason for holding, despite the reference to a permanent merger, that the merger is definitely neither complete nor permanent. Paragraph 10 provides that the qualifications, and special or limiting provisions of the merger agreement shall remain operative until the 20th General Convention of the Amalgamated, which will not be held until 1960. Paragraph 12 sets forth the special right of the Fur and Leather Union to withdraw from the Amalgamated at any time before the Amalgamated's 20th General Convention, in 1960, with the right thereupon to have its status quo as of the date of the merger, including matters financial, restored. The Amalgamated likewise is given the right during the same period to request the Fur and Leather Union to withdraw, whereupon, again, the restoration of the status quo will be undertaken.

Under the cited conditions, both precedent and subsequent, which are stipulated in the merger agreement, it is completely unrealistic to find that as of the present time there is a full and unqualified merger between these two unions, for the purposes of the No-Raiding Agreement. If, for any of the several reasons which may prevent consummation of the merger by the time of Amalgamated's 20th General Convention in 1960, it becomes necessary to restore the status quo it may well be asked, how would it be remotely possible to restore to the CIO Leather Workers Organizing Committee the rights and opportunities which it now insists it has to organize the membership of the Fur and Leather Union.

In any event, the automatic and immediate extension of the protection of the No-Raiding Agreement to an otherwise ineligible union upon the making of a tentative, probationary and incomplete type of consolidation with another union which is a party to the No-Raiding Agreement is inconsistent and incompatible with the provisions of the Agreement relating to eligible unions which become parties subsequent to the time when the original signatories became bound. The conditions set forth for terminating the merger

are by no means the same as those which any group reserves in an amalgamation to elect subsequently to disaffiliate. Here one of the essential first steps, ratification by the 19th Convention of the Amalgamated, still remains to be taken, and even thereafter, until the 20th General Convention, several years hence, the tentative or trial nature of the merger is expressly continued.

For the foregoing reasons, the decision is that the acts of the CIO Leather Workers Organizing Committee complained of do not constitute a violation of the No-Raiding Agreement.

DAVID L. COLE

DECISION NO. 5-55

July 9, 1955

Between

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ELECTRICAL, RADIO AND MACHINE WORKERS, CIO

And

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF ELECTRICAL WORKERS, AFL

(Neon Products, Inc., Lima, Ohio)

The IUE-CIO charges the IBEW-AFL with violation of the No-Raiding Agreement because of the refusal of IBEW members in St. Louis and New Orleans to hang signs produced by Neon Products, Inc. at its plant in Lima, Ohio, where IUE has the established bargaining relationship. This refusal is alleged by IUE to be in accordance with the policy of IBEW under which IBEW members are encouraged to decline to handle electrical items which do not bear the IBEW union label. This constitutes, in the opinion of IUE, a violation of sub-paragraphs (a), (b) and (c) of paragraph 2 of the Agreement, which read as follows:

> "2. The American Federation of Labor and each union signatory hereto affiliated with it, and each of them, agrees that neither it nor any of its locals will, directly or indirectly, (a) organize or represent or attempt to organize or represent employees as to whom an established bargaining relationship exists with the Congress of Industrial Organizations or with any union which is signatory hereto affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations (including any of the locals of such union); (b) seek to represent, or obtain the right to represent, such employees or to disrupt the established bargaining relationship, or (c) engage in any cessation of work or refusal to transport, install or otherwise work on or with materials or any other form of concerted activity in support of an attempt to organize or represent such employees by a union other than the union which has the established bargaining relationship."

Local 763, IUE, was duly certified as the representative of the employees of Neon Products, Inc. at its Lima plant by the NLRB in 1950, and has a collective bargaining agreement still in effect. Prior to 1950, and starting in 1939, the UE, the predecessor of IUE in CIO, held the representation rights continuously until replaced by IUE.

Shortly after the No-Raiding Agreement was entered into on June 9, 1954, to which IBEW and IUE were original signatories, IUE complained to the president of IBEW that an IBEW local in St. Louis was refusing to hang Neon Products signs, and on August 3, 1954, he replied that instructions had been given that IBEW had signed the No-Raiding pact and that there were to be no evasions of it. For a short time there were no complaints, but in March 1955 similar refusals to hang such signs occurred in New Orleans and again in St. Louis. It is these refusals which are charged to be violations, IUE contending that they are but a prelude to a campaign to take over the representation rights at the manufacturing plant in Lima, and that this is the type of concerted activity prohibited in 2(c), the disrupting of the established bargaining relationship prohibited in 2(b), and generally the raiding sought to be avoided by paragraph 2.

IBEW has had a union label policy since 1891. When the Taft-Hartley Law was enacted advice was circulated among its locals to observe the provisions of the law, but indicating that it remained the privilege of employers to insist on union label products. On the evidence, it appears that there is no longer in force any general IBEW policy or rule to refuse in concert to handle products lacking the IBEW union label, and that, in fact, products of the Lima plant of Neon Products, Inc. are being handled by electricians who are IBEW members in most of the cities of the country.

Neon Products has another plant, in Fullerton, California, and until 1954 had one at Kokomo, Indiana, both of which were organized by IBEW. The Kokomo plant has been discontinued, and IBEW continues to be the collective bargaining representative at Fullerton.

The boycott against Neon Products Lima items started over 10 years ago. On December 19, 1945 the IBEW, in a circular to all inside locals in its Ninth District, specifically

referred to signs manufactured at the Lima plant and advised that it was the right of IBEW members to refuse to work on such signs. Nevertheless, the Lima plant remains in operation, with IUE as the bargaining representative, whereas the Kokomo plant, where IBEW was the bargaining representative, has been dismantled.

On these facts, can it be said that the refusals to work on Lima signs in New Orleans and St. Louis constitute an attempt by IBEW to organize or represent the employees at Lima, within the meaning of paragraph 2 of the No-Raiding Agreement? If it is such an attempt, it has made no noticeable progress over a period of 10 years. Moreover, in answer to a direct question, counsel for IBEW stated on the record that IBEW will neither represent nor attempt to represent or organize the employees of Neon Products at Lima so long as the No-Raiding Agreement remains in effect.

IUE argues, however, that in another case, in Detroit, after a form of boycott for some time by IBEW, the business of the employer was so affected that there was a sharp curtailment in employment, and IBEW has now filed a representation petition, and that this is the pattern which must be expected at Neon Products in Lima. The Detroit case will be dealt with, on its facts, in a separate decision, and it cannot be used as evidence of the intentions of IBEW in the case at bar in the face of the specific evidence before us.

Paragraph 2 is part of an agreement designed to prevent raids where there is an established bargaining relationship. The No-Raiding Agreement is not designed to eliminate all sources of rivalry or friction between the two groups of unions. This Agreement provides no standards or means for avoiding or settling jurisdictional disputes between unions as to the work to be assigned to each, nor as to the right to organize a plant or an industry in the first instance. It stipulates no means of promoting the general harmony expected under the unity program except to the extent that it seeks to avoid raids or certain other kinds of disruption of established bargaining relationships. The Impartial Umpire is pointedly directed in 5 (e) "only to determine whether the acts complained of constitute a violation of this Agreement." This direction forecloses him from passing judgment on union label activities like those here involved unless they amount to a

violation of the undertakings assumed in pargraph 2. Obviously, when organic unity is a fact, many matters will have to be reviewed and perhaps there will be modifications of practices now followed, but this will have to be done in some other manner than by presenting the problem to the Umpire under the present provisions of the No-Raiding Agreement.

The question, then, is: are the complained of activities of IBEW the kind that are enjoined in paragraph 2? In all three sub-sections, (a), (b), and (c), reference is made to attempts to organize or represent employees where there is in existence an established bargaining relationship. The refusals to hang signs have occurred, under the evidence, only in St. Louis and New Orleans. The established bargaining relationship is in Lima, Ohio, hundreds of miles away. There is no evidence whatever of any activity by IBEW in Lima—no circularization of employees, no meetings, no sign of an organizing campaign. To the contrary, there is affirmative evidence, in the form of a representation made at the hearing by the authorized spokesman for IBEW, that this union will not organize or represent these employees so long as the No-Raiding Agreement is in force.

There remain two other features of pargraph 2 to be considered. In (b) there is this clause: "or to disrupt the established bargaining relationship." IUE insists that the refusal to hang Lima signs in New Orleans and St. Louis violates this promise. In the full context of paragraph 2, and of 2 (b), it seems a reasonable construction to hold that the disruption must be intentional and in some casual manner connected with the activity to which objection is taken. Business competition or market factors may adversely affect an employer and result in a material decline in employment and, to this extent, in a disruption of the bargaining relationship. The employees or the union may cooperate with their employer in efforts to attract business away from competitors. The resulting disruption of the bargaining relationship of another union would be incidental and not the primary consequence sought. We note in this very record that the Kokomo plant of Neon Products, Inc. was discontinued by the employer. There IBEW had the established bargaining relationship. It is not this type of disruption at which 2 (b) is directed. There must be some credible showing that the offending union seeks

to gain the representation rights or at least that it seeks to undermine the position of the established union, and not to accomplish something else, with the latter result as merely incidental. If it seeks the representation rights, then there would plainly be a violation, and it would not be necessary for this purpose that it first go to the extreme of filing a representation petition. The fact that locals and members of IBEW other than those in two cities do not object to working on Lima products is persuasive evidence of a lack of intention to disrupt or undermine Local 763 of IUE at Lima.

Finally, it is contended that this is the type of concerted activity prohibited by 2 (c). There is indeed a refusal to install or work on materials, but (c) clearly stipulates that such concerted activity must be "in support of an attempt to organize or represent such employees."

A refusal to install materials for reasons other than to obtain the representation rights might be completely unobjectionable, in fact, perhaps even desirable, and in any event it would certainly not violate the specific promise made in the words of 2 (c). The observations made above with regard to the failure to show that IBEW is attempting or seeking to organize or represent the employees at Lima apply here, and it follows that the charge that 2 (c) is being violated must be ruled out.

For the foregoing reasons, the decision is that the activities of IBEW in New Orleans and St. Louis complained of by IUE do not constitute a violation of the No-Raiding Agreement.

DAVID L. COLE

DECISION NO. 6-55

July 8, 1955

Between

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ELECTRICAL, RADIO AND MACHINE WORKERS, CIO

And

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF ELECTRICAL WORKERS, AFL

(Taylor Electric Co., Detroit, Michigan)

Local 909 of IUE-CIO was certified by the NLRB as the bargaining agent of the production and maintenance employees of Taylor Electric Company, Detroit, in 1952, and has maintained a contract relationship with this employer since 1952. On March 14, 1955 Local 58 of IBEW-AFL filed its petition with the NLRB for the purpose of being certified as the representative of the same group of employees. IUE charges that this action of IBEW constitutes a violation of the No-Raiding Agreement.

IBEW seeks to justify its action on three grounds. The first is that the NLRB proceeding was pending when the No-Raiding Agreement was entered into on June 9, 1954, and, therefore, under 9 (c) of the Agreement as modified by paragraph 4 of the Memorandum of Understanding of June 9, 1954, the No-Raiding Agreement is not applicable. An earlier representation petition had been filed by IBEW, Local 58, with the NLRB, on April 15, 1954. This petition was dismissed in January, 1955 by the NLRB on the ground that the existing contract between IUE, Local 909, and the Company was a bar. The representation petition now complained of was filed March 14, 1955. Clearly the NLRB proceeding pending when the No-Raiding Agreement was made was that based on the petition of April 15, 1954. When that petition was dismissed, nothing was pending. The new petition initiated a new proceeding, falls within the prohibited activities covered by paragraph 2 (a) and (b) of the Agreement, and is not excluded by paragraph 9 (c).

The second ground presented by IBEW is that in substance IUE does not have an established bargaining relationship at Taylor Electric Company. The number of employees has dropped since 1952 from 29 to less than 10, and 14 people who were formerly employed by Taylor are now IBEW members working in the building trades in Detroit. Moreover, IUE last year simply permitted its collective bargaining agreement to renew itself with no wage increase, and the employer has requested that it be released from the contract. IUE, on the other hand, ascribes its weak bargaining position to the activities of IBEW, including attempts to boycott building jobs on which Taylor employees work, which led in 1953 and 1954 to proceedings before the NLRB in which IBEW was found guilty of violating certain provisions of Section 8 (b) of the Labor Management Relations Act, 1947. The controlling consideration must be the provisions of the No-Raiding Agreement, and not the relative strength or weakness in any situation of the union which has the established bargaining relationship. As defined in pargraph 1 (a) and (b), IUE unquestionably has an established bargaining relationship, and this disposes of this point.

The final argument raised by IBEW is that special treatment must be given to unions engaged in the building trades, because of the peculiarities and casualness of the employment of their members. It contends that such consideration has been given by the NLRB and has been recognized by the courts. IBEW believes that the economic facts and problems of the building trades suggest that the expression "established bargaining relationship" must be given a different meaning from that used in ordinary industrial occupations. When, in 1953, IBEW and the Detroit Building Trades Council refused to work on certain construction jobs with Taylor employees who were members of IUE, the above-mentioned 8 (b) charges were filed and the Board ruled against IBEW and the Building Trades Council, denying them the right to compel contractors to assign such work only to members of IBEW. It must surely have been known to IBEW when it became a party to the No-Raiding Agreement, in June, 1954, that the considerations it now urges were important to it and probably to other unions active in the building trades. Nevertheless, no exception whatever is made in the Agreement from the flat and specific definitions and provisions on this subject. In this

respect the Agreement is perfectly clear and unambiguous, and it would be improper for the Umpire to construe this language to mean what it says, except as modified by prior rulings or dicta of the NLRB or the courts with respect to employees in the building trades. If such an exception were intended by the parties to the Agreement, it should have been stated in the Agreement.

For these reasons, the decision is that the acts of IBEW at Taylor Electric Company, Detroit, complained of by IUE constitute a violation of the No-Raiding Agreement.

DAVID L. COLE

DECISION NO. 7-55

October 20, 1955

Between

INTERNATIONAL UNION UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS, AFL (now Allied Industrial Workers of America)

And

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ELECTRICAL, RADIO AND MACHINE WORKERS, CIO

(General Electric Co., Danville, Illinois)

Appearances:

For International Union United Automobile Workers, AFL
Gilbert Jewell, Regional Director, UAW-AFL
David Previant, Counsel

For International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO
James B. Carey, President
Benjamin C. Sigal, General Counsel

UAW-AFL charges IUE-CIO with violating the AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agreement at the Danville, Illinois plant of General Electric Company by intervening in a representation proceeding before the NLRB brought by the International Association of Machinists, AFL.

On March 12, 1954 UAW-AFL was certified by the NLRB as the collective bargaining representative for the employees in question, after an election in which IUE was one of the contesting unions, and as of July 12, 1954 the Company and UAW-AFL entered into a collective bargaining agreement which remained in effect until September 15, 1955. Since 1946 the IAM-AFL has been the established bargaining representative for the toolroom employees at this plant. UAW-AFL conducted a strike from June 20 to July 26, 1955. On July 19, 1955 IAM filed a petition with the NLRB seeking an election to establish its right to represent the production and maintenance workers in addition to those whom it already represented, and on July 26, 1955 IUE intervened in the pro-

ceeding, and on August 30 IUE's motion to intervene was granted. UAW-AFL insists that this intervention constitutes a violation of the No-Raiding Agreement.

From the outset it has been the position of IUE that the AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agreement does not apply to this situation. It does not dispute the fact that UAW-AFL has an established bargaining relationship, as defined in paragraph (1) of the No-Raiding Agreement, but it urges that if this relationship is disrupted it will be by virtue of the filing of the NLRB petition by IAM, and not because of the subsequent intervention of IUE. IUE has repeatedly stated, most recently at the hearing of this complaint on October 10, 1955 and in its post-hearing brief, that if IAM withdraws its petition, IUE will also withdraw and respect the established bargaining rights of UAW-AFL. If there is to be an election, however, by reason of the action of IAM, then IUE insists it has a right to be on the ballot and that in doing so it is not violating either the purpose or intent of the No-Raiding Agreement.

IUE sees support for its position in a letter written on July 29, 1955 by Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler of the AFL to the President of UAW-AFL in reply to the original complaint against the IUE. In that letter Mr. Schnitzler wrote:

> "The International Association of Machinists, AFL, is a signatory to the AFL Internal Disputes Plan but we note that your International Union has not become signatory to this Plan, so for present purposes the machinery of the Internal Disputes Plan cannot be used in this instance.
>
> "We therefore suggest that you immediately arrange for a conference as quickly as possible with President A. J. Hayes of the IAM-AFL to resolve the differences between your two International Unions.
>
> "If the differences between your two International Unions can be resolved, then we ought to consider the question of your charge against the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO for violation of the AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agreement."

Mr. Schnitzler recognized the obvious fact that the elimination of the IUE from this contest would still leave the UAW's bargaining relationship in jeopardy, since IAM would remain

free to continue its efforts to oust UAW-AFL. It would be free to do so because there is no agreement under which IAM is forbidden to raid UAW-AFL. The AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agreement forbids AFL unions to raid CIO unions and CIO unions to raid AFL unions. See paragraphs 2, 3, and 8. The Agreement has no effect on raids by AFL unions among themselves. The Internal Disputes Plan of the AFL would normally cover such matters, but UAW-AFL has elected not to become a party to that plan, and in any event the enforcement of obligations thereunder would not be within the jurisdiction of the Impartial Umpire under the AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agreement.

It cannot be held that Mr. Schnitzler's advice to an AFL affiliate as to how best to resolve a three-cornered union rivalry should be taken as his interpretation of the No-Raiding Agreement. In fact, even if he had intended it as such, which has not been shown to be the fact, it would not be binding, nor could it be employed to contravene the plain provisions of the Agreement.

There is no doubt that since July 27, 1955 the IUE has, to use the words of paragraph 3 of the Agreement, been organizing or attempting to organize or seeking to represent or obtain the right to represent employees as to whom an established bargaining relationship exists in favor of UAW-AFL. The request that its name be included on the ballot, is intended to give the employees the opportunity to express a preference for the IUE over the established incumbent union, and the solicitation of designation cards and the distribution of literature attacking the incumbent union and pointing out the advantages of replacing it with the IUE are activities clearly forbidden by paragraph 3 of the No-Raiding Agreement.

The real question is whether such activities are excusable because the attempt to disrupt the established bargaining relationship was originated by IAM and IUE merely joined in an attack already in progress.

Despite the strong effort made by IUE to show that the No-Raiding Agreement was not intended to cover situations of this kind, I find that the explicit language of the Agreement, particularly of paragraphs 2, 3, and 7, directly and unqualifiedly deny signatories the right to do what IUE is doing in

this instance. Nowhere in the Agreement are any of the promises of the parties qualified or made conditional on the absence of initial attacks by unions not bound by the Agreement.

The promise of each party is that it will not, directly or indirectly organize or represent or attempt to seek to organize or represent employees as to whom an established bargaining relationship exists, and not that it will do so *unless some third union first undertakes to disrupt this relationship.* To construe the provisions of the Agreement in this manner would require that the italicized words, or some similar expression, be interpolated or read into the Agreement.

IUE points to 7 (a) and 7 (b) of the Agreement as evidence of the intent of the parties that the no-raid provisions were to apply only to cases in which the union complained of files a petition or makes a demand on the Employer that it be recognized. There are two answers to this argument: (1) Paragraph 7 must be read as a whole, since (a) and (b) are merely sub-sections; if a union is found to have violated the Agreement, it agrees to do a number of things, among which are the two specified in (a) and (b). The underlying intent of the entire Agreement may not be sought in two such subsections. This may be seen by merely reading Paragraph 7, which follows:

> "Each of the parties signatory hereto agrees that, in any case in which it is found that it, or any of its locals, has violated the provisions of this Agreement, it will cease such violation and will not, directly or indirectly, during the term of this Agreement, represent or seek to represent the employees involved, and that it will, in addition, take the following remedial action upon request of the complaining union:
>
> (a) Any petition for representation rights filed with the National Labor Relations Board, or any other appropriate federal or state agency, will be immediately withdrawn.
>
> (b) Any claims for recognition which may have been submitted to the employer will be withdrawn immediately."

(2) It is evident that the parties intended to apply the Agreement as written. Paragraph 5 (e) restricts the jurisdiction of the Impartial Umpire to determine "only . . . whether

the acts complained of constitute a violation of this Agreement." Unlike the AFL and CIO internal plans, the determination may not be based on a judgment as to the welfare of the employees or of the trade union movement. Perhaps upon review of the experiences under the No-Raiding Agreement, when the parties consider revisions, they may make other provisions for situations like that in which IUE now finds itself. But it would be improper for an arbitrator to do this for them in the process of interpreting the present clear and unqualified promises the parties have seen fit to make.

It should be noted that, despite fears of possible collusion raised by way of argument, it is conceded in this instance that the rivalry between IAM and UAW-AFL is intense and genuine at the General Electric plant at Danville.

IUE maintains, also, that this complaint should be dismissed because UAW-AFL has neglected to make every effort to settle the dispute, as specified in 5 (b), particularly in that it did not meet with representatives of IUE for this purpose. However, immediately after IUE's representative indicated that IUE intended to intervene in the case filed by IAM, Earl Heaton, the International President of UAW-AFL wired President Carey of IUE complaining thereof as a violation of the No-Raiding Agreement and requesting that IUE "stop interfering with the established membership of UAW-AFL." IUE Secretary-Treasurer Hartnett promptly replied by telegram asserting that the "No-Raiding Agreement does not apply in such circumstances." IAM apparently declined to reconsider its action, since it was under no contractual or other restriction, and no meetings were arranged. In view of these facts, I cannot hold that the failure to make other efforts to settle should be a bar to the right of the aggrieved union to present its complaint for determination to the Impartial Umpire.

In review, we have here a situation in which a large number of AFL and CIO unions have agreed to respect each others' established bargaining relationships until December 31, 1955, and specifically that neither they nor any of their locals

> ". . . will, directly or indirectly, (a) organize or represent or attempt to organize or represent employees as to whom an established bargaining relationship exists . . .; (b) seek

to represent, or obtain the right to represent, such employees or to disrupt the established bargaining relationship...."

The Agreement specifies only one condition, described below, in which this promise is not applicable. It was known when the Agreement was made that some AFL and CIO unions would probably decline to become parties and of course that unaffiliated unions would not be bound. It was nevertheless felt desirable to proceed with the Agreement. Each signatory accepted a restriction on its normal sphere of activity but gained at the same time the benefit of the promise of the other signatory unions that it would be immune from attack by them. It is unreasonable, in the light of the clear and unequivocal provisions of the Agreement, to hold by way of interpretation that the moment an act of aggression is instituted by some union not a party to the No-Raiding Agreement, all the parties thereupon are free to do the very things they promised in paragraphs 2 and 3 not to do. The distinction here sought to be made between seeking to gain the right to represent employees by filing a petition as distinguished from seeking the same right by intervening, is without validity when one examines the clear provisions of paragraphs 2 and 3.

The one exception made in the Agreement for relief from the rigid promises made in paragraphs 2 and 3 is that relating to representation proceedings which are already pending before the NLRB or some other federal or state agency at the effective date of the Agreement, or at the time when it becomes effective as to a union which subsequently becomes a signatory. Such proceedings may be continued. See paragraphs 9 (c) of the No-Raiding Agreement and 4 and 5 of the Memorandum of Understanding of June 9, 1954. The fact that one exception was spelled out suggests that if it was intended to have others they would also have been mentioned in the Agreement.

It is true, of course, that the withdrawal of IUE will still leave UAW-AFL subject to the loss of its bargaining rights because of the pending election petitioned for by the IAM. We must remember, however, that the No-Raiding Agreement does not guarantee the security or permanence of the established bargaining relationship of the signatory unions. The Agreement assures them only of immunity from at-

tack by certain designated unions, in return for which the protected union agrees to refrain from making similar attacks on these designated unions.

It may be added that the decision in this case is consistent with that made on April 1, 1955 in the case brought by Textile Workers Union of America, CIO, against Upholsterers International Union of North America, AFL. There I found a violation of the Agreement, although the petition before the NLRB to strip TWUA of its bargaining rights was filed jointly by the Upholsterers Union and the Teamsters Union, AFL and the Teamsters as a non-signatory to the Agreement was free to proceed with its raid while the Upholsterers Union with which it was associated in the situation was not.

For the foregoing reasons, the decision is that the acts complained of by UAW-AFL constitute a violation of the No-Raiding Agreement.

DAVID L. COLE

DECISION NO. 8-55
(RULING ON A MOTION FOR REHEARING)

November 16, 1955

Between

INTERNATIONAL UNION UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS, AFL (now Allied Industrial Workers of America)

And

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ELECTRICAL, RADIO AND MACHINE WORKERS, CIO

Appearances:

For International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO
Benjamin C. Sigal, General Counsel

For International Union United Automobile Workers, AFL
David Previant, Counsel

A decision was rendered by the Impartial Umpire on October 20, 1955 that certain acts of the IUE-CIO at the General Electric plant at Danville, Illinois complained of by UAW-AFL constituted a violation of the No-Raiding Agreement. The IUE-CIO now moves for a rehearing and reconsideration of the matter, principally for the purpose of receiving the testimony of the negotiators of the No-Raiding Agreement concerning their intent with respect to application of the Agreement to the subject of this dispute. Other reasons are also advanced, largely that the Impartial Umpire misconstrued certain provisions of the Agreement. Arguments pro and con on this motion have been submitted in writing by the attorneys for the parties.

All the points raised by IUE-CIO in this motion were raised at the hearing and considered in the decision of October 20, 1955. Upon re-examination it remains clear that the essential promises made by signatory CIO unions in the No-Raiding Agreement are those stipulated in paragraph 3, specifically that neither they nor any of their locals

". . . will, directly or indirectly, (a) organize or represent or attempt to organize or represent employees as

to whom an established bargaining relationship exists . . .; (b) seek to represent, or obtain the right to represent, such employees or to disrupt the established bargaining relationship . . ."

The facts are undisputed; as stated in the decision, IUE-CIO has conducted activities which are in violation of the provisions quoted above.

No new facts are now presented. It is simply suggested that if the negotiators of the Agreement are called there may be testimony that it was intended to have the type of situation present in this case excluded from the specific promises made in paragraph 3. This proposes a procedure at variance with one of the elementary rules of contract interpretation. When a contract provision is clear and unambiguous, it must be applied in accordance with the customary meaning of the words employed without going outside the agreement itself. The exceptions to this rule involve factual circumstances not relevant in this case.

For the foregoing reasons, the motion must be denied.

DAVID L. COLE

DECISION NO. 9-56

January 25, 1956

Between

UNITED TEXTILE WORKERS OF AMERICA, AFL

And

TEXTILE WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA, CIO
(Chicopee Manufacturing Corp., Bensenville, Ill.)

Appearances:

For United Textile Workers of America
Joseph Jacobs, of Atlanta, General Counsel
Roy B. Groenert, Vice President
Victor J. Failla, Business Agent

For Textile Workers Union of America
Ben Wyle, of New York City, General Counsel
William Tuller, Vice President
Earl T. McGrew, Chicago Joint Board

The United Textile Workers of America complains that the Textile Workers Union of America has violated the No-Raiding Agreement by filing with the NLRB two petitions to be designated the bargaining representative of all the plant employees of the Chicopee Manufacturing Corporation at Bensenville, Illinois. One was filed January 28, 1954, and the other October 28, 1955, both, it is charged, after UTW had been recognized by the Employer as the duly constituted bargaining representative by the making of a collective bargaining agreement on January 28, 1954, which will not terminate until January 28, 1956.

In this plant there is a history of many NLRB proceedings. Chicopee Manufacturing Corporation is a subsidiary of Johnson & Johnson, most of whose plants are organized by TWUA. This Bensenville plant was set up in 1953. On May 8, 1953, an election was conducted by NLRB on the petition of TWUA, and by a close vote of the 27 people then employed (14 to 11) TWUA was denied certification. TWUA filed objections, and, after hearings, the Board on November 18, 1953, overruled the objections and certified that TWUA was not the exclusive representative of the employees. On January 15, 1954, after a card

count conducted by the local chief of police, the Company recognized UTW as the bargaining representative, and on January 28, 1954, after negotiations, entered into the two-year agreement with UTW. On January 18, however, TWUA wired the Company claiming to represent a majority of its employees and demanding recognition, and at about the same time an independent group, called the Chicopee Employee's Committee, filed a charge against the Employer of unfair labor practice in assisting and dominating the UTW in the face of rival representation claims, and it also filed a petition for representation rights, in which TWUA intervened. Not having heard from the Company, TWUA on January 28, 1954, filed its own representation petition with the NLRB and so advised the Company. On April 19, 1954, TWUA filed with the Board unfair labor practice charges against the Employer, among other things, for recognizing UTW and entering into a union security arrangement when another labor organization claimed to represent the employees. A similar charge was also filed against UTW. The charge of the Employee's Committee was on October 12, 1955, withdrawn without prejudice. The charge of the TWUA resulted in a settlement agreement, which was released by the NLRB on October 19, 1955. This settlement agreement was entered into by the Company, TWUA, UTW, and recommended by the Field Attorney of the NLRB. It provided for the return by the Company to its employees of initiation fees and dues paid to UTW between January 28, 1954, and February 1, 1955; it invalidated the union shop and check-off provisions of the agreement of January 28, 1954; and it required the posting of a notice assuring the employees of their free right to join TWUA or any other labor organization. Shortly thereafter, on October 28, 1955, TWUA filed another representation petition with the NLRB, and on December 27, 1955, the Company filed an RM petition because of the conflicting union claims. On December 29, 1955, the NLRB consolidated the three cases arising out of the two petitions of TWUA and that of the Employer.

TWUA defends its activities as not in violation of the No-Raiding Agreement on three grounds: (1) that its organizational activities were started before the No-Raiding Agreement was made and that the Agreement therefore does not

apply; (2) that certain private understandings were reached by these two unions in 1955 with reference to the representation rights at this plant which superseded or waived the No-Raiding Agreement or which should serve as an estoppel against the UTW in this case; and (3) that despite the collective bargaining agreement in effect UTW does not have an established bargaining relationship within the meaning and intent of the No-Raiding Agreement.

(1) It is true that the earlier pending TWUA petition was filed almost six months before the No-Raiding Agreement went into effect on June 9, 1954. Section 9 (c), as amended by Section 4 of the Memorandum of Understanding of June 9, 1954, provides that:

> "This Agreement shall not apply to disputes in which representation proceedings are pending before the National Labor Relations Board, or other appropriate federal or state agency, on [June 9, 1954], and so long as such proceedings are pending. Both organizations will exercise their best efforts in the interim, to minimize such disputes."

UTW argues that the petition of January 28, 1954, should have been dismissed by the NLRB, as barred by the May 8, 1953, election and the agreement made between the Company and UTW on January 28, 1954. The fact is, however, that this petition has not been dismissed; in fact, as recently as December 29, 1955, it was consolidated with the two subsequent petitions. Proceedings before the Impartial Umpire under the No-Raiding Agreement are not proceedings to review or modify rulings or actions of the NLRB. The criteria which govern the Impartial Umpire are quite different from those of the Taft-Hartley Act by which the Board is governed. The applicable provision of the No-Raiding Agreement sets forth no exceptions; representation proceedings pending before the NLRB as of June 9, 1954, are unqualifiedly excluded from the restrictions of the No-Raiding Agreement. This clearly reserves to TWUA the right to insist on processing its petition of January 28, 1954. This does not, however, apply to the later petition, filed on October 28, 1955. This represented the institution of a new case, for the purposes of the No-Raiding Agreement, and cannot be excused as part of "such proceedings" as were instituted

by the earlier petition. As a new case, however justified TWUA may have felt itself to be, in light of the pendency of the existing petition and of the other circumstances to be referred to shortly, it was forbidden by Section 3 of the No-Raiding Agreement.

(2) TWUA's assertion of a waiver or estoppel against UTW by reason of certain conversations and understandings earlier in 1955 raises a delicate question. Suffice it to say that, on the evidence, it appears that these understandings developed primarily out of merger negotiations between the two unions, and were in keeping with the general spirit relating to the problem of dual unionism in various industries that was bound to arise out of the merger of the AFL and the CIO. There may be some other partial explanations, but basically these unions were engaged at the time in exploring the possibility of amalgamating. Such explorations are difficult enough without adding further impediments, as, for example, that what is said or tentatively agreed upon may be used against either party in some later adverse party proceedings. Failing to find in the No-Raiding Agreement any qualification of the flat promise of each signatory to respect established bargaining relationships and not directly or indirectly to organize or represent the affected employees, it is entirely reasonable and consistent to hold that this promise will not be excused or overlooked in cases in which the parties discuss, in connection with possible merger, some private disposition of the dispute later brought before the Umpire when they fail to reach agreement as to merger. Such discussions and any uncompleted arrangements made in connection therewith should be encouraged and must be deemed, in the general interest, to be privileged and without prejudice.

(3) Despite the existence of the agreement of January 28, 1954, between the Company and UTW, which will not expire until January 28, 1956, TWUA maintains that there is no established bargaining relationship within the meaning and intent of the No-Raiding Agreement. This, it argues, is so because the Company seemed to favor UTW as against TWUA, behaved in a manner quite inconsistent with its customary behavior, and was in great haste to complete its agreement with UTW notwithstanding the claims and charges

made by both the TWUA and the Chicopee Employee's Committee. TWUA presented evidence that it has been the invariable position of this Company and of its parent organization not to recognize any union until the union's rights are established through a NLRB election, and that in this very plant it so advised its employees shortly before it entered into the agreement with UTW without the benefit of such an election. On this point, as on the preceding points, we find no direct support in the No-Raiding Agreement. Section 1 defines the terms used in the Agreement, and includes this language:

> ". . . the phrase 'established bargaining relationship' means any situation in which a union or a local, as herein defined, either (a) has been recognized by the employer . . . as the collective bargaining representative for the employees involved for a period of one year or more, or (b) is certified by the National Labor Relations Board or other Federal or State agency . . ."

Attention is directed to the absence of any exception based upon the manner in which the recognition was obtained from the employer. The quality of the employer's recognition is not a type of issue reserved for the Umpire. Obviously, in appropriate cases, an attack on this score may be made before the NLRB, as was done in this case by the filing of the charges by TWUA on April 19, 1954. The disposition of such charges is left to the NLRB and not delegated to the Umpire. The fact is that the NLRB considered the charges and disposed of them by the settlement agreement of October 19, 1955, in which certain provisions of the collective bargaining agreement were set aside and certain money restitution ordered. It is also a significant fact that TWUA joined as a party to this settlement agreement. There is no authority in the No-Raiding Agreement for the Umpire to review the charges of the circumstances leading to them and to hold now that the entire agreement is invalid and of no effect. This being so, as of October 28, 1955, when TWUA's latest representation petition was filed there was an established bargaining relationship in favor of UTW; as of January 28, 1954, however, there was not yet such a relationship, as defined in the Agreement.

Obviously, this decision will not completely dispose of the conflicting representation claims at this Bensenville plant. This is due to the fact that this is a case arising in the transitional period and that the No-Raiding Agreement is deliberately limited in its scope. The NLRB will have to act to tie up the remaining loose ends, but this certainly cannot be said to be unanticipated under the No-Raiding Agreement. With the passing of time such cases should become much more rare and unusual.

The decision is that, with reference to the Bensenville plant of Chicopee Manufacturing Corporation, TWUA is not in violation of the No-Raiding Agreement in filing or processing its representation petition of January 28, 1954, before the NLRB, but that the filing of its representation petition of October 28, 1955, constitutes a violation of the Agreement.

DAVID L. COLE

DECISION NO. 10-56

March 26, 1956

Between

OFFICE EMPLOYES INTERNATIONAL UNION

And

AMERICAN NEWSPAPER GUILD
(Minneapolis Star Tribune, Minneapolis, Minn.)

Appearances:

For Office Employes International Union
Howard Coughlin, of New York City, President
Arthur Fritz, of Minneapolis, President Local 12

For American Newspaper Guild
Charles A. Perlik, of New York City, Secretary-Treasurer
John Carmichael, of Minneapolis, Executive Secretary

This dispute arises under the AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agreement. Office Employes International Union was formerly affiliated with the AFL, and the American Newspaper Guild with the CIO. The Office Employes Union charges the Guild with violating the No-Raiding Agreement because of its activities with regard to general office work employes of the Minneapolis Star and Tribune Company.

At the time of the acts complained of, in January, 1956, the Office Employes Union had an effective collective bargaining agreement with this employer which had been in effect since 1954. This agreement was one of an unbroken series running back at least 10 years, and it included a union shop arrangement. Within the definition of Paragraph 1 of the No-Raiding Agreement, therefore, the employes included in the bargaining unit undeniably had an established bargaining relationship with the Minneapolis Star and Tribune Company.

In October, 1955, a committee of office employes called on the Guild requesting that the group be accepted into the Guild membership, asserting certain criticisms against the Office Employes Union. On October 17, 1955, the exec-

utive board of the Guild formally declined, and so advised both the employes and the Office Employes Union. This request was renewed in January, 1956, at which time the workers' committee stated that steps were to be taken to disaffiliate, and if the Guild would not accept these employes as members they would nevertheless move to disaffiliate from the Office Employes Union. The Guild represents the editorial department employes and, believing that it would be unfortunate to have a group of unorganized employes in the establishment, and having ascertained that there was a strong sentiment adverse to the Office Employes Union, decided on January 24, 1956, to accept these people as members, and on January 30 the Guild intervened in the decertification proceedings pending before the NLRB by requesting that the Guild be placed on the ballot. Between January 20 and March 12, 1956, the Guild distributed about 20 circulars among the office employes inviting them to affiliate with the Guild.

The intervention by the Guild in the NLRB proceedings and the solicitation of membership are the acts complained of by the Office Employes Union as constituting violations of the No-Raiding Agreement.

Paragraph 3 of the No-Raiding Agreement provides that

> "The Congress of Industrial Organizations and each union signatory hereto affiliated with it, and each of them, agrees that neither it nor any of its locals will, directly or indirectly, (a) organize or represent or attempt to organize or represent employes as to whom an established bargaining relationship exists with the American Federation of Labor or with any union which is signatory hereto affiliated with the American Federation of Labor (including any of the locals of such union); (b) seek to represent, or obtain the right to represent, such employes or to disrupt the established bargaining relationship; . . ."

Nowhere in the No-Raiding Agreement is there any qualification of the promises set forth in Paragraph 3 (or in its counterpart, Paragraph 2), and in Paragraph 5(e) the Umpire is plainly directed to determine merely whether the acts complained of constitute a violation of the Agreement.

The Guild, however, raises an interesting collateral question. Admitting that by intervening in the NLRB proceedings it is requesting that the Guild be substituted for the Office Employes Union as the sole bargaining representative of the entire bargaining unit covering the general office workers, it points out that the Office Employes Union contract excludes part time employes and certain so-called confidential and skilled groups, who are customarily included in Guild contracts, and that it cannot be said to be guilty of raiding with respect to these excluded groups.

If the Guild were confining itself to these excluded groups, or if it were seeking to carve out a separate bargaining unit of such employes, its point would merit consideration. The fact is, however, that it is directing its organizational efforts at the entire bargaining unit, with no special mention of the excluded groups, and the issue must be decided accordingly.

The decision is, therefore, that in intervening on or about January 30, 1956, in the NLRB proceedings and by soliciting the membership of the general office employes of the Minneapolis Star and Tribune Company the Guild has committed acts which constitute a violation of the No-Raiding Agreement.

DAVID L. COLE

DECISION NO. 11-56

May 14, 1956

Between

UNITED PAPERWORKERS OF AMERICA, CIO

And

PRINTING PRESSMEN AND ASSISTANTS' UNION OF NORTH AMERICA, AFL

(Sutherland Paper Co., Kalamazoo, Michigan)

Appearances:

For United Paperworkers of America, formerly CIO
Warren Woods, of Washington, Attorney
Harry D. Sayre, of Washington, President

For Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America, formerly AFL
John McLellan, of Kingsport, Tenn., Attorney
Peter Perrigo, of Chicago, Special Representative

The two unions involved in this case are now affiliated with the AFL-CIO, but prior to the merger the Paperworkers were in the CIO and the Printing Pressmen in the AFL. Under the terms of the extension of the AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agreement, this dispute is governed by the provisions of the No-Raiding Agreement.

The Paperworkers charge the Printing Pressmen with violating the No-Raiding Agreement at the Sutherland Paper Company, Kalamazoo, Michigan, particularly that it is violating Section 2 by attempting to organize or represent employees as to whom an established bargaining relationship exists with the Paperworkers and by seeking to disrupt this relationship. This, the Paperworkers assert, the Pressmen's Union is doing by supporting an action in the Michigan courts seeking to set aside the affiliation of the Independent Union of Sutherland Paper Company Employees, Inc., with the Paperworkers, by seeking through these court proceedings to prevent the Paperworkers from collecting dues and functioning, and by distributing leaflets, conducting meetings, and encouraging resolutions all designed to

divest the Paperworkers of their duly established bargaining relationship.

As is true in most of the raiding cases which reach the arbitration stage, there have been years of rivalry which have led the respective union representatives into fixed, antagonistic attitudes. This Company was for a long time the largest paper manufacturing company in Michigan with an unaffiliated union. The Independent Union of Sutherland Paper Company Employees, Inc., which represented the production and maintenance employees, was a non-profit corporation of Michigan and long resisted the efforts of both parties to this dispute to replace them in whole or in part as the bargaining representative. The Pressmen's Union commenced its organizing efforts in 1952, seeking primarily to carve out as its bargaining unit the printing craft. In an NLRB election in 1953 the Independent Union succeeded in retaining this craft. In 1955 the Paperworkers petitioned the NLRB for an election to determine the representative for the production and maintenance workers. The Pressmen intervened, requesting that there be a separate unit for the printing craft, and by having its affiliate, the Printing Specialties & Paper Products Union, Local 507, go on the ballot as a contending union for the remainder of the production and maintenance group. In the election of June 2, 1955, the Independent Union received 1335 votes, the Paperworkers 788, the Printing Specialties Union 51, and the AFL Paper Makers 71 votes as representative for the production and maintenance unit as a whole. Of a total of 2675 eligible voters, 2452 cast ballots. The Pressmen promptly filed objections to the conduct affecting the election and requested a runoff election of the printing craft alone. This request was denied and the charges dismissed by the NLRB.

On August 15, 1955, a majority of the members of the Independent Union voted to affiliate their organization with the Paperworkers and to change the name of the Independent Union to show this affiliation. The Independent filed an affidavit reciting these facts with the NLRB and moved to have its name changed and the affiliation with the Paperworkers indicated in the pending NLRB proceedings. Notice was given to all parties; none objected; and the Board on October 9, 1955, recited these facts and certified that the

"Union of Sutherland Paper Company Employees Incorporated, affiliated with United Paperworkers of America, CIO" had been designated and selected by a majority of the employees of the Company, in the unit found to be appropriate, as their representative for the purpose of collective bargaining.

On September 23, 1955, a three-year agreement was negotiated by the union subsequently certified with the employer, contingent on the amendment of the certification above described, which was made on October 9, 1955.

Actions were subsequently instituted in the Michigan Circuit Court, Kalamazoo County, and in the United States District Court, against the Independent Union by employees apparently encouraged and supported in doing so by the Pressmen's Union. The federal court case was dismissed and the state court held that there are only two questions before that court: (1) whether the affiliation action taken by the Independent Union complied with the applicable state statutes, (2) whether there was any vitiating fraud in this action or in the resulting affiliation with the Paperworkers Union. All other questions were ruled out as within the jurisdiction of the NLRB or the federal courts, including presumably all questions concerning the validity of the certification and of the collective bargaining agreement entered into with the Company. The Paperworkers were, however, temporarily restrained from collecting dues.

The Printing Pressmen's Union became a signatory to the AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agreement in January, 1956, the effective date being January 29, 1956. It contends now that this representation dispute originated long before it became bound by the No-Raiding Agreement, that the court proceedings were pending at the time and that these proceedings are excluded from the restrictions of the No-Raiding Agreement as such pending proceedings.

Taking the last item first, the governing provisions is Section 9(c), which reads:

> "This Agreement shall not apply to disputes in which representation proceedings are pending before the National Labor Relations Board, or other appropriate federal or state agency, on January 1, 1954, and so long as

such proceedings are pending. Both organizations will exercise their best efforts in the interim, to minimize such disputes."

Clearly, the action in the Michigan court is not a representation proceeding within the meaning of the expression as used in 9(c). The representation proceedings were those conducted by the NLRB and they were concluded by the Board's dismissal of the Pressmen's charges and request for a runoff and the certification of October 9, 1955. As of January 29, 1956, there were no representation proceedings pending to which 9(c) could have reference.

The No-Raiding Agreement does not exclude from its coverage representation rivalries which have been in effect prior to the effective date of the Agreement. If it did, it is doubtful whether it could have effect on any raiding dispute likely to arise perhaps for years, because most of such rivalries are of long standing.

What the No-Raiding Agreement intends to accomplish is set forth in the preamble which quotes from the Interim Report and Recommendations of the Joint Committee on Labor Unity, namely to eliminate raids and attempts to organize or represent employees as to whom an established bargaining relationship exists, for the reasons set forth in the preamble. The specific undertakings of AFL affiliates are spelled out in Section 2 in clear and broad terms: that such unions and their locals will not "directly or indirectly, a) organize or represent or attempt to organize or represent employees as to whom an established bargaining relationship exists . . .; b) seek to represent, or obtain the right to represent, such employees or to disrupt the established bargaining relationship; . . ." By definition, as set forth in Section 1, the Paperworkers has an established bargaining relationship with the Sutherland Paper Company because it has been certified by the NLRB as the collective bargaining representative for the employees in question.

The plain and undeniable purpose of the leaflets, resolutions and meetings instigated or conducted by the Pressmen's Union is to disrupt the established bargaining relationship now enjoyed by the Paperworkers or one of its

locals, and to obtain for itself the representation of the employees in question. To the extent that it is responsible for the institution of the action in the Kalamazoo Circuit Court in Michigan and for its continued prosecution, the intent, purpose and effect is likewise to disrupt this bargaining relationship as a step toward the organization and representation of these employees by the Pressmen's Union.

The decision is that the acts complained of constitute a violation of the AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agreement.

DAVID L. COLE

DECISION NO. 12-56

August 17, 1956

Between

UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA, CIO

And

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS, AFL
(Kupfer Products, Inc., Madison, Wisc.)

Appearances:

For United Steelworkers of America, formerly CIO
Elliot Bredhoff, Associate General Counsel
Leo Keefer, Representative

For International Association of Machinists, formerly AFL
Charles F. West, Grand Lodge Representative
Louis P. Poulton, Grand Lodge Attorney
Gilbert Brunner, Grand Lodge Representative

The United Steelworkers of America, formerly CIO, charges the International Association of Machinists, formerly AFL, with violation of the AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agreement at the plant of Kupfer Products, Inc., Madison, Wisconsin. The Steelworkers Union, asserting that it has an established bargaining relationship at this plant, as defined in the No-Raiding Agreement, complains that nevertheless the Machinists started an organizing campaign in January, 1956, and on April 27, 1956, filed a petition with the NLRB for the purpose of being certified as the representative of the employees as to whom the Steelworkers have already been certified.

The facts are not seriously in dispute. In 1954 Kupfer Products, Inc., was engaged in the production of certain defense items as a sub-contractor, employing about 38 people. Early that year the Steelworkers undertook to organize the plant, and on July 1, 1954, after some three months of NLRB proceedings including an election, was certified as the bargaining representative of the production and maintenance employees. Negotiations for a collective bargaining

agreement were carried on from July to December, and a large number of items were agreed upon, but differences remained as to union security, arbitration and no-strike provisions, wage increase and the term of the agreement. The negotiations were difficult and there were several delays. In August, 1954, the Company began to lay off employees because it had decided to discontinue its operations as a sub-contractor on defense work. By February 14, 1955, there were only 10 workers on the payroll and these were also laid off soon thereafter. In January, 1955, the Steelworkers assisted some of the employees in starting wage actions in court under the Wisconsin law and in February unfair labor practice charges were instituted in connection with the layoffs. These actions were subsequently discontinued when the Steelworkers' legal representatives decided they could not be sustained.

Sometime in 1955, while not in active operation the Company sold some of its machinery and equipment, but apparently replaced it, and also enlarged its plant, and just before the end of the year began rehiring and recruiting help for its present operation. It now manufactures milk coolers. The product currently is different from what it was working on in 1954, but the types of machines and the skills and work of the employees are similar. The work in both periods included the operation of various kinds of lathes, drills, grinders and boring machines and assembly and inspection functions.

When this Company resumed operations in January, 1956, it advertised for help and listed the attractive features of the employment offered, mentioning paid vacations and holidays, among other things. It distributed a document to the employees called "Conditions of Employment" which specified in language similar to what would normally be part of a collective bargaining agreement provisions relating to hours of work, overtime, call time, holidays, vacations, probationary period, seniority, safety and health, wages, transfers, and shift premiums. The noteworthy feature is that a number of these items were in the exact form in which they had been agreed upon with the Steelworkers in the uncompleted 1954 negotiations

At this time it happened that another company in Madison had discontinued certain operations and many of its

employees were laid off. This other company had been organized by the Machinists and the laid off employees were members of the IAM. Many of them accepted employment with Kupfer Products. There are now 68 employees in the bargaining unit as compared with 38 in 1954 when the Steelworkers Union was certified. Only five or six of the present employees worked for the Company in 1954.

The NLRB petition of the Machinists led to a hearing on May 23, 1956. The IAM and the Company stipulated that they were willing to have a consent election. The Steelworkers objected, after indicating at first that it might also consent, when it could not be agreed that the election would be deferred for 60 days. This the Steelworkers Union desired in order to have time to complete processing the case under the No-Raiding Agreement before the election was conducted. The Steelworkers had intervened in this NLRB proceeding. On July 10, the two unions jointly requested the NLRB to defer action until these No-Raiding proceedings could be completed. On August 2, 1956, the NLRB ordered an election to take place within 30 days.

This case hinges primarily on the question whether the Steelworkers should be held to have abandoned its certification rights and thereby to have surrendered its established bargaining relationship.

The No-Raiding Agreement defines established bargaining relationship as:

> ". . . any situation in which a union or a local, as herein defined, either (a) has been recognized by the employer . . . as the collective bargaining representative for the employees involved for a period of one year or more, or (b) is certified by the National Labor Relations Board . . . as the collective bargaining representative for the employees."

Where there is an established bargaining relationship each signatory union agrees neither directly nor indirectly to organize, represent, or attempt to organize or represent the employees or to seek to disrupt the established bargaining relationship.

It is of course conceivable that a union may be certified and may thereafter neglect or ignore its duty as representative of the employees to such an extent and for such a period of time as to be held to have abandoned its rights. There is no explicit provision in the No-Raiding Agreement covering such a situation but if the proof indicated such a state of facts it would lead to an unavoidable conclusion.

Here, however, the Steelworkers were duly certified in July, 1954, and negotiated in the normal manner until December 12, 1954, when negotiations were suspended because the plant was in the process of laying off all its employees preparatory to discontinuing its defense work. It is significant that the employees were not terminated but simply laid off at the time. The employer reopened in January, 1956, in the same corporate name, in the same premises, and with substantially the same supervision. True, its operations were enlarged and a different product was to be made, but the type of work and of equipment remained practically the same. Certainly no one would contend that an increase in size of operation or a change in type of product nullifies the representation rights of the incumbent union. Within days or at most a few weeks of the time when the employer's resumption of operations became known the Steelworkers' representative was conducting meetings of employees. He also promptly notified the IAM of the rights of his union and formal notification was given by the President of the Steelworkers to the President of the Machinists.

In the early part of 1956 the Steelworkers deemed it wise to delay action with regard to the employer until the plant was well established in its resumed operations. The IAM thought otherwise and proceeded more actively and promptly. Both were informed by management that recognition would be withheld until the NLRB acted.

It is not for the Umpire to pass judgment on which course was the wiser or more effective. The No-Raiding Agreement confers no such authority on him. It can safely be said, however, that the suspension of negotiations and other activities by the Steelworkers for a period of somewhat over a year under the circumstances described above

was warranted and does not constitute an abandonment of the established bargaining relationship which was created by the July, 1954, certification of the NLRB.

The decision therefore is that the IAM's organizing activities at the Kupfer Products, Inc., plant, including the filing of its petition with the NLRB, constitute a violation of the No-Raiding Agreement.

DAVID L. COLE

DECISION NO. 13-56

September 12, 1956

Between

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF ELECTRICAL WORKERS, AFL

And

UNITED RUBBER, CORK, LINOLEUM AND PLASTIC WORKERS OF AMERICA, CIO
(Ansonia Wire and Cable Company, Berkeley, R. I.)

Appearances:

For International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, formerly AFL
Robert E. Noonan, Assistant to the President
Arthur Houle, International Representative

For United Rubber, Cork, Linoleum and Plastic Workers of America, formerly CIO
Fleet Perrine, Organizational Director
Michael Tamburro, Field Representative

The IBEW charges the Rubber Workers Union with violation of the No-Raiding Agreement by reason of its efforts to organize and represent the employees of Ansonia Wire and Cable Company at Berkeley, R. I. The IBEW rests its claim on the facts that in 1950 it was duly certified as the bargaining representative at this Company's plant at Ansonia, Connecticut, and had contractual relations there until July 15, 1956, including since 1953 a union shop provision, and that the operation at Berkeley, R. I., represented a removal of the Ansonia plant to the new location. The IBEW urges that it has an established bargaining relationship with this Company, as defined in the No-Raiding Agreement, and that it therefore follows that the URW as a signatory to this Agreement is forbidden to organize or represent the employees in question or to disrupt this established bargaining relationship.

There is little dispute over the pertinent and controlling facts. In 1950 the IBEW was certified by the NLRB as

the bargaining representative for the production and maintenance employees of Ansonia Wire and Cable Company at its Ansonia, Connecticut, plant. A series of collective bargaining agreements followed, the last one expiring by its terms at the end of November, 1955. At that time the Company made known its plans to discontinue operations at Ansonia and to commence operations on or about April 1, 1956, in a new plant at Berkeley, R. I., about 100 miles away. The IBEW and the Company thereupon entered into an agreement extending the expiring agreement until the end of March. There were delays in the Rhode Island construction schedule, resulting in two additional extensions of the collective bargaining agreement until July 15, 1956. As part of the extension agreements provision was made for severance pay to all employees working in Connecticut who remained on the job until terminated by the Company, and also for the prorating of vacation pay. For some months prior to the opening of the Rhode Island plant the Company sent employees to the Connecticut plant for training, for periods ranging from one month to a maximum of eight months. In accordance with the union shop agreement in Ansonia, these employees became members of Local 1660, IBEW. When employees left their employment at Ansonia, however, whether to take jobs elsewhere in Connecticut or to go to the Company's new plant in Rhode Island, they were given honorable withdrawal cards by IBEW, and all such employees who went to the Rhode Island plant were engaged as new hires, with no credit whatsoever for seniority or other status attained at the Connecticut plant.

In April, 1956, the IBEW wrote the Company requesting a conference as to the representation rights in Rhode Island, but the Company at first postponed such a conference and finally took the position that any union which asserted the right to represent the employees in Rhode Island would have to be certified by the NLRB. IBEW agreed that this would be the proper and necessary course to follow, and so advised a group of the Rhode Island employees at a meeting on May 27, 1956.

Operations in Rhode Island started early in June and the Rubber Workers became active almost immediately. In fact, employees who had become IBEW members at the

Ansonia plant requested the Rubber Workers to step in, assuring this organization that they were represented by no union at the time in the Rhode Island plant. IBEW was at that time confining its representation efforts to the enforcement of its Ansonia agreement with the Company, principally in connection with the payment of severance pay. Difficulties which arose in Rhode Island over discharges alleged to be unwarranted or discriminatory were being handled by the Rubber Workers.

The treasury of Local 1660, IBEW, has been turned over to the International, to be held in escrow until Local 1660 is re-established.

On July 10, 1956, the Rubber Workers filed its petition with the NLRB seeking the sole right to represent the maintenance and production workers in the Rhode Island plant. To this the IBEW promptly took exception as a violation of the No-Raiding Agreement.

Many other facts were raised at the hearing and arguments were advanced based on such facts. They related to the customary types of jurisdiction exercised by each of the contesting unions, to the quality of the wage and working conditions in Berkeley as compared with those under the IBEW Ansonia agreement, and similar matters. These have no bearing on the issue before us.

The essential question is whether IBEW, and more specifically its Local 1660, has an established bargaining relationship within the meaning of the No-Raiding Agreement at the new plant at Berkeley, R. I. If so, then any activity of the Rubber Workers seeking to divest the IBEW of this relationship or to substitute itself for the IBEW as the representative of the employees would be in violation of Section 3 of the No-Raiding Agreement.

Section 1 of the No-Raiding Agreement contains this definition:

> ". . . the phrase 'established bargaining relationship' means any situation in which a union or a local, as herein defined, either (a) has been recognized by the employer (which, for this purpose, shall include any

governmental agency) as the collective bargaining representative for the employees involved for a period of one year or more, or (b) is certified by the National Labor Relations Board or other Federal or State agency having jurisdiction as the collective bargaining representative for the employees."

The employer has most certainly not recognized Local 1660 or the IBEW as the collective bargaining representative for the employees involved, meaning the employees at the Rhode Island plant. On the contrary, it has steadfastly taken the position that no such bargaining rights will be recognized unless and until the NLRB acts. There is no dispute about this; in fact, IBEW agreed with the employer that this is necessary and desirable.

The only other ground for holding that there is an established bargaining relationship would be the 1950 NLRB certification. This, however, was explicitly confined to the employees within the bargaining unit at the Ansonia plant. Local 1660 by its course of conduct clearly recognized the restriction of this certification to the Connecticut plant. It interpreted prior rulings of the NLRB to deny it the right to extend its jurisdiction across state lines and for a distance of more than 100 miles to a plant which was not in existence when the certification was granted. It so informed the Rhode Island employees at an open meeting. It recognized when the employees left Connecticut to work in Rhode Island that the employer-employee relationships under its jurisdiction were terminated. Accordingly, it contracted for severance pay for all such employees and for a final prorating of vacation benefits. It made no effort to have such employees treated as transferred employees. They carried no seniority rights with them from Connecticut to Rhode Island, but were treated as completely new hires. The Connecticut agreement did not cover Company operations except those in Ansonia, and even after November, 1955, when it was known that the Connecticut plant was to be disbanded the extension agreements entered into by the Union made no provision whatever for the right to represent the employees in Rhode Island, or for any rights or protection to employees who were to go to Rhode Island from the Connecticut plant. It develops that, excluding em-

ployees sent into the Ansonia plant for the special purpose of being trained for employment later in Rhode Island, only one permanent Connecticut employee has gone to work in Rhode Island.

Adding to all this the honorable withdrawal cards issued by Local 1660, IBEW, even to workers who were known to be going to work in Rhode Island, because they were specially trained in Connecticut for this purpose, we have a vivid and undeniable picture of an entirely new and jurisdictionally unrelated operation in another state. There is neither a representation right recognized by the employer nor a certification of the NLRB granting representation rights at the Rhode Island plant to the IBEW.

The decision, therefore, is that the acts of the URW complained of by the IBEW do not constitute a violation of the No-Raiding Agreement.

DAVID L. COLE

DECISION NO. 14-56

October 22, 1956

Between

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF ELECTRICAL WORKERS, AFL-CIO

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS, AFL-CIO

UNITED ASSOCIATION OF JOURNEYMEN AND APPRENTICES OF THE PLUMBING AND PIPE FITTING INDUSTRY OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA, AFL-CIO

And

OIL, CHEMICAL AND ATOMIC WORKERS INTERNATIONAL UNION, AFL-CIO

(Arnold Engineering Center of Aro, Inc., Tullahoma, Tenn.)

Appearances:

For the Metal Trades Department
Paul R. Hutchings, Research Director

For IBEW
Frank W. Graham, Assistant to President
A. F. Wright, International Representative

For IAM
Charles F. West, Grand Lodge Representative
H. C. Summers, Business Representative

For UAP and PF
Leslie E. Dilg, General Organizer

For OCAW
Dial Murphy, District Director
C. R. Williams, International Representative
W. A. Hanscom, Legislative Director

The three unions first named above, all formerly affiliated with the AFL, charge the Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers International, formerly CIO, with violating the No-Raiding Agreement at the Arnold Engineering Center of Aro, Inc. at Tullahoma, Tennessee. This charge grows out of the petition filed by the Oil Workers Union with the NLRB on July 31,

1956, in which this union seeks certification as the representative of the technical employes, with certain exceptions.

This Tullahoma facility of Aro, Inc. is unusual in nature. It is a unit under control of the United States Air Force and was constructed for the purpose of carrying on research, development and testing of aircraft, propulsion and missiles. The first construction was completed in 1950, and since then additional facilities have been added and others are still in the process of being built and opened. There are a variety of separate test facilities or services including engine test, gas dynamics, propulsion, and general services or housekeeping. Engineers or scientists have played the leading part in planning and executing the various activities. There is no product in the usual industrial sense, and the categories of employes customarily called production and maintenance are referred to as operations, maintenance, and service employes.

Operations started in 1950. In January, 1952 the Company recognized as the bargaining representative desired by a majority of its operations, maintenance and service employes the Air Engineering Metal Trades Council, affiliated with the AFL. This Council is a combination of 13 separate unions, which include the IBEW, IAM, and the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Union. The problem presented in this case involves these three unions. The first collective bargaining agreement was made effective as of January 10, 1952 and contractual relations have continued ever since. Negotiations are about to be started for an agreement to amend or replace the current agreement which will terminate on January 9, 1957.

The difficulty in this case stems from the uncertainty concerning the coverage of the Metal Trades Council agreement with the Company. Article II, of the collective bargaining agreement, dealing with recognition, has remained unchanged since 1952 and provides:

> "*Section 1. Recognition.* The Company recognizes the Union as the exclusive Bargaining Agent with respect to rates of pay, wages, hours and other conditions of employment for the employes in the recognized Bargaining Unit as set forth below.
>
> 'The term 'employe' shall include all hourly paid operations, maintenance and service employes, including equip-

ment dispatchers, receiving and shipping clerks, but excluding technicians, technical employes, photographers, property inventory clerks, assistant steam plant engineers, office clerical employes, professional employes, guards, and supervisory employes as defined in the Labor-Management Relations Act.

At the time of hiring, an employe will be notified by the Company that the Union is recognized by the Company as the exclusive Bargaining Agent for the employes defined above.'

The exclusion of technicians and technical employes is the critical part of this provision.

In the early part of its operations, the Company began to hire a number of people who were designated as technicians to work on and about the test cells, and these employes were excluded from the bargaining unit. At the same time, however, the list of job classifications attached to the agreement included classifications such as Electronic Instrument Maker, Mechanic Instrument Maker, and Skilled Trade Worker—Mechanic Instrument Maker, which, the unions insisted, were doing the same work as the employes called technicians. In April, 1953, the Metal Trades Council protested about this to Management and a long series of conferences followed. In October, 1953, the Company agreed to establish a new classification called Test Facility Craftsman, grades I, II, and III, for both the electrical and machinist groups, which encompassed many of the employes previously excluded from the bargaining unit as technicians or technical employes. In 1954, at the urging of the Metal Trades Council, these new classifications were expanded to include Test Facility Craftsmen IV and V, both of which are rated substantially higher than the journeyman level. While this still failed to satisfy these labor organizations fully and discussions on the subject have continued until recently, the result was that 245 of the employes formerly excluded are now within the bargaining unit and only 62 remain in the excluded group. Since the new classifications were created, Management has been referring to the excluded technicians as Instrumentation Specialists.

The uncontradicted evidence presented at our hearing indicates that these Instrumentation Specialists and the Test Facility Craftsmen do substantially the same kind of work and require practically the same skills and experience. In fact, they frequently work interchangeably on such work; they use the same tools and equipment, using each others when it is convenient to do so. They sometimes work together on projects, and they are expected to assist each other on problems. They have their own supervisors but when working together they work under the same supervisor. There have been instances of promotions from one of the labor grades in the craftsman group to a higher labor grade in the specialist group. In June, 1954, there were some electricians on lay-off who were hired by the Company as Instrumentation Specialists.

In May, 1956, an organization called the Association of Instrument Specialists filed a petition with the NLRB requesting the right to represent all five grades of these specialists, reciting that the IBEW and IAM also claimed jurisdiction. The Metal Trades Council raised the current agreement as a bar, and on May 29, 1956, the petition was dismissed by the Regional Director of the NLRB, and no appeal was taken. A second petition was filed by the Association in June, limiting the requested jurisdiction to technical employes, exclusive of those in the existing bargaining unit, and a similar defense was raised. On July 27, 1956, this petition was withdrawn without prejudice, and in the Board's notification of this action the Oil Workers Union was named, for the first time, as an interested party.

On July 31, 1956, the Oil Workers Union filed its petition with the NLRB which led to this complaint under the No-Raiding Agreement. In this petition the unit involved is described as follows:

"Included

"All technical employes at the Employers, Tullahoma, Tennessee, establishment

"Excluded

"Technical employes currently covered by the collective bargaining contracts between the Employer and other labor organizations, . . ."

The Oil Workers' view is that the Company denies that the Instrumentation Specialists are within the bargaining unit of the Metal Trades Council and that, therefore, by the definition of established bargaining relationship in the No-Raiding Agreement, as to these employes there is no such relationship and its efforts to organize and represent them do not constitute a violation of the No-Raiding Agreement. The Oil Workers Union asserts that it did not seek out these employes, that they came to the Union requesting representation.

The No-Raiding Agreement states as its fundamental policy that

> "No union affiliated with either federation shall attempt to organize or to represent employes as to whom an established bargaining relationship exists between their employer and a union in the other federation."

The Agreement provides that "established bargaining relationship means any situation in which a union . . ., either (a) has been recognized by the employer . . . as the collective bargaining representative for the employes involved for a period of one year or more, or (b) is certified by the National Labor Relations Board . . . as the collective bargaining representative for the employes."

At Tullahoma there has been a running dispute for over three years between the Company and the Metal Trades Council as to whether these so-called specialists are or are not by the nature of their skills and work properly a part of the work groups represented by the Council. The differences have been whittled away, as indicated above, so that now 245 such employes are conceded to be properly within the bargaining unit, while the dispute continues as to the remaining 62 employes. Discussions on this subject were still going on when they were interrupted by the NLRB petitions filed by the Association of Instrument Specialists and later by the Oil Workers.

It is an odd quirk worth mentioning that in this case we find traditional craft unions insisting that all the employes doing what is normally called production and maintenance work be kept intact in one bargaining unit while a industrial union is attempting to carve out a small separate bargaining unit of specialists.

Whether the employer has indeed recognized the Metal Trades Council as the bargaining representative for these specialists constitutes a dispute over the meaning and application of the current collective bargaining agreement. If in a perfectly clear case the employer should nevertheless maintain that in its opinion a classification or group of employes is not actually or properly within the bargaining unit, this certainly would not warrant another signatory to the No-Raiding Agreement in stepping in, accepting the employer's view, and carving out a separate unit. This would hardly be in harmony with the fundamental policy and purpose of the No-Raiding Agreement. The same must be true in any situation in which a reasonable dispute as to coverage exists between the employer and the recognized or certified union.

Otherwise, the opportunity of causing disruption and the temptations that might arise could do serious harm to the entire no-raiding principle. If it is finally determined or conceded that a classification or group is outside the bargaining unit the circumstances would be altogether different. But while such a dispute is in the active stage it is certainly premature for another union to intervene and to proceed on the premise that the employer's view must be sustained.

The decision, therefore, is that the filing of the NLRB petition by the Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers International Union constitutes a violation of the No-Raiding Agreement.

DAVID L. COLE

DECISION NO. 15-56

November 28, 1956

Between

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS, AFL

And

UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA, CIO
(Bastian Bros. Co., Rochester, N. Y.)

Appearances:

For International Association of Machinists, formerly AFL
Charles West, International Representative

For United Steelworkers of America, formerly CIO
Oral Garrison, International Representative
John Strobel, Staff Representative

The International Association of Machinists, formerly AFL, complains of an alleged violation of the No-Raiding Agreement by the United Steelworkers of America, formerly CIO, with respect to metal die cutters who work at the Bastian Bros. Company plant in Rochester, New York. The charge is that although there was an established bargaining relationship in existence the Steel Workers filed a petition with the NLRB, in September, 1956, seeking to represent these employees.

These employees were for many years members of Local 3 of the International Metal Engravers and Marking Device Workers Union, AFL, which was their recognized representative at this plant. This union, the International Association of Machinists, and United Steelworkers of America are all signatories to the No-Raiding Agreement. On June 6, 1956, the merger of the Metal Engravers Union and the International Association of Machinists was approved by the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO. Discussions leading to this merger had been instituted in December, 1955. The Bastian local of the Metal Engravers Union had approached the Steel Workers in 1955 with the thought

of leaving the Metal Engravers and affiliating with the Steel Workers but were told that this could not be done because of the No-Raiding Agreement. In April, 1956, they again approached the Steel Workers, saying that if the merger with the International Association of Machinists then under consideration was approved by the locals of their International Union, this local would disaffiliate in accordance with a notice already sent to their International. This notice had been mailed on March 29, 1956, and was received by the International on April 3, 1956. Article 14, Section 7 of the constitution of the Metal Engravers Union requires three-months' notice of withdrawal by a local. This three month period did not expire until after the merger with the International Association of Machinists had been approved by the AFL-CIO Executive Council.

The Steel Workers in April, 1956, still considered itself restricted by the No-Raiding Agreement, and so informed the Bastian employees, but after notifying the representatives of the International Metal Engravers Union of the desires of the members of Local 3 and affording them an opportunity to confer with the group, the Steel Workers advised the employees that if they completely disaffiliated from the Metal Engravers, as they represented they were in the process of doing, the Steel Workers would petition the NLRB for the right to represent them.

In Sections 2 and 3 of the No-Raiding Agreement each signatory union agrees that it will not directly or indirectly organize or represent or attempt to organize or represent or seek to obtain the right to represent employees as to whom an established bargaining relationship exists with any other signatory union affiliated with the other federation. There is no question as to the existence of such a bargaining relationship between the Metal Engravers Union and the Employer. An understanding between a signatory union and a local of another signatory union that if it will disaffiliate from its international union the former will seek to obtain the right to represent the workers would constitute a plain violation of the No-Raiding Agreement.

The question, therefore, is whether a duly approved merger between the parent union and another signatory

changes the facts so as to relieve the so-called raiding union of its obligation not to represent or seek to represent the employees as to whom there has been an established bargaining relationship. Unquestionably, the Metal Engravers Union could have complained so long as it remained in existence. It would seem that its right to do so accompanies it into the other international union into which it is absorbed, particularly since both merging unions are signatories.

Moreover, the promise not to disrupt the established bargaining relationship is coupled with a specific promise neither directly nor indirectly to represent or seek to obtain the right to represent employees falling within the description of the employees here in question. This would seem to be broad enough not to permit the purpose of the No-Raiding Agreement to be nullified by simply waiting until a preliminary disaffiliation step is completed. This could make circumvention relatively easy, and this was certainly not within the reasonable contemplation of the parties who entered into the No-Raiding Agreement.

For the foregoing reasons, the decision is that the acts of United Steelworkers of America complained of by the International Association of Machinists constitute a violation of the No-Raiding Agreement.

DAVID L. COLE

DECISION NO. 16-56

November 29, 1956

Between

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF ELECTRICAL WORKERS, AFL

And

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ELECTRICAL, RADIO AND MACHINE WORKERS, CIO

(Friendship International Airport Plant, Westinghouse Electric Corp., Baltimore, Md.)

Appearances:

For International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, formerly AFL

Russell H. Olson, International Representative

William J. Brown, Attorney

M. S. Woehlke, Business Manager, Local 1805, IBEW

James E. Noe, Director of Research, IBEW

Paul H. Menger, Director—Manufacturing and Organization, IBEW

For International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, formerly CIO

Al Hartnett, Secretary-Treasurer, IUE

Bert Diamond, Legal Department, IUE

Rodger Coyne, Assistant to the Secretary-Treasurer, IUE

Archie G. Rice, President, Local 130, IUE

Paul Boylan, Field Representative

IBEW, asserting it has an established bargaining relationship with Westinghouse Electric Corporation with respect to the Company's new plant at Friendship International Airport, Baltimore, charges IUE with a violation of the No-Raiding Agreement by reason of the petition filed by IUE on September 17, 1956, with the NLRB. In that petition the IUE requested the Board to amend the certification granted IUE on August 31, 1955 by including production

and maintenance and certain other employees of the Employer at its Friendship International Airport Plant.

In the representation proceedings leading to IUE's certification on August 31, 1955, in which the Company was a party, the NLRB in its order directing the election stipulated as the appropriate unit the designated employees "of the Employer at its Baltimore Works located at 2519 Wilkins Avenue and 3601 Washington Boulevard, Baltimore," and in a footnote referred to a new plant which the Employer anticipated building in the Baltimore area. IUE had contended that the unit should be described as the "Baltimore Works," without reference to street addresses. The Board rejected this, and stated: "The propriety of including in the unit employees at any such plant to be built in the future should be decided in later proceedings for clarification of the certification or redetermination of the appropriate unit."

The new plant in contemplation at the time was the plant subsequently completed at Friendship Airport which is the subject-matter of this dispute.

The sole question to determine is whether the IBEW has an established bargaining relationship, as defined in the No-Raiding Agreement, with reference to the employees in question. The No-Raiding Agreement states:

> ". . . the phrase 'established bargaining relationship' means any situation in which a union . . . either (a) has been recognized by the employer . . . as the collective bargaining representative for the employees involved for a period of one year or more, or (b) is certified by the National Labor Relations Board . . . as the collective bargaining representative for the employees."

Westinghouse has had another plant at Friendship International Airport at which IBEW has been the recognized bargaining representative for production and maintenance employees since 1952. The original recognition was based on a membership card count, without certification by the NLRB. This plant has worked solely on military items and is operated by the Company's Air Arm Division. In 1955 representation proceedings were instituted by the United

Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, and resulted on March 9, 1955, in certification of the IBEW. The appropriate unit was described as certain groups of employees "at the Employer's Air Arm Division, Baltimore, Maryland."

The IBEW-Westinghouse agreement of December 2, 1952, also described the unit as consisting of certain groups of employees at the Corporation's "Air Arm Division, Baltimore, Maryland," and there were five modifications of this agreement through December 23, 1955 without any modification of the described unit.

On May 8, 1956, some five months before the new plant went into production, the Manager of the Company's Electronics Division addressed a letter to all employees of the Electronics Division. After explaining the reasons for delays in completing the building, he pointed out that the new Electronics Division Plant is within a few hundred feet of the Air Arm Division, that the two are connected by a service tunnel, and that the major part of each division's business is military products. He stated that the "product lines are sufficiently different, both in design and customer contacts, that we have no intention of combining the two divisions into one operation." He favored close cooperation, however, between the two divisions. He concluded his letter with the following three paragraphs:

> "One of these areas of cooperation is that of labor relations. Because the new Electronics Plant is on the same 75-acre tract upon which the Air Arm Division Plant was built, we believe it is entirely logical to consider the new plant as being an extension of the same bargaining unit now representing the Air Arm Division hourly employes, namely the IBEW.
>
> "It will be necessary, of course, to preserve separate seniority units for the two plants, with one seniority unit in the Air Arm Division and the other seniority unit in the Electronics Division. This is not only a logical approach, but very conveniently it appears to meet the needs both of management and the hourly employes.

"For this reason—as well as for other advantages that could well mean greater opportunities and increased job security for our employes—it is our expectation that separate seniority units will be established under the common bargaining unit already in existence at the Friendship Airport location."

On June 8, 1956, the IBEW-Westinghouse agreement was amended in several respects. The recognition clause was modified by deleting from the unit description the words "Air Arm Division, Baltimore, Maryland" and replacing them with "Friendship International Airport Plants, Baltimore, Maryland." The seniority provisions were also modified. For our purposes it is sufficient to note that this amendment provides that "The Air Arm seniority unit and the Electronics seniority unit shall constitute separate and wholly independent seniority units."

It must be noted that the Baltimore plants in which IUE is the collective bargaining representative are operated by the Company's Electronics Division, and that the new plant is also operated by the Electronics Division. Employees now working at the new plant have been transferred from both the Friendship Air Arm plant and from the Company's other Baltimore plants, particularly Lansdowne, where IUE holds the bargaining rights. It should also be mentioned that the present NLRB petition of the IUE is intended and understood to seek representation rights only at the new Friendship Airport plants operated by the Electronics Division, and has no reference to the other plant in which IBEW holds unquestioned bargaining rights.

Under these facts, can it be said IBEW has the established bargaining rights at the new plant?

Its NLRB certification is limited to the Air Arm Division, Baltimore. Until June 8, 1956, IBEW was recognized by the Company as the collective bargaining representative of the employees of the Air Arm Division, Baltimore. Assuming the modification agreed upon by the Company and IBEW to be entirely valid, the resulting recognition with respect to the employees in question has not been in effect for one year or more, and therefore fails to meet the test set forth in the No-Raiding Agreement.

On the other hand, IUE may reasonably maintain that the petition it now has pending before the NLRB to extend its certification to the new Electronics Division Plant is precisely in line with what the Board, in its order of August 5, 1955, suggested should be done when the new building went into operation to clarify the certification or to redetermine the appropriate unit granted to IUE in those proceedings.

There is, then, neither recognition by the Employer of IBEW as the collective bargaining representative for the employees involved for a period of one year or more, nor has the IBEW been certified by the NLRB as the bargaining representative for these employees. Within the definition of the No-Raiding Agreement, it does not have the established bargaining relationship for the employees in question, and therefore cannot support the charge that IUE is guilty of raiding.

The decision is that the acts of IUE complained of by IBEW do not constitute a violation of the No-Raiding Agreement.

DAVID L. COLE

DECISION NO. 17-57

February 19, 1957

Between

UNITED RUBBER, CORK, LINOLEUM AND PLASTIC WORKERS OF AMERICA, CIO

And

INTERNATIONAL CHEMICAL WORKERS UNION, AFL
(Dryden Rubber Division, Sheller Manufacturing Corporation)
(Keokuk, Iowa)

Appearances:

For United Rubber, Cork, Linoleum and Plastic Workers of America, formerly CIO
Fleet Perrine, General Organizational Director

For International Chemical Workers Union, formerly AFL
Laron K. Judd, Vice President

This is in the nature of a declaratory judgment proceeding. The hearing was held in Washington, D. C., on February 14, 1957. URW has filed a representation petition with the NLRB seeking to replace Local 437, Chemical Workers Union, now affiliated with National Independent Union Council, as the bargaining representative for the production and maintenance employees of Dryden Rubber Division of Sheller Manufacturing Corporation at its Keokuk plant. ICW proposes to intervene, and the question submitted is whether this would constitute a violation of the No-Raiding Agreement.

There is an involved history behind this issue. From 1937 to 1950 Federal Labor Union 22077, AFL, represented these employees although repeatedly challenged in NLRB elections by the Rubber Workers. In 1950 this Federal Union was chartered as Local 437 of the International Chemical Workers, AFL, and continued as the bargaining representative until September 19, 1952, when the NLRB certified the Rubber Workers. On December 4, 1952, Local

444, URW, entered into a collective bargaining agreement with the employer to continue in force until August 7, 1956. On August 7, 1954, a petition for certification was filed with the NLRB by Local 437, ICW, although the existing Rubber Workers agreement had two more years to run.

United Rubber Workers protested this as a violation of the No-Raiding Agreement, which had been executed on June 9, 1954, by both the ICW and URW. ICW quickly acknowledged that this was a violation and on August 16, 1954, notified the Local and the Regional Director of the NLRB that it desired the petition withdrawn. The Regional Director advised the ICW that the petition could be withdrawn only by the petitioner, Local 437, unless its charter was revoked by the International Chemical Workers. The NLRB regional office conducted its hearing September 22, 1954, and transferred the case to the NLRB Washington Office. Subsequently, on October 25, 1954, the ICW revoked the charter of Local 437 and so notified both the NLRB and the Local's officers. Four days later, however, Sidney Garfield, Vice President of ICW, wrote the president of Local 437, in substance as follows:

"As you know, we must honor the terms of the no-raid pact, to which the International is a party, and it is for that sole reason that your Local Union charter has been revoked.

"In answer to your direct question about the future in case of a certification, if the time comes that the workers of Dryden become free agents, they would be entitled again to a local union charter and to again take their place in the family of chemical workers." Local 437 conspicuously publicized this letter in a Keokuk newspaper, together with this statement:

"The National Labor Relations Board has ruled that internal union disputes arising under the so-called 'no-raid pact' cannot be used by the CIO to block the election petition of local 437 AFL or to interfere with the right of the Dryden employees to choose Local 437, International Chemical Workers Union, AFL, as their new bargaining representative. As soon as Local 437 wins

the Certificate of Election in the NLRB election on January 14, 1955, it will enter into a New Contract with the Company. It will be reinstated in Good Standing in the International Chemical Workers Union, AFL, as the accompanying letter provides."

In the campaign which preceded the NLRB election on January 14, 1955, Local 437, which had retained physical possession of its charter, exhibited it on television and elsewhere and stressed very strongly that a vote for it was a vote for the AFL. It conducted meetings or rallies at the Keokuk AFL Trades and Labor Assembly premises, and at such a meeting immediately before the election the Local president stated that if Local 437 were successful in the election it could promptly thereafter become reaffiliated with ICW. A field representative of ICW was present at this meeting and agreed with this statement.

At the election on January 14, 1955, Local 437 prevailed over URW, Local 444, by a vote of 340 to 314, and an agreement to be in force for five years was entered into with the Company as of April 4, 1955. In this agreement, the union was designated as Chemical Workers Union, Local 437, International Chemical Workers Union, American Federation of Labor. The membership application cards used by Local 437 before and since the NLRB election also identified Local 437 as a local of the ICW. For a period of time the cards authorizing dues deductions also referred to Local 437 as affiliated with ICW, AFL.

Despite constant prodding by URW, the International Chemical Workers Union maintained it had done all it could to comply with the No-Raiding Agreement, in particular that it could not stop the local from using the name of ICW or representing that it was affiliated with the AFL except by court action, which the International was disinclined to institute.

On July 21, 1955 ICW and URW wrote jointly to W. F. Schnitzler and James B. Carey, the Secretary-Treasurers of AFL and CIO, enclosing an Agreed Statement of Facts and requesting that they "consider this dispute and make recommendations to the parties for a disposition thereof." In his

reply to the President of ICW, dated August 13, 1955, Mr. Schnitzler wrote, among other things, the following:

> "Initially, everyone agreed that there was an attempt to raid as defined in our No-Raiding Agreement."
>
> "We find that your statement . . . wherein you discussed the independent status of this group, that if used universally would entirely eliminate the provisions of the No-Raiding Agreement. The adoption of your observation would entirely result in creating an atmosphere whenever a union wants to raid, instead of signing the workers involved on their own applications would encourage workers to vote independent . . . ."

The course suggested by Mr. Schnitzler is no longer relevant because it was meant to meet the situation as it was in August, 1955. There has been a more recent development which led to the presentation of this case to the Impartial Umpire.

The collective agreement between Local 437 and the Company was a bar to any formal efforts of the URW for a period of two years. Promptly after this two year period expired, the Rubber Workers Union filed its petition for certification, and the question now is whether ICW is free, under the No-Raiding Agreement, to intervene.

ICW's principal contention is that Local 437 is now simply another independent union which is subject to raid by any other union, whether a signatory to the No-Raiding Agreement or not. ICW points out that the Rubber Workers Union now has no established bargaining relationship with this Company, and that it is therefore not entitled to the protection of the No-Raiding Agreement; that any other signatory union could freely enter the contest for representation rights, and to deny ICW this right would amount to giving it "a second class status."

But for the history of this case, ICW would be on solid ground. The fact is, however, that in 1954 ICW was in violation of the No-Raiding Agreement by reason of the raid conducted by its Local 437 on the Rubber Workers while the Rubber Workers had a subsisting collective bargaining agreement which had two more years to go. The finding of violation was made by the International Presi-

dent of the Chemical Workers, and he so advised the local, certain staff members and officers, and the regional NLRB office. Section 7 of the No-Raiding Agreement thereupon came into play. This section provides:

> "Each of the parties signatory hereto agrees that, in any case in which it is found that it, or any of its locals, has violated the provisions of this Agreement, it will cease such violation and will not, directly or indirectly, during the term of this Agreement, represent or seek to represent the employees involved, and that it will, in addition, take the following remedial action upon request of the complaining union:
>
> (a) Any petition for representation rights filed with the National Labor Relations Board, or any other appropriate federal or state agency, will be immediately withdrawn.
>
> (b) Any claims for recognition which may have been submitted to the employer will be withdrawn immediately."

The facts recited above indicate clearly that in the campaign preceding the January 14, 1955, NLRB election, there were several things ICW should have done, under Section 7, which it failed or declined to do. Its failure promptly to repudiate the advertised statement of its vice president, Sidney Garfield, its failure to take effective action to disabuse the employees of the publicized representation that a vote for Local 437 was a vote for the AFL, its willingness to let Local 437 continue to claim to be an affiliate of ICW, AFL, even to the point of so designating itself in the collective bargaining agreement it succeeded in obtaining, its failure promptly to repudiate the assurances given the employees at a campaign meeting by one of its field or international representatives that if they defeated the Rubber Workers they would be free shortly thereafter to re-join ICW, along with other matters, were all in clear derogation of the Agreement's requirement that it would neither directly nor indirectly represent or seek to represent the employees involved. Moreover, it did not *immediately withdraw* the petition filed with the NLRB. To do so, it was told it had to revoke the local's charter. It delayed

taking such action for over two months, and not until the hearing had been completed and the case sent by the regional office to the NLRB in Washington, at which time it was too late to stop the election.

ICW is not in the same position as any other signatory union which had no part in the 1954 raid and therefore no obligation, by virtue of the No-Raiding Agreement, to do certain things. Its formal admission of violation and its partial efforts to have the petition withdrawn were more than neutralized by the things done by some of is officers or staff members, and its failure to step up and set the record straight at the time when this would have counted certainly leaves it in a position in which it should not be permtted to profit from its own failure to meet its full contractual obligation.

Within the meaning and purpose of the No-Raiding Agreement, it must be held that the proposed intervention of ICW in the pending representation proceedings before the NLRB would be merely the final step in the raid undertaken by ICW through its Local 437 against the URW in this plant, and accordingly that such intervention would constitute a violation of the No-Raiding Agreement.

DAVID L. COLE

DECISION NO. 18-57

March 15, 1957

Between

ALLIED INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF AMERICA, AFL

And

UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA, CIO
(Tyler Fixtures Corp., Niles, Michigan)

Appearances:

For Allied Industrial Workers of America, formerly AFL
Saul Cooper, Attorney
Edward P. Donohue, Regional Director, Region 7
Al Davia, District Representative

For United Steelworkers of America, formerly CIO
John J. Brownlee, International Representative
Thomas F. Casey, International Representative

Local 816 of the Allied Industrial Workers, formerly known as UAW, AFL, was certified on February 29, 1944, by the NLRB as the bargaining representative of the employees of Tyler Fixtures Corp. at Niles, Michigan. Because of certain Board proceedings in 1952 the bargaining rights were lost, but this local was again certified by the NLRB on January 23, 1953. For many years prior to 1953, and from a date shortly after the re-certification until February 27, 1957, the employer and the union had contractual relationships, the collective agreement providing, among other things, for a union shop.

The AIW complains that despite this established bargaining relationship the USW on December 27, 1956, notified the employer that it claimed the right to be recognized as the bargaining representative for the same group of employees, and that on December 28, 1956, USW filed its petition with the NLRB to establish this right. This the AIW charges to be a clear violation of the No-Raiding Agreement to which both unions are signatory.

At the hearing of this complaint on March 14, 1957, the facts were not disputed. The Steelworkers were approached

by a number of employees of Tyler Fixtures Corp. in December, 1956, who requested that the Steelworkers represent this bargaining unit, saying that if it declined to do so they would "take other concerted action" to take the representation rights away from the incumbent union. Shortly thereafter, when membership application cards signed by a substantial number of the employees were delivered to the Steelworkers, this union frankly admits it took the action of which the AIW here complains.

The No-Raiding Agreement contains an unqualified promise by all CIO unions which are parties to it that they will not represent, attempt to organize, or seek to, or obtain the right to, represent employees as to whom an established bargaining relationship exists with an affiliate of the AFL, just as AFL unions promise the counterpart. There are no exceptions set forth in the Agreement, and the Impartial Umpire is given no authority to excuse a raid in violation of this promise on any grounds. His sole jurisdiction is to determine whether the acts complained of constitute a violation of the Agreement. In this respect the No-Raiding Agreement is more restrictive than either the AFL Internal Disputes Plan or the CIO Organizational Disputes Agreement.

Here it is agreed the UIW had an established bargaining relationship as defined in the Agreement.

The decision is that the acts of the United Steelworkers of America taken in its effort to represent the employees of Tyler Fixtures Corp., Niles, Michigan, constitute a violation of the No-Raiding Agreement.

DAVID L. COLE

DECISION NO. 19-57

March 20, 1957

Between

TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA, CIO

And

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS, AFL
(Pan American World Airways, Inc.)
(Guided Missiles Range Division)
(Cocoa Beach, Florida)

Appearances:

For International Association of Machinists, formerly AFL
Edward J. Hickey, Counsel
Plato E. Papps, Counsel
Charles F. West, International Representative

For Transport Workers Union of America, formerly CIO
Asher W. Schwartz, Counsel
James F. Horst, International Vice President

The Transport Workers Union complains that the International Association of Machinists, in violation of the No-Raiding Agreement, has been attempting to disrupt its established bargaining relationship with Pan American World Airways and to organize and represent employees of this Company at Cocoa, Florida, for whom TWU is the duly certified and recognized bargaining representative.

This charge was made on July 18, 1956, shortly after the IAM filed an application with the National Mediation Board to investigate a representation dispute among the mechanical and ground service employees, and the stock and stores employees of Pan American at the Company's Guided Missiles Range Division. Since then, and after this application was dismissed by the National Mediation Board on November 9, 1956, IAM instituted an action in the United State District Court for the District of Columbia seeking

a declaratory judgment that the employees in question are not subject to the Railway Labor Act and an injunction directing the National Labor Relations Board to take jurisdiction and reinstate the representation petitions filed by the IAM which the National Labor Relations Board had dismissed on February 17, 1956. In addition, IAM or its local representatives have been circularizing employees at Cocoa in opposition to TWU and in favor of IAM. These are the acts which TWU charges to be in violation of the No-Raiding Agreement.

The problems raised by this raiding charge can be understood only in the light of the rather unusual facts of this case. The TWU was originally certified on September 24, 1945, by the National Mediation Board, which administers the Railway Labor Act. Air carriers are subject to this Act. Since 1945 TWU has been recognized by Pan American World Airways and there have been a series of collective bargaining agreements. The recognition provision in these agreements has been extremely broad, being in this form:

> "The Union (TWU) is recognized by the Company as the sole collective bargaining agent for those employees of the Pan American World Airways, Inc., employed in the Continental United States, Alaska, Honolulu, Puerto Rico, Virgin Islands, and the Canal Zone, and comprising the class and craft of Airline Mechanics and Ground Service employees whose classifications are enumerated in Appendix 'A' of this Agreement, said Union having been certified as representing these employees in conformity with the provisions of the Railway Labor act, as amended."

It should be stated at this point that the classifications, types and skills of the employees involved in this dispute fall within the above description.

Pan American is of course primarily an air transportation carrier, operating in three divisions, the Atlantic, the Latin American, and the Pacific. In 1953, however, it agreed with the United States Air Force to maintain and operate a guided missile base at Cocoa, at which several other corporations would also perform certain func-

tions under contract with the Air Force. This operation has been called Pan American's Guided Missiles Range Division.

TWU, in the early part of 1954, requested the Company to apply the existing contract to this new division. Pan American declined, on the ground that in the case of Northwest Airlines v. Jackson, 185 Fed. 2d 74, the court had held that a bomber servicing operation was subject to the Fair Labor Standards Act and not the Railway Labor Act with respect to overtime compensation. TWU thereupon, on March 27, 1954, applied to the National Mediation Board to investigate this representation dispute, and the Board announced that it would hold a public hearing. However, because of the Board's heavy docket this hearing was indefinitely deferred.

IAM's first formal action was on August 19, 1955, when it filed a representation petition with the National Labor Relations Board. This petition was consolidated with a petition of the United Plant Guard Workers. TWU intervened, and on February 17, 1956, IAM's petition, as well as that of the United Plant Guards, was dismissed by the National Labor Relations Board on the ground that on January 30, 1956, after studying the record in the National Labor Relations Board proceedings, the National Mediation Board had advised that it was of the opinion that it has jurisdiction over the employees involved.

IAM then requested the National Mediation Board to grant it a hearing on the jurisdictional question. This hearing was held March 15, 1956. TWU and the United Plant Guards participated. On July 10, 1956, the National Mediation Board affirmed its jurisdiction over the employees involved, explaining in detail why the Railway Labor Act governed the situation, and why it rejected the contentions of the IAM.

On July 16, 1956, the IAM filed an application with the National Mediation Board to investigate a representation dispute in Pan American's Guided Missiles Range Division among (1) mechanical and ground service employees, and (2) stock and stores employees, requesting that Pan American's employees at Cocoa be deemed to

constitute separate crafts or classes from its airline employees, asserting that these employees are in a separate and functionally distinct operation of the Company and have interests separate and distinct from the other employees of the Company. A public hearing was conducted on August 14, 1956, and the Board's decision was rendered on November 9, 1956. After analyzing the facts and the Board's policy in such representation disputes, the National Mediation Board concluded by finding that: (1) this dispute is governed by the Railway Labor Act and is within the jurisdiction of the National Mediation Board; (2) under the Board's prior certification, the Transport Workers Union "is the duly designated and authorized representative of the craft or class of airline mechanics employed by Pan American;" (3) under the Board's prior certification, the International Association of Machinists "is the duly designated and authorized representative for the purposes of the Railway Labor Act of stock clerks, employees of Pan American;" (4) "the plant maintenance mechanics and ground service personnel of Pan American, also the stock clerks, employed at the Guided Missiles Range Division at Cocoa, Florida, are not separate crafts or classes for representation purposes under Section 2, Ninth, of the Railway Labor Act."

Shortly after this decision, by a letter dated November 21, 1956, Pan American agreed to recognize TWU as the bargaining representative of employees at Cocoa, and on December 21, 1956, an agreement was made providing that the current collective bargaining agreement, dated September 10, 1955, between PAA and TWU, covering mechanic and ground service personnel "shall be made applicable to employees of the Company's Guided Missiles Range Division" in the classifications in question. The December 21, 1956, agreement provides for the settlement of a back pay issue, which developed because of the long period during which the parties had been in disagreement over the representation rights, and in connection with this settlement it is stated: "This settlement is made without compromising the respective positions of the parties as previously enumerated."

As already stated, the IAM has now filed a complaint

in the United States District Court seeking to reverse the decisions of the NLRB and of the NMB and to restrain PAA permanently from bargaining with TWU under the Railway Labor Act and pursuant to the certification issued by the NMB.

It may be well to repeat that TWU did not invoke the No-Raiding Agreement until July 18, 1956, which was after both the NLRB and NMB had held that NMB has jurisdiction over the employees involved and that the Railway Labor Act controls this situation. This complaint of violation of the No-Raiding Agreement followed immediately after IAM's petition of July 16, 1956, by which it sought to have the NMB rule that the employees at Cocoa constitute a separate craft or class for representation purposes. The No-Raiding Agreement was signed by both the TWU and IAM as of June 9, 1954.

The National Mediation Board affirmed its holding that it has jurisdiction on July 10, 1956, six days before the IAM filed its application to have the Guided Missiles Range Division employees ruled to be a separate class or craft, and eight days before the raiding complaint was made by TWU.

The position of IAM with respect to the raiding charge is summarized in its letter of December 26, 1956, to William F. Schnitzler, Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-CIO. Among other things, President Hayes of the IAM wrote in this letter:

> ". . . we are willing to concede that if the Courts determine that the National Mediation Board has jurisdiction over these employees, obviously, any continued organizing activity on the part of the International Association of Machinists would be in violation of Act 5, Section (c) of the AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agreement. . . . It should, however, also be noted that at *no* time, either prior or subsequent to the IAM's organizing activity, has any right of representation for these employees ever been established, either by the National Labor Relations Board or the National Mediation Board. We might further state our position that until this matter is thoroughly adjusted and these legal questions resolved by

the Courts, we construe the attempts of the Transport Workers Union to compel members of the International Association of Machinists to come within the scope of their Agreement as a breach of good faith, as well as a breach of an honest attempt to resolve this dispute legally."

At the hearing before the Impartial Umpire IAM argued that the restrictions of the No-Raiding Agreement should not be applied to this dispute because (1) representation proceedings were pending before an appropriate federal agency, the NMB, on June 9, 1954, and the Agreement, in 9(c), excludes such proceedings from its effect, and (2) Pan American's operations in the Guided Missiles Range Division are so unrelated functionally to its air transportation as to make the holdings of the NMB clearly erroneous for the correction of which IAM should be permitted to prosecute the action now pending in the United States District Court. It expanded the latter point by urging that a ruling by the Court could well obviate the need of any ruling under the No-Raiding Agreement.

As of June 9, 1954, there was, so far as the record shows, no representation dispute between TWU and IAM. There was a dispute between TWU and the Company, for the resolution of which in March, 1954, TWU filed an application with the NMB. IAM first entered the dispute in August, 1955, when it instituted representation proceedings before the NLRB. This NLRB proceeding was started more than a year after the No-Raiding Agreement went into force, and cannot be held to be the kind of representation proceeding referred to in 9(c) which is exempted from the effect of the No-Raiding Agreement.

The fundamental policy of the No-Raiding Agreement is stated in the interim report of the joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee, which is quoted as an introduction in both the AFL and CIO reprints of the Agreement. This policy is:

"Both the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations should adopt as a fundamental policy of both federations this principle: No union affiliated with either federation shall attempt to organize or to represent employees as to

whom an established bargaining relationship exists between their employer and a union in the other federation."

The No-Raiding Agreement clearly expresses the intent to observe this basic policy. Sections 2 and 3 elaborate and detail the undertakings of the signatory unions. These promises are entirely consistent with the fundamental policy. There is further support of the policy in other parts of the Agreement.

It is plain that the intent and purpose is to discourage raids, as defined, and to employ simple, expeditious procedures to resolve disputes that arise under the Agreement. Sections 4, 5, 6, and 7 describe these procedures. Emphasis is placed on discussion and mediation, and if this is unsuccessful the only remaining resort is to an agreed upon type of binding arbitration. No special exclusion is stipulated for disputes which could be determined by the courts, any more than there is in the conventional arbitration agreement. The underlying purpose of arbitration is to avoid litigation in the courts. Consistent with this purpose, it should be noted that in Section 8 it is stipulated that

". . . any party to this Agreement . . . shall have the right to institute such actions or proceedings as may be necessary to compel compliance with the terms of this Agreement only after exhausting all of the steps provided herein."

In this very case, if the pending court action instituted by the IAM were permitted to run its course, it would be some time before a decision would be made. The likelihood is that thereafter the unsuccessful party would exercise its right of appeal, leading to further delays which could involve months or even years, during which the status of the employees at Cocoa would be uncertain and during which neither union could properly represent the employees.

In any event, the No-Raiding Agreement does not suspend the obligations of signatory unions in such circumstances, nor are these obligations made conditional on the absence of court litigation.

Even in cases, under Section 9(c), in which pending representation proceedings before the NLRB or other appro-

priate federal or state agency as of June 9, 1954, are permitted to continue, the Agreement limits this exemption by the clause "so long as such proceedings are pending." Within the framework and purposes of the No-Raiding Agreement this would not include subsequently instituted court actions. In other words, by entering into the No-Raiding Agreement the parties have agreed to restrict their freedom of choice of forums, in favor of the expedited and direct type of procedure outlined in the Agreement.

The substantive question here is whether, as of the times when IAM acted in the manner complained of, the TWU had an established bargaining relationship with PAA for the employees at Cocoa. These specific acts were the filing of the application with the NMB on July 16, 1956, to have these employees held to be a separate craft or class and the filing of the complaint in the District Court subsequent to the NMB decision of November 9, 1956, as well as the organizing activities on the local scene.

The July 16 application is now moot. The NMB dismissed this on November 9, 1956, holding at the same time that TWU "is the duly designated and authorized representative of the craft or class of airline mechanics employed by Pan American Airways, Inc.," and pointing out that plant maintenance mechanics and ground service employees of the kind employed at Cocoa are included in the craft or class of airline mechanics.

The court action, however, is very much alive. Its purpose is to have both the NMB and the NLRB overruled, to nullify the certification granted to TWU by the NMB's decision of November 9, 1956, and to restrain PAA from bargaining with TWU.

The established bargaining relationship, which the No-Raiding Agreement is explicitly designed to safeguard, is defined in Section 1 to mean:

> ". . . any situation in which a union or a local, as defined herein, either (a) has been recognized by the employer . . . as the collective bargaining representative for the employees involved for a period of one year or more, or (b) is certified by the National Labor Relations Board or other Federal or State Agency hav-

ing jurisdiction as the collective bargaining representative for the employees."

Both the NLRB and the NMB have held, the latter repeatedly, that the NMB has jurisdiction in this case. The NMB has decided that the prior certification granted TWU includes the craft or class of employees involved in this operation, thus granting or affirming the certification to TWU. Under the Agreement, the Umpire must accept certification by an appropriate federal agency as a fact, and not inquire into the validity or soundness thereof. The parties have so agreed in the No-Raiding Agreement.

It is not necessary, in view of this certification, to consider whether in fact the collective bargaining agreements between Pan American and TWU in effect since 1954 do not constitute recognition by the employer for a year or more. Within the meaning of the No-Raiding Agreement, TWU as of November 9, 1956, certainly, and undoubtedly at an earlier date, had an established bargaining relationship with PAA with regard to the craft or class of airline mechanics at the Company's Guided Missiles Range Division. This being so, IAM is under an explicit contract obligation not to organize, represent, or seek to organize or represent such employees and also not to disrupt this relationship.

DECISION

The Acts of IAM complained of by TWU related to the airline mechanics and ground service employees of PAA at its Guided Missiles Range Division, Cocoa, Florida, constitute a violation of the No-Raiding Agreement.

DAVID L. COLE

DECISION NO. 20-57

May 20, 1957

Between

METAL POLISHERS, BUFFERS, PLATERS AND HELPERS INTERNATIONAL UNION, AFL

And

UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AIRCRAFT AND AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA, CIO
(Ford Motor Company, Hardware Division)
(Sandusky, Ohio)

Appearances:

For Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers International Union
Robert A. Wilson, Attorney
William H. Gardner, Attorney
H. R. McDermott, International Representative

For United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America
Redmond H. Roche, Assistant General Counsel
Nelson Samp, Assistant Director, Ford Department
Lyle Speer, President, Local 1216

The UAW is by agreement with the Ford Motor Company the collective bargaining representative of the hourly-rated production and maintenance employees at the Company's Sandusky, Ohio, plant. On January 28, 1957, the Metal Polishers Union filed a petition with the NLRB seeking certification as the representative of the employees in this plant who are working as metal polishers, buffers, platers and helpers. The UAW complains that this and the activities related thereto constitute a violation of the No-Raiding Agreement.

In 1950 the Ford Motor Company transferred to Monroe, Michigan, operations which it had formerly carried on at its plants at Flat Rock, Michigan, and Hamilton, Ohio. In a decision reported at 92 NLRB 188 the NLRB held

that the Monroe plant represented substantially a consolidation and transfer of the operations and that the employees at Monroe were properly included in the employer-wide unit represented for some years by the UAW. Since then UAW has had an established bargaining relationship with Ford at the Monroe plant, to which the national collective bargaining agreements have been applicable, the current agreement being dated June 8, 1955.

The Ford Company erected a new plant at Sandusky in 1955 as part of its Hardware Division. It transferred from Monroe the manufacturing of zinc and aluminum die castings together with certain machining, polishing, buffing and plating operations. While the Metal Polishers Union questions whether the latter group of operators were in fact transferred, the Company and the UAW on February 8, 1956, entered into an agreement reciting that such a transfer was planned and acknowledging UAW as the bargaining representative for the hourly-rated employees at Sandusky included in the "contract unit" described in the existing collective bargaining agreement of June 8, 1955. The agreement of February 8, 1956, provided also for the Company to offer to all employees working at Monroe, as needed, the opportunity to transfer to Sandusky with their full seniority rights.

The Metal Polishers Union maintains that polishing, buffing and plating operations have been retained at Monroe, that very few employees in these categories have transferred to Sandusky, that a clear majority of the employees in these categories desire to have the Metal Polishers Union represent them, and that the polishing, buffing and plating work being performed at Sandusky is work previously done by outside contractors or vendors whose employees have been represented by the Metal Polishers Union.

The sole issue upon which this charge of raiding turns is one of fact: were the Monroe operations substantially transferred to Sandusky? If not, the recital that they were in an agreement between the employer and the UAW would not alter the facts and certainly not dispose of the issue. If what was done amounts substantially to a transfer, then the bargaining relationship established at the Monroe plant goes with this transfer of operations, and is entitled to the protection of the No-Raiding Agreement.

Some 383 Monroe employees originally elected, at the Company's offer, to transfer to Sandusky with their full seniority. Of these, 310 actually completed the transfer and accepted employment at the new plant. 24 employees in the classifications of polisher, buffer or plater are among those who thus transferred. The total employment of hourly employees at Sandusky is 1848, of whom 165 are in the classifications in question. The Superintendent of the Die Cast Department at Monroe and 35 other Monroe supervisors have been transferred to Sandusky. Of the machinery and equipment at Sandusky, 35 to 40% was removed from the Monroe plant. All these facts have been certified by the Ford Company to the NLRB, and are not disputed.

It should also be noted that between January and August, 1956, the number of hourly employees at Monroe dropped from 1800 to 900 while at Sandusky there was a corresponding and equal rise in employment. It is also of interest to observe that on April 30, 1956, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers filed a representation petition with respect to certain crafts of employees at Sandusky but, after being confronted with a charge of violating the No-Raiding Agreement, withdrew this petition on May 26, 1956.

In light of the above, the recital in the transfer agreement of February 8, 1956, between the Company and UAW is a faithful statement of fact, and not one which may be said to have been made as part of a concerted plan to confer jurisdiction on the UAW synthetically.

An established bargaining relationship is not disrupted by an enlargement or modification of operations or by a turnover of employees. Once a bargaining relationship has been established, the representative union is the agent for the employees in the bargaining unit, whether they consist of the identical people who chose that union or of additional or replacement employees. Nor is a bargaining relationship terminated because the employer elects to change or add to the products manufactured or serviced in the unit. See the decision of the Impartial Umpire in *Steel Workers Union and IAM*, Case No. 12-56, 27 LA 119.

The No-Raiding Agreement plainly states that no signatory union will directly or indirectly organize, repre-

sent, attempt to organize or represent, or seek to obtain the right to represent employees as to whom an established bargaining relationship exists with a union of the other federation, and moreover, that it will not seek to disrupt this established bargaining relationship. The established bargaining relationship which the signatory unions agreed to respect is not dependent on the size or place of the bargaining unit. A bargaining unit which is limited to one craft is protected equally with one that is plant-wide. But the promise to respect the relationship extends to every part of the bargaining unit, and an attempt to carve out a portion of the bargaining unit where there is an established bargaining relationship is as much a violation of the No-Raiding Agreement as an attempt to take over an entire plant. Contrary to the arguments of the Metal Polishers Union, there is no issue presented in this case, or indeed generally under the No-Raiding Agreement, as between craft and industrial unionism. Each is entitled to the same kind of protection, and each type of union is under the same contractual restrictions.

The bargaining relationship in this instance was not established on February 8, 1956 when the transfer agreement was made; it was established years earlier, and by the transfer agreement it was merely acknowledged that it applies to the new location.

This case is clearly distinguishable on the basic facts from the raiding case of *IBEW and Rubber Workers*, Case No. 13-56, 27 LA 206. There, when the operations were incorporated into a new plant, the incumbent union by its entire course of conduct made it evident that it considered the bargaining relationship terminated, and made arrangements accordingly for severance pay for the employees and no provision for protecting or transferring the employees or their seniority rights. In fact, only one employee moved to the new plant and he was hired as a new employee.

The case we are considering is much more analogous to that of *TWU and IAM*, Case No. 19-57, 28 LA 230. There the relationship established by virtue of a certification of the National Mediation Board was honored because of the definition of "established bargaining relationship" in Section 1

of the No-Raiding Agreement, although no operations were there transferred to the new location and there was no showing that in fact the employees at the new location were represented or desired to be represented by the certified union.

DECISION

The acts of the Metal Polishers Union complained of by the UAW constitute a violation of the No-Raiding Agreement.

DAVID L. COLE

DECISION NO. 21-57

June 3, 1957

Between

BUILDING SERVICE EMPLOYEES' INTERNATIONAL UNION, AFL

And

AMERICAN NEWSPAPER GUILD, CIO
(Hillbro Newspaper Printing Company)
(Div. of Hearst Publishing Co.)
(Los Angeles, Calif.)

Appearances:

For Building Service Employees' International Union, formerly AFL
Lester Asher, Counsel
Walter D. Collins, Assistant General President

For American Newspaper Guild
Irving Leuchter, Counsel
J. William Blatz, Director of Organization

This dispute grows out of the integration in 1956 by the Hearst Publishing Company, Inc., of the physical facilities of the Los Angeles Examiner and the Los Angeles Herald-Express. In the process of consolidating the printing and distributing functions of the two newspapers, the premises of the Examiner became the principal location of these activities, the Herald-Express plant being shut down.

The Building Service Employees' International Union is the complainant. Promptly after the Guild filed a petition on December 20, 1956, with the NLRB seeking the right to represent the building maintenance employees, including elevator operators, utility people (janitors and maids) and watchmen, the Building Service Union protested that this was a violation of the No-Raiding Agreement. Since then, on March 4, 1957, the Guild withdrew this petition, without prejudice, but the BSEIU complains that the Guild has been continuing its organizing efforts and has not with-

drawn its demand on the employer for exclusive bargaining rights. At the hearing this was not disputed. For the reasons to be stated shortly, the Guild insists that this controversy should be treated as outside the scope of the No-Raiding Agreement, and that the situation calls for an election conducted by some agency to let the employees decide which union they desire.

A variety of complicating factors have been introduced. The basic question, however, is whether the Building Service Union has an established bargaining relationship which the activities of the Guild would disrupt, and whether the Guild is seeking to organize or represent employees as to whom the BSEIU has an established bargaining relationship.

The Building Service Union, through its Local 399 or its predecessors, has been recognized as the representative of the janitors at the Examiner since 1944, and of the elevator operators, through its Local 217, since 1952. It has had collective bargaining agreements with the Examiner for many years, including a union shop provision. Its current agreement was made June 26, 1956, as of January 1, 1956, and this agreement will not expire until December 31, 1957. When the current agreement was made, a letter was attached which stated, in part:

> "It is understood and agreed, that, notwithstanding anything to the contrary contained in the above referenced agreement, that said agreement shall not constitute a bar to any petition or demand, which may be filed or made upon us [the Employer] prior to January 1, 1957, by any person or labor organization which claims the right to represent the bargaining unit, or any part thereof . . ."

The Guild has also had an established bargaining relationship for a number of years with the Herald-Express. Its agreements have covered editorial and a number of other departments, including the building maintenance department. Its last agreement was made December 15, 1955, as of May 18, 1955, and called for a modified form of union shop (nine out of 10 of each group of employees covered must be Guild members). A supplemental memo-

randum was attached to this agreement providing for certain procedures to be followed in connection with the proposed integration of specific departments of the Herald-Express and Examiner. This memorandum states that upon completion of integration of the enumerated departments, they will cease to exist as departments of either the Herald-Express or the Examiner and will be operated as new departments under an operating division of Hearst Publishing Company, Inc. The Guild was to be given 90 days' notice of integration of any particular department, and there was to be prepared for each department an integrated seniority and classification list of employees of both papers, with classifications to be based on job duties and content where different titles are used. This integrated list would govern terminations, layoffs and bumping rights, and also the preferential rehiring list to be set up in each department. Options were given to Herald-Express employees to accept dismissal pay, under the current Guild agreement, or to exercise bumping or other rights based on their seniority position on the integrated list.

On July 16, 1956, the Guild was given the 90-day notice of the integration of janitors and elevator operators of the Examiner and the Herald-Express together with a combined seniority list based on the respective employment dates of employees of both papers. On or about September 3, 1956, this integration was completed and the first publication of the Herald-Express from the Examiner premises took place. In the meantime, on July 20, 1956, the Guild and the Herald-Express reached an agreement with respect to their mid-term reopening, effective as of May 18, 1956.

Prior to the agreement reached on June 26, 1956, the BSEIU contracts were with the Los Angeles Examiner. The current agreement names as employer "Hillbro Newspaper Printing Company Division of Hearst Publishing Company, Inc." The Guild agreements, including that made on May 18, 1955, name as the Publisher, which is synonymous with employer, "Los Angeles Evening Herald and Express Division of Hearst Publishing Company, Inc." The current BSEIU agreement, the current Guild agreement, and the notice of integration of July 16, 1956, sent to the Guild were all executed on behalf of the employer

by V. F. Dunsmore, with no title or office indicated.

The two unions have tried to work out their difficulties. At present the employer treats with each as the representative of its own members. The BSEIU has agreed that it will not, and may not, enforce its union shop rights, against Guild members who have been taken into the consolidated group, whether at the Examiner building or elsewhere. In a similar situation in which the Guild was involved with the independent Business Office Employees Association at the combined premises of the Hillbro Division, a consent agreement was worked out by the NLRB in February, 1957, by which the independent union waived the union shop provisions of its agreement and the employer agreed not to observe the union shop agreement. The Guild also worked out a conflict of jurisdiction with the Teamsters Union with respect to mailers and some other employees.

In the dispute before us, however, the Guild insists that the present arrangement is untenable and unworkable and that the parties should be left free to organize and to have the NLRB or some other agency step in and determine which of the two organizations should represent the employees involved.

The Guild bases its position on several grounds. The first relates to the impracticability of having two unions represent similar classifications of workers in the same premises under different agreements. It points out the problems arising when a new employee is hired as to which organization he should be expected to join. In the handling of grievances, the Guild urges that the rights of other employees represented by the other union will probably be involved. Wage rates are different under the two agreements; premiums differ; the Guild agreement provides for severance pay while that of the BSEIU does not. Parenthetically, at present the employer is following the practice of alternating new hires, by having the first join the BSEIU and the next the Guild.

The second position relied on by the Guild is more technical in nature. It argues that BSEIU has not been certified by the NLRB as representative of the employees involved and that the present employer has not recognized it for one year or more. In fact, the Guild asserts, the

recognition accorded the BSEIU in the agreement of June 26, 1956, was only conditional in nature, since the attached letter reserved the right to other unions to contest the right to represent the employees involved. The Guild readily admits the common ownership by the Hearst interests of all three divisions: the Examiner, the Herald-Express, and the Hillbro Newspaper Printing Company. But it maintains that there is a real difference, and not merely one of name or corporate fiction. The Examiner continues as the publisher of a morning newspaper; the Herald-Express is actively publishing an evening newspaper. Hillbro, on the other hand, is solely in the business of printing and physically distributing these papers. It is, according to the Guild, organically and legally to be distinguished from the former employer, with which the BSEIU has had agreements,—in other words—BSEIU has not been recognized by the present employer for a year or more, and therefore, under Section 1 of the No-Raiding Agreement, does not have an established bargaining relationship.

The weakness of the Guild's technical position is that the Guild itself has treated with the separate divisions of the Hearst Publishing Company as though they were one. The integration agreement it made in 1955 with the Herald-Express Division related to obligations assumed by or imposed on the Hillbro Division, an agreement incidentally which affected the seniority rights of BSEIU members also, without the formal consent or approval at the time of the BSEIU. Although Hillbro by this agreement was assuming certain obligations, the Guild did not deem it necessary to make Hillbro a party. There has been no break in the continuity of employment or of the rights of either the BSEIU or Guild members in the building maintenance department by virtue of the creation of the new Hillbro Division. On the contrary, the Guild has insisted that seniority rights and severance pay rights accrued in working for the Herald-Express Division be automatically respected by Hillbro, and the Hearst Company has so agreed.

A similar course has been followed by Hillbro with regard to BSEIU members. Moreover, it happens that the identical employees who worked previously as employees of the Examiner are continuing to work in the same prem-

ises and on the same jobs for Hillbro, a sister division of the same corporate owner. These people, all members of BSEIU, are certainly "the employees involved" as stipulated in the definition of "established bargaining relationship" in Section 1 of the No-Raiding Agreement.

The letter attached to the current BSEIU agreement is an unusual document. It is strange indeed to see such a reservation to recognition by an employer after a dozen years of contractual relationship. The purpose obviously was to protect the employer because of a threatened or possible jurisdictional dispute. As a matter of fact, the arrangement between the two unions for the integration of the separate seniority lists was worked out at the employer's request. In any event, the letter is limited "to any petition or demand, which may be filed or made upon us prior to January 1, 1957." The NLRB petition filed by the Guild on December 20, 1957, has been withdrawn. The demand of the Guild addressed to the employer is still outstanding. Having noted that Hillbro is but a division or part of Hearst Publishing Company, Inc., with another part of which for the same work and in the same premises and under similar agreements the BSEIU has had continuous relationships for 10 or more years, and that the identical members of BSEIU are continuing such work with no interruption or break in seniority or otherwise, it would do considerable violence to the provisions and purpose of the No-Raiding Agreement to hold that this established bargaining relationship of BSEIU has now been disrupted or lost. There is nothing in the No-Raiding Agreement, read in its full context, which would warrant such a holding.

On the contrary, if it is claimed that the condition attached to the current BSEIU agreement destroyed the established bargaining relationship, it could then well be asserted that this was instigated or caused by the Guild's position in the matter and that this in turn constituted a violation of the No-Raiding Agreement, for in Section 3 it is provided that no CIO signatory union

> ". . . will, directly or indirectly, (a) organize or represent or attempt to organize or represent employees as to whom an established bargaining relationship ex-

ists . . .; (b) seek to represent, or obtain the right to represent, such employees *or to disrupt the established bargaining relationship . . .*" (emphasis added)

The Guild contends, also, that the union shop provision of the BSEIU contract made in June, 1956, itself constituted a violation of the No-Raiding Agreement, as an attempt to take over the Guild's members in the building maintenance department, since the integration plans were then well known. The simple answer to this is that BSEIU has waived this provision in discussions with the Guild, and at the hearing repeated its willingness to forego its rights under this provision. The union shop provision was carried over from the preceding agreement, and the Guild learned very soon after the BSEIU agreement was made that the Guild had no cause for concern on this score.

We must remember that the Guild is not charging BSEIU with disrupting its established bargaining relationship. The Guild contends that neither union now has such a relationship as to the building maintenance employees. The BSEIU maintains, to the contrary, that each union, and certainly BSEIU itself, has an established bargaining relationship which the other union must respect.

In the course of the integration supervision from both newspapers was brought into the combined operation. The production manager came from the Examiner, the assistant production manager from the Herald-Express, and so on, all being subordinate to the general manger, the above-named V. F. Dunsmore. Subsequently, in January, 1957, a new general manager and production manager were brought in. The manner in which the supervisory force of Hillbro was established and its subsequent readjustments do not have any material bearing on the question of established bargaining relationship with which we are concerned under the No-Raiding Agreement. There was at the time of the consolidation activities far more than a mere token carry-over of each of the supervisory lines. Subsequent changes in supervisory personnel cannot be held to have disrupted the bargaining relationships with the two labor organizations.

The Guild cited the *IBEW-IUE* (Case No. 16-56) decision of the Umpire in support of its assertion of the right

to organize the employees in question and to proceed with an election. This decision, reported at 27 LA 578, simply found that in a totally new facility and operation of the employer at which neither union had an established bargaining relationship as defined in the No-Raiding Agreement, both were free to engage in organizing efforts without violating the No-Raiding Agreement. Despite this ruling, however, it should be emphasized that the IUE was not invading the established bargaining jurisdiction of the IBEW, nor did it seek the right to do so. The facts in that case were quite different from those in the present case.

The fear of the Guild that the present untenable arrangement will lead to friction and "fracticidal strife" between these two unions is of course not without foundation. However, an active organizing campaign preliminary to an election between two unions which have had contractual standing for years, as have the Guild and BSEIU, would hardly be a friendly period either. The simple fact is that the two unions must find some other way of resolving their differences. The Umpire may not legitimatize the open warfare which would result from such a campaign when he believes that there has been an established bargaining relationship within the meaning of the No-Raiding Agreement. Moreover, his authority is explicitly limited. Section 5(e) states:

> "In any dispute submitted to him in accordance with the provisions of this paragraph, the Impartial Umpire shall have jurisdiction only to determine whether the acts complained of constitute a violation of this Agreement."

The Umpire is thus without power to fix the bargaining unit, determine eligibility of those who may vote, or to conduct an election or seek out the wishes of the employees. His function is solely to enforce the No-Raiding Agreement by determining whether there is a violation, irrespective of the importance of other issues between the rival unions.

This restriction was placed on the Umpire despite the knowledge of the drafters that there would be many continuing and difficult problems of conflicting jurisdiction. The

Merger Agreement, which by Article XVIII, Section 1 of the AFL-CIO Constitution, was expressly incorporated into and made a part of the Constitution, states in Section 2(d), under the heading of "Principles of Merger," that "The parties recognize that the above provisions may result in conflicting and duplicating organizations and jurisdictions. Where such is the case, affiliates of the merged federation will be encouraged to eliminate conflicts and duplications through the process of agreement, merger, or other means, by voluntary agreement in consultation with the appropriate officials of the merged federation."

Such voluntary means were apparently successful in working out some differences, in this integration, between the Guild and the Teamsters, and even between the Guild and an independent office union functioning at the Examiner premises. BSEIU has waived its union shop rights and has agreed with the Guild on the use of an itegrated seniority list.

The Umpire has no authority to issue any directions or even to make any specific suggestions to the parties. He considers it proper, however, to note the restrictions on his authority and to direct the attention of these two labor organizations to the provisions of the Merger Agreement and the Constitution which they both approved.

DECISION

The acts of the Guild complained of by the BSEIU constitute a violation of the No-Raiding Agreement.

DAVID L. COLE

DECISION NO. 22-57

October 7, 1957

Between

UNITED PAPERMAKERS AND PAPERWORKERS

And

INTERNATIONAL PRINTING PRESSMEN'S AND ASSISTANTS' UNION OF NORTH AMERICA
(Quaker Container Corporation, Richmond, Calif.)

Appearances:

For U.P.P.
Harry D. Sayre, Executive Vice President

For I.P.P.A.U. of N.A.
Alexander J. Rohan, Vice President
John Donovan, General Representative

The two labor organizations named above are affiliated with the AFL-CIO. The United Papermakers and Paperworkers is an organization growing out of the merger of the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, formerly AFL, and United Paper Workers of America, formerly CIO, a new charter having been granted on March 6, 1957. For the purposes of this case, it was conceded at the hearing that United Papermakers and Paperworkers has succeeded to the rights of each of its predecessor organizations and therefore has the standing to prosecute this case under the provisions of the No-Raiding Agreement.

The complaint is against Printing Specialties and Paper Products Union No. 382, which is a local union of the International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of America, formerly AFL.

In 1951, after winning a contested election before the NLRB, the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers was certified as the bargaining representative for all production and maintenance employees of the California Paperboard Company, at Richmond, California, excluding office clerical employees, professional employees, guards and all supervisory employees as defined in the Act. As of November

1, 1951, California Paperboard Company made an agreement with the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, reciting that it had recently entered into the paper manufacturing business at Richmond, that the Brotherhood had been certified by the NLRB as "the sole collective bargaining agency representing all employees of the Signatory Company (as such employees have been limited, defined and certified by said NLRB)," that the employer had applied for membership in the Pacific Coast Association of Pulp and Paper Manufacturers, and providing that, pending acceptance of the Company as a member of the Association, all the terms of the current Uniform Labor Agreement between the Brotherhood and the Association, excepting only the provisions relating to the Joint Relations Board, would apply to the employees of this Company. In May, 1952, the Association officially notified the Brotherhood of Paper Makers that the Company had been accepted into membership and delivered an executed copy of the Uniform Labor Agreement applicable to this Company.

Shortly thereafter the Richmond plant was taken over by the Quaker Container Corporation, the present employer, and some time thereafter this Corporation was admitted into the Association and became a party to the Uniform Labor Agreement. There is no dispute over the facts that the Corporation and the Brotherhood of Paper Makers were parties to the 1955 Uniform Labor Agreement between the Association and this Union (and the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers) and that they are likewise parties to the Uniform Labor Agreement as amended in 1957. The only qualification, of no consequence in this case, is that in the 1957 amendment the name "International Brotherhood of Paper Makers" was replaced by "United Papermakers and Paperworkers," described in the agreement as "an unincorporated association resulting from a merger in 1957 of International Brotherhood of Paper Makers and United Paperworkers of America, which are combined and continued as one organization in the merged association without affecting any presently existing collective bargaining agreements or certifications, all of which are vested in the United Papermakers and Paperworkers by virtue of the merger . . ." The agreement recognizes the United Papermakers and the International Brotherhood

of Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Workers, "acting jointly, as the sole collective bargaining agency representing all employees," and has a maintenance of membership provision, with a 30-day escape clause. The word "employees" is defined. It "means all the employees of the Signatory Company employed in the mill (or mills) covered by this Agreement, excepting "those engaged in administrative, supervisory, watchmen, sales, engineering, technical (professional), and office or clerical duties. Subject to specified rights to reopen, the Agreement is to remain in force until May 31, 1960.

On or about July 1, 1957, Quaker Container Corporation enlarged its operations at the Richmond plant to include a Converting-Corrugating Department. The United Papermakers and the Corporation negotiated a schedule of wage rates applicable to these operations, identifying them as "New" and "Temporary" rates and indicating they were to be effective at "Startup." These rates are in line with those payable to other employees or occupations at this Richmond plant.

On August 7, 1957, Local No. 382 of the Printing Specialties and Paper Products Union, a branch or affiliate of the International Printing Pressmen's Union, filed a petition with the NLRB seeking to be certified as the representative of the production and maintenance employees in this "corrugated converting plant of the Company," and it has been conducting organizing and campaign activities in connection therewith. These are the acts which the United Papermakers complain of as in violation of the No-Raiding Agreement.

The Printing Pressmen have been proceeding on the theory that this converting operation is not covered by the existing collective bargaining agreement between the Corporation and the United Papermakers, that the paper mill and the corrugated plant are separate and distinct operations for representation purposes, and that the protection of the No-Raiding Agreement does not extend to the converting operation. It contends that most of the employees in this new operation have been recruited from other plants and are members of the Printing Pressmen's Union.

It is agreed that the practice among the member plants of the Pacific Coast Association of Pulp and Paper Manufacturers has not been consistent in respect to the labor representation in converting plants of integrated companies. In some cases the converting plants are separately organized, independent of the paper making operations. In others, however, one labor agreement covers all operations, paper making and converting alike.

The coverage of the existing agreement is very broad, and on its face clearly includes this added converting activity. The United Paperworkers, together with the Brotherhood of Pulp Workers, is recognized as the sole collective bargaining agency representing all employees, meaning thereby, as already noted, all the employees of the Corporation employed in the Richmond mill, with the exception of supervisory, clerical, guard and similar groups.

It is true that the converting operations had not yet actually begun when the 1957 agreement was made, but, considering that they started within a month or so after and involved the use of a large piece of new equipment and physical rearrangement of part of the mill, it must be taken for granted that the employer definitely had this added operation in mind when it agreed to continue to recognize the established bargaining representative as the sole collective bargaining agency representing all the employees at this mill. The same is obviously true of the labor organization. The parties negotiated the specific wage rates applicable to employees in these operations to be effective at "startup," which turned out to be approximately one month later.

The criticism is made by the Pressmen's Union that this constituted a negotiation without affording the actual employees involved a right to be represented or heard. The answer, however, is that this mill, together with a large group of others in the same industry, have for years had a broad industrial type of labor agreement, and that it is customary in such circumstances to include modified or additional operations of a related kind in the existing collective bargaining agreement. The recruiting of new employees in such an enterprise does not vitiate the agreement. On the contrary, there are bars against the disturb-

ance of the existing agreement and a policy in favor of maintaining such agreements. The situation is not to be confused with one in which an agreement is made before *any* employees have been engaged. Here the converting operation is, in terms of numbers of employees, relatively small.

This, on the evidence, is not an operation so clearly foreign to the types already covered by the Uniform Labor Agreement as to raise doubt as to the propriety of including it in the existing agreement. Many Pacific Coast mills conduct both paper making and converting operations under the terms of the identical Uniform Labor Agreement. At the Richmond plant, both operations are under the same roof, with the corrugating machine only 30 feet from the paper making machine; the entire plant is under the supervision of one Manager; both operations use the same office, the same payroll department, the same time clock and personal facilities, and one maintenance group services both. Even though it appears that seniority is not now freely interchanged, this in itself does not impair the coverage of the collective bargaining agreement. Many such agreements in American industry provide for separate seniority areas or sequences. Moreover, the agreement does not call for separate seniority, as contended by the Pressmen's Union. The explanation of the restriction or free interchange to the present time may simply be a matter of qualification of the employees. In any event, standing by itself, separate seniority lists would not offset all the other facts and circumstances.

That there are labor agreements covering converting operations in some plants of other companies, separate from those covering paper making, can not possibly, under the No-Raiding Agreement, disestablish the established bargaining relationship in this plant. Nor would the contrary be possible. If a separate operation or craft has its own established bargaining relationship, an industrial type of labor agreement made by the employer with another union would have no effect on the existing, restricted established relationship. Such a relationship, by the provisions of the No-Raiding Agreement, would be equally entitled to protection and immunity.

We must be aware that the No-Raiding Agreement represents the formalization of a modified, if not an entirely new,

concept. Very simply, directly and clearly it assures each signatory that its established bargaining relationships will not be directly or indirectly disturbed, disrupted or impaired by any other signatory union. It is of the essence of this understanding that every signatory in accepting this protection also agrees that it will respect similar rights of all other signatories.

In this case there is obviously an established bargaining relationship in favor of the United Papermakers. Such a relationship is created, under the No-Raiding Agreement, when a union is recognized by the employer as the collective bargaining representative for the employees involved for one year or more, or when the NLRB certifies this fact. Here we have both certification by the NLRB and formal recognition by the employer for much more than one year, and the unit as defined by both the Board and the employer includes in effect all production and maintenance employees at the Richmond plant.

DECISION

The acts of Local No. 382 of the Printing Specialties and Paper Products Union, I.P.P.A.P.N.A., at the Richmond, California mill of Quaker Container Corporation complained of by the United Papermakers and Paperworkers constitute a violation of the No-Raiding Agreement.

DAVID L. COLE

DECISION NO. 23-57

October 17, 1957

Between

INTERNATIONAL GLOVE WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA, AFL

And

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA, CIO
(Zwicker Knitting Mills, Appleton, Wisc.)

Appearances:

For International Glove Workers Union of America (formerly AFL)
Albert J. Goldberg, of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Counsel
Thomas Durian, General President
Joseph C. Goodfellow, Secretary-Treasurer

For Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (formerly CIO)
William J. Isaacson, of New York City, General Counsel
Philip Lampert, of Chicago, Illinois, Regional Counsel
Richard Brazier, Vice President and Director
E. D. Schultheis, Regional Director

The International Glove Workers Union charges the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union with a violation of the No-Raiding Agreement because of its organizing activities among the workers of Zwicker Knitting Mills in Appleton, Wisconsin, since April 2, 1957, and by reason of the filing of a petition on July 1, 1957, with the NLRB to be certified as the bargaining representative in this mill. The Glove Workers assert that they have an established bargaining relationship which the Amalgamated is attempting to disrupt and destroy.

The facts are unusual and are of a type not previously encountered in cases arising under the No-Raiding Agreement. It is not disputed that the Glove Workers Union was certified by the NLRB after an election in 1955 in which

it prevailed over an independent labor organization, and that an agreement was made with the Employer as of November 1, 1955, and again as of November 1, 1956, the latter agreement havng a term which will expire November 1, 1957. Before the first agreement was made, the Wisconsin Employment Relations Board certified, pursuant to the laws of Wisconsin, after conducting a referendum, that by a vote of 414 to 144 the employees favored an "All-Union Agreement." The representatives of the Glove Workers Union testified that they have processed a few grievances and have met with the Employer three times in an effort to negotiate a new agreement to go into effect on November 1, 1957.

The evidence revealed, however, that this International has had some unusual difficulties with this Local, growing apparently out of differences with its business agent who had strong support among the members. The business agent was dismissed by the International but shortly thereafter on December 16, 1956, was employed by the Local. Sometime in January, 1957, the International agreed to reimburse the Local for the salary paid to the business agent, but on January 28, 1957, it suspended the Local's president and appointed a committee to investigate her activities. It also named the International Secretary-Treasurer trustee of the Local. Since February 1, 1957, the Company has been depositing checked off dues in an escrow account, and has paid none since then to the International. Although there is a detailed form of grievance procedure clearly spelled out in the agreement, requiring active participation of the Union at each step, the employees involved in the three grievances filed since the beginning of the year have by-passed the Union, and when Union representatives were called in by the Company, not by the employees, the employees declined to meet with the Company in the presence of these representatives. The situation became so critical that on March 18, 1957, the International Glove Workers Union wrote the Company, over the signatures of its General President and Secretary-Treasurer (who was also the trustee of the Local), as follows:

> "We are enclosing a copy of a letter addressed to the officers of the Appleton Glove Workers Union Local No. 151.

"This is to inform you that the International Glove Workers Union of America hereby rescinds, cancels and revokes the collective bargaining agreement existing between the Zwicker Knitting Mills and the International Union.

"The International Glove Workers Union of America, AFL-CIO also disclaims and rescinds any future responsibility for the enforcement or for violations of this agreement.

"The International Union has already revoked the authority of the Local Union to act on behalf of the International Union and also notifies you that the Local Union has no authority to make any agreement which would be binding upon the International Glove Workers Union of America, AFL-CIO."

The letter of the same date to the officers of the Local, referred to in the above, announced the revocation of the charter of the Local, the expulsion of the Local from the International, the revocation of any authority in the Local to act on behalf of the International, and reaffirmed the suspension of the president of the Local.

At about this time the International was engaged in a strike in Georgia and appealed to the Federation for financial help. This led to the suggestion that serious consideration be given to the possibility of merging with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, and conferences for this purpose were arranged. In fact, the major officers of the Glove Workers Union soon agreed to merge and to submit this proposal to its convention in Knoxville on June 11, 1957.

The meeting held in Chicago on April 2, 1957, is crucial in this case. The principal matter discussed was merger. It will be remembered that this meeting was about two weeks after the International had cancelled the Zwicker Appleton labor agreement, revoked the charter of the Local, and expelled the Local. It was not denied that at this meeting the difficulty the Glove Workers Union was having with the Appleton workers was freely discussed, it being admitted that the likelihood was that they would go into or form

an independent union. The officers of the Glove Workers Union in fact stated that their union had washed its hands of the entire matter. The representatives of the Amalgamated suggested that their organization might step in, and this was welcomed by the President and Secretary-Treasurer of the Glove Workers Union, on the ground that this would be much preferable to losing the group to an independent. The only qualification imposed or mentioned was that the former business agent should not be employed, although the Amalgamated officers indicated it might be necessary to work with him if he had a strong influence over the workforce. The Amalgamated thereupon instructed their representatives in Wisconsin to undertake organization of the employees, and within a month or so a large percentage of the employees signed a petition requesting the Amalgamated to represent them. When on May 27, 1957, there was another meeting on the merger matter, the only mention made of the Zwicker situation was a question by the Glove Workers officers as to whether the business agent was on ACWA's payroll. He was not, and this was the reply.

At its convention on June 11, the Glove Workers Union decided not to merge with the Amalgamated, but neglected to inform the Amalgamated of this action. It was learned by the Amalgamated through a representative of the AFL-CIO. Nor was any question raised concerning the Amalgamated's progress in enrolling Zwicker employees until after ACWA filed its petition with the NLRB on July 1, 1957. Then, on July 3, 1957, a letter was sent by the President of the Glove Workers Union to the Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-CIO complaining of this alleged raid.

The facts recited above were substantially conceded, or at most only inferentially contradicted in part by the top officers of the Glove Workers Union. They referred, however, to a complaint filed at the Wisconsin Employment Relations Board by the Zwicker Company against the International on March 26, 1957, charging the International with an unfair labor practice for terminating the current collective bargaining agreement. On the same day another complaint was filed by the Appleton Glove Workers Local Union No. 151 against the Company charging, among other things, a violation of the collective bargaining agreement because of the Com-

pany's refusal to turn over fees and dues checked off from employees to this Local Union. The Wisconsin Board conducted hearings, subsequent to which, on June 4, 1957, the International Glove Workers Union advised the Company that it was withdrawing its termination or rescission of the agreement, whereupon on June 6, on motion of the Company, its complaint against the International was dismissed.

The Glove Workers Union urges that by virtue of the withdrawal of its March 18, 1957, cancellation or termination of the agreement, on June 4, 1957, the original agreement was fully reinstated and its bargaining relationship with the Company was completely restored.

There are two reasons, however, why this proposition can not be accepted in this proceeding under the No-Raiding Agreement: (1) for a period of two and one-half months (from March 18 to June 4, 1957) there was no such bargaining relationship, it having been discontinued, or terminated by the affirmative decision and acts of the International itself; and (2) during this period the Amalgamated instituted an organizing campaign with the approval and consent of the Glove Workers Union, which consent was not withdrawn nor was an objection to the Amalgamated's activities raised until after the Amalgamated took the formal and anticipated step of seeking certification from the NLRB.

Obviously, there are situations in which a signatory may properly represent employees as to whom an established bargaining relationship exists with another signatory, without being chargeable with a violation of the No-Raidng Agreement. This would be so, for example, where the two unions merge.

Considering the essential nature of inter-union raids, it is inconceivable that the No-Raiding Agreement was intended to forbid a labor organization from organizing or representing employees covered by an established bargaining relationship when the union entitled to be protected against such activities invites or encourages the other union to undertake such organizing activities. The reasons why one union may desire to have another step in are unimportant. We have seen one illustration in this very case. How can the consenting union persuade or permit the other to conduct

organizing activities, with its attendant work and expense, and then on the eve of the completion of the effort decide to change its mind and exclude the intervening union on the ground that it is guilty of raiding?

On the basis, then, of the facts that the Glove Workers' established bargaining relationship was disestablished by its own choice, and that the Amalgamated engaged in this organizing activity on the invitation of, or certainly with the consent of, the Glove Workers, the ruling must be in favor of the Amalgamated.

In the mediation phase of this dispute, a representative of the Federation proposed, in view of the peculiar facts, that a voluntary, informal election be conducted to ascertain the wishes of the employees involved. The Amalgamated promptly agreed, but after some delay the Glove Workers rejected this form of solution. Normally, the question presented in cases charging violation of the No-Raiding Agreement can not be resolved by conducting elections, but in this instance that would have been the reasonable course to follow.

The decision is that the acts of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union of America complained of by the International Glove Workers Union of America do not constitute a violation of the No-Raiding Agreement.

DAVID L. COLE

DECISION NO. 24-58

January 9, 1958

Between

UNITED FURNITURE WORKERS OF AMERICA, CIO

And

UPHOLSTERERS INTERNATIONAL UNION OF NORTH AMERICA, AFL
(Nachman Spring Corporation, Los Angeles)

Appearances:

For United Furniture Workers of America
(formerly CIO)
Martin Raphael, Counsel
Morris Pizer, President

The United Furniture Workers of America, having been duly certified by the NLRB in 1952 as the bargaining representative of employees of Nachman Spring Corporation at Los Angeles, entered into a series of collective bargaining agreements with the employer, the last of which was made on April 28, 1955 and was to continue until December 31, 1957. While negotiations were in progress in October, 1957, the Upholsterers International Union of North America on October 28, 1957 filed a petition with the NLRB seeking representation rights. The UFWA promptly complained of this and the attendant organizing efforts of the UIU as violations of the No-Raiding Agreement.

Efforts, pursuant to the provisions of the No-Raiding Agreement, to arrange a conference between the representatives of the two unions were unavailing, largely because the President of the UIU was busy, until the AFL-CIO Convention in Atlantic City in December, 1957. The President of the UIU readily agreed on December 10 to withdraw the petition and to discontinue his union's organizing activities. On December 11 he wired the Business Representative of UIU Local 691 at Los Angeles: "You are herewith directed to withdraw from the Nachman situation."

At the hearing on December 23, 1957 before the NLRB Hearing Officer the attorney for Local 691, however, stated on the record that, having received this direction from the International President, the petitioner (Local 691, UIU) was withdrawing from the proceedings but was not withdrawing the petition.

UFWA charges that the refusal to withdraw the petition violated the understanding reached in Atlantic City and that this refusal is a matter of substance. It asserts that since December 10, the Business Agent of Local 691 has continued to solicit membership cards from the Nachman employees but on behalf of Local 196 of the Teamsters Union rather than for his own Local. This Teamster Local notified the employer on December 17 that it claimed to represent the employees in question, and at the NLRB hearing of December 23, it was granted permission to intervene in the representation proceedings initiated by the petition of Local 691, UIU.

Because of these developments subsequent to the understanding of December 10, the hearing before the Impartial Umpire under the No-Raiding Agreement was set for January 8, 1958. The President of UIU responded to the notice of the hearing by a telegram to the Umpire, saying in part, ". . . Our Local Union's attorney at hearing . . . on December twenty third in accord with our instructions of December 11 announced Upholsterers' Union no longer claimed or sought representation of any kind in this shop and record will so show. We therefore feel that no hearing is necessary and in any case we will not be present or represented on dispute now moot."

The Umpire promptly replied by wire ". . . our information is that Upholsterers' International Union and its Local have not withdrawn NLRB petition. . . . Our hearing will therefore go on as scheduled . . .".

At the hearing of January 8, 1958 in Washington the UIU was not represented. Consequently, none of the charges or evidence of the UFWA were denied or disputed. There was submitted to the Umpire evidence of facts and surrounding circumstances supporting the charges of UFWA that Local 691 and its Business Agent are actively and seriously assisting the Teamsters in attracting the employees away from Local 1010 of the UFWA into Local 196 of the Teamsters.

On the evidence submitted, the Umpire must find that the acts of Local 691, UIU and its Business Agent of which UFWA complains have occurred, and that these acts constitute violations of the No-Raiding Agreement.

This Agreement stipulates in Section 2 that "The American Federation of Labor and each union signatory hereto affiliated with it, and each of them, agrees that neither it nor any of its locals will directly or indirectly, . . . (b) seek to represent, or obtain the right to represent, such employees [as to whom an established bargaining relationship exists with the Congress of Industrial Organizations or with any union which is signatory hereto affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations] or to disrupt the established bargaining relationship . . ."

When a union agrees that neither it nor any of its locals will directly or indirectly disrupt the established bargaining relationship, it surely cannot justify activites on its part designed to strip the incumbent union of its representation rights, even though the incumbent would not be replaced by the offending union but rather by some union which happens not to be a party to the No-Raiding Agreement. Such acts nevertheless constitute a direct attempt to disrupt the established bargaining relationship, and this the UIU, as well as all other signatories, has solemnly promised not to do.

Unfortunately, no explanation was offered either at the NLRB hearing or at the No-Raiding Agreement hearing as to why the UIU was willing to disclaim or waive its direct interest in being the bargaining representative and yet would not consent to the withdrawal of its petition on which the representation proceeding was predicated.

As in an earlier case involving the UIU (TWUA vs UIU, decided April 1, 1955), the Teamsters are indirectly involved in the raiding charge. In that case it was stated, and it applies equally here: "UIU apparently has a mutual working arrangement with an affiliate of the Teamsters with respect to organizing efforts. Such an arrangement may well lead to conflicts with the undertakings and promises of the Upholsterers' Union in the No-Raiding Agreement. . . . In all disputes before the Impartial Umpire the No-Raiding Agreement will be given priority and will be enforced."

It would have been much better if the UIU had appeared at the Umpire's hearing and given enlightenment or explanation of the course it has elected to follow before the NLRB. The Trial Examiner characterized the positions of Local 691 as inconsistent, and certainly the Umpire has the right to know why Local 691 insisted on maintaining this inconsistency.

DECISION

The failure to withdraw the petition before the NLRB and the activities of Local 691, UIU, its officers or agents, in seeking to persuade employees of Nachman Spring Corporation, Los Angeles, to leave Local 1010, UFWA, and to join some other organization constitute violations by UIU of the No-Raiding Agreement.

DAVID L. COLE

DECISION NO. 25-58

January 27, 1958

Between

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF BROADCAST EMPLOYEES AND TECHNICIANS, CIO

And

INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCE OF THEATRICAL STAGE EMPLOYEES AND MOVING PICTURE MACHINE OPERATORS OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA, AFL

(American Broadcasting Company, Inc., Los Angeles)

Appearances:

For NABET

Alan F. Perl, of Sturm & Perl, Attorney

For IATSE

Harold P. Spivak, of Spivak & Kantor, Attorney
Zeal Fairbanks, International Representative
Fred Phillips, Business Agent, Make-Up Artists and Hair-Stylists Union, Local 706
William Edwards, Business Agent, Motion Picture Costumers

In May, 1952 National Association of Broadcast Employees and Technicians, then affiliated with the CIO, was certified by the NLRB as the bargaining representative of the make-up artists and wardrobe attendants employed at the Los Angeles station of American Broadcasting Company, Inc. In February, 1953 the master agreement which NABET had with the Company was modified by adding a supplement covering these employees and stipulating their wage rates and working conditions. On February 1, 1955 a new contract was made to continue until February 1, 1958. For some time negotiations have been in progress between these parties looking to a contract to go into effect when the current agreement expires.

On November 20, 1957 two locals of the International Association of Theatrical Stage Employees, formerly AFL, filed a joint petition with the NLRB seeking the right to represent

employees within the bargaining unit as to which NABET has had the relationship described above. This led to the charge by NABET that IATSE is violating the No-Raiding Agreement.

The essential facts are not controverted. IATSE believes it is justified in seeking to represent these employees for two reasons: (1) of the 13 employees now in the bargaining unit seven were full members and three were auxiliary members of IATSE when hired by the Company—in fact, these people were furnished by IATSE at the request of the Company because of the dominance of IATSE in this field; (2) when the NLRB election was held in 1952 there were only five employees involved, three of whom voted for NABET and two for IATSE, and none of these five are any longer in the unit. IATSE also stresses the fact that it twice started representation proceedings before the NLRB which it had to discontinue for technical reasons. In 1953 the Board held the existing contract to be a bar, and in February, 1955 the Company had reduced operations to the point where it had only two in the unit, one of whom was a supervisor, and under the Board's rules no election could be conducted.

IATSE became a signatory to the No-Raiding Agreement in 1955, some time after its February, 1955 NLRB petition was held not entertainable by reason of the size of the work force.

In this case NABET clearly has an established bargaining relationship with the American Broadcasting Company with respect to the make-up artists and wardrobe attendants employed at the Los Angeles station. Under Section 1 of the No-Raiding Agreement, there is such a relationship when the union has been recognized by the employer as the collective bargaining representative for the employees involved for one year or more or when the union is certified by the NLRB as the collective bargaining representative for the employees. "The employees involved" (an expression used in Section 1) are those working in the bargaining unit, and are not limited to the employees who voted in the representation election or who personally had a hand originally in selecting the union to represent the unit. This interpretation was made in the case of *Metal Polishers Union, AFL and UAW*, CIO, Case No.

20-57, 28 LA 627, decided by the Umpire on May 20, 1957. It was there held that:

> "An established bargaining relationship is not disrupted by an enlargement or modification of operations or by a turnover of employees. Once a bargaining relationship has been established, the representative union is the agent for the employees in the bargaining unit, whether they consist of the identical people who chose that union or of additional or replacement employees. Nor is a bargaining relationship terminated because the employer elects to change or add to the products manufactured or serviced in the unit. See the decision of the Impartial Umpire in Steel Workers Union and IAM, Case No. 12-56, 27 LA 119."

IATSE urges that when the NLRB certification was issued in 1952 there were no wardrobe attendants employed, and therefore no bargaining relationship as to this category of employees could have been created by the Board's certification. Under the provisions of the No-Raiding Agreement, however, this would not impair the established bargaining relationship existing as of the time of the alleged raid in 1957. By that time the employer had recognized NABET as the collective representative of the wardrobe attendants for considerably more than one year.

Although the employer had an agreement with NABET which included a union shop provision, it requested IATSE to send experienced make-up artists and wardrobe attendants in for employment, and IATSE did so. IATSE is of the opinion that if these people must join NABET this amounts to a raid on the membership of IATSE, rather than the other way around, when IATSE seeks to represent them in their new employment.

The No-Raiding Agreement, however, plainly declares that no signatory union will "seek to represent, or obtain the right to represent [employees as to whom an established bargaining relationship exists with another signatory union] or to disrupt the established bargaining relationship." There is no exception made in favor of a union which, upon request of the employer or otherwise, helps to recruit or provide additional or new personnel. Such activities may be presumed to be a service to members who are unemployed or who have an

opportunity to improve their employment. It is not a justification, under the No-Raiding Agreement, for ignoring the clear provisions of that Agreement.

DECISION

The acts of IATSE complained of by NABET constitute a violation of the No-Raiding Agreement.

DAVID L. COLE

DECISION NO. 26-58

March 25, 1958

Between

UNITED TEXTILE WORKERS OF AMERICA, AFL

And

TEXTILE WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA, CIO
(Personal Products Corporation, Chicago)

Appearances:

For United Textile Workers of America
Mozart G. Ratner, Counsel
Joseph Jacobs, Attorney
Roy Groenert

For Textile Workers of America
Ben Wyle, Counsel

The UTW, formerly AFL, charges that TWUA, formerly CIO, is in violation of the No-Raiding Agreement because of its efforts to organize and represent the production and maintenance employees of Personal Products Corporation at its Chicago plant, where UTW asserts it has an established bargaining relationship.

Aside from the merits, TWUA questions the authority of the Umpire to proceed with the case on the ground that the term of the No-Raiding Agreement was extended from its original expiration date of December 31, 1955 to December 31, 1957 by voluntary extension agreements entered into by most of its signatories, including both unions here involved, but that TWUA has not agreed to any extension beyond December 31, 1957. While the principal acts complained of by UTW were committed by TWUA prior to December 31, 1957, the hearing was not held until after the expiration of the term of the extension to which TWUA was a party.

This contention must be rejected. Grievances arising during the term of a collective bargaining agreement have been held, contrary to the objections of employers, to be entertain-

able under the grievance procedure, including the arbitration step, in force when the grievances arose. The reasoning underlying such rulings, which include both court decisions and arbitration awards, is equally applicable to the procedures of the No-Raiding Agreement. See *Lane* v. *Endicott Johnson*, 80 N.Y. S. 2d 639, 11 LA 253 (1949); affd Ct. of App., 299 N.Y. 725, 13 LA 606; cert. denied U.S. Sup. Ct. (1949). *Milner Hotels, Inc.* (N.Y. Sup. Ct., 1956), 26 LA 740; *Roto Supply Sales Co.* (N.Y. Sup. Ct., 1957), 28 LA 657; and *TWUA* v. *Botany Mills, Inc.* (1956), 27 LA 1.

TWUA also urges that because of Section 7 of the No-Raiding Agreement, it would be academic to find that it was in violation when it took the steps complained of, for Section 7 of the Agreement provides remedial action which is effective only during the term of the Agreement. It is true that Section 7 states that a party signatory "will not, directly or indirectly, *during the term of this Agreement,* represent or seek to represent the employees involved . . .," but it does not stop there. It declares that a violating party "will, *in addition,* take the following remedial action . . .:

> "(a) Any petition for representation rights filed with the National Labor Relations Board, or any other appropriate federal or state agency, will be immediately withdrawn.
>
> "(b) Any claims for recognition which may have been submitted to the employer will be withdrawn immediately."

These latter steps are not confined to the term of the Agreement. Moreover, in Section 5 (e), the Umpire is directed to decide whether the acts complained of constitute a violation of the Agreement, and this the Umpire must do irrespective of whether there are adequate or effective remedies to follow.

The UTW was certified by the NLRB as the bargaining representative of these employees on July 31, 1956. Local 444 of the UTW entered into a collective bargaining agreement with the Company on December 12, 1955, to remain in effect for two years, subject to certain reopening provisions, and on October 25, 1957 another agreement was made to run until December 12, 1960, also subject to certain reopening rights. On October 2, 1957 the TWUA filed a petition with the NLRB

to be certified as the bargaining representative of the employees involved, and, immediately before and since this petition was filed, has been carrying on organizing activities among the employees. On these facts, UTW insists that it has an established bargaining relationship with this Company and that TWUA is in violation of the No-Raiding Agreement in seeking to represent these employees and to disrupt this relationship.

TWUA cannot seriously dispute the charges of the UTW. TWUA points out, however, that in 1951 it was certified by the NLRB as the bargaining representative for these very employees, that it entered into an agreement with the Company, and that in 1953, while a strike was in progress, representatives of the UTW led a group of employees into the plant and that this resulted in breaking TWUA's strike. In November, 1953 the Company filed a representation petition with the NLRB which it withdrew in January, 1954, and TWUA immediately thereafter filed its petition for certification with the Board. While TWUA's petition was pending the Company entered into an agreement with UTW, over the protest of many employees, and subsequently the NLRB certified that UTW had been selected over the TWUA by a vote of 61 to 58. Moreover, the TWUA asserts that it did not institute its current organizing drive until after the Ethical Practices Committee of the AFL-CIO had cited UTW for certain dubious practices; that in October, 1957 the Executive Council ordered the UTW to clean up or be suspended as of November 15, 1957.

On December 10, 1957, however, the AFL-CIO Convention restored UTW to good standing, after a suspension of only six days. None of the acts complained of occurred during this short suspension period, although some of TWUA's activities took place while charges were outstanding against UTW.

Despite the unusual background of this relationship, both unions signed the No-Raiding Agreement as of June 9, 1954, and both executed the extension agreement in early 1955.

The purpose of the No-Raiding Agreement is to protect whatever established bargaining relationships any signatory union may have, regardless of the rivalry and bitterness through which it had acquired such a relationship. There are no provisions in the Agreement under which the Umpire may

assume the right to inquire into the manner in which such a relationship was acquired prior to the time the Agreement was made.

Under the circumstances, the findings must be that as of October 2, 1957 UTW had as defined in the No-Raiding Agreement, an established bargaining relationship with Personal Products Corporation at its Chicago plant, and that TWUA's activities at and since that time were designed to disrupt this relationship and to have TWUA organize and represent the employees involved, in place of UTW.

DECISION

TWUA in organizing the employees of Personal Products Corporation at its Chicago plant, and in filing a petition with the NLRB on October 2, 1957 requesting that it be certified as the representative of these employees for collective bargaining purposes has committed acts which constitute a violation of the No-Raiding Agreement.

DAVID L. COLE

DECISION NO. 27-58

May 5, 1958

Between

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS, AFL

And

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF ELECTRICAL WORKERS, AFL
(Leach Corporation, Compton, Calif.)

Appearances:

For International Association of Machinists
Charles F. West, Grand Lodge Representative

For International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers
Robert E. Noonan, Assistant International President
Wallace J. Barrett, International Representative
William J. Brown, Attorney

Although the two above-named unions were formerly affiliated with the AFL, this dispute was referred to the Umpire and presented by the parties as one arising under the AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agreement.

The International Association of Machinists has had agreements with the Leach Corporation since 1943. This corporation acquired in February, 1953 the Palmer Electric Manufacturing Company and operated it in Los Angeles as the Palmer Electric Manufacturing Division. In December, 1953 it puchased another unit and operated it also in Los Angeles as the Inet Division. In February, 1954, the Inet Division was moved to a plant at Santa Fe and Vernon Avenues, Los Angeles, some two miles from the Leach Relay Division, at which the IAM had its bargaining relationship. The Palmer Division was moved to the same building in which the Inet Division was housed in March, 1955, but continued to operate as a separate division. In April, 1955, the IAM was recognized and entered into a bargaining relationship with the Palmer Division of Leach Corporation, but twice, in 1954 and 1955, it was unsuccessful in trying to organize the employees of the Inet Division. In December, 1957 the Company consolidated

Palmer and Inet into the Inet Division and moved it into a new building in Compton, California, some eight or nine miles from the Leach Relay Division operation. The Inet Division was the larger of the two, having 115 employees while the Palmer Division had 30 employees.

At Compton the IAM asserted representation rights under Article XXIII, the Assignment of Agreement paragraph of the current agreement between the IAM and Leach Corporation, which agreement was made May 5, 1957 and is to remain in force until April 30, 1959. This paragraph provides:

> "This Agreement shall be binding upon the successors and assigns of the Company, and provisions, terms or obligations herein contained shall not be affected or changed in any respect by the consolidation, merger, transfer or assignment of the Company, or affected or changed in any respect by any change in legal status, ownership or management of the Company."

The Company declined to accept the Union's position and called upon it to prove that a majority of the employees at the Inet Division desired to be represented by the IAM. It was stipulated that this would be done by the Conciliation Service of the Department of Industrial Relations of the State of California through a representation cross-check. Notice of such a cross-check was duly posted, and on December 23, 1957, the Conciliation Service reported that of 148 eligible employees in the unit, 89 had signed authorization cards in favor of IAM. On December 27, by an inter-office memorandum, the Company announced that it recognized the IAM as the sole bargaining agent for the production employees of the Inet Division.

On December 30, 1957, however, the IBEW claiming to have authorization cards from 99 employees, filed its representation petition with the NLRB and notified the Company thereof on the same day. The IAM charges that this constitutes a raid by the IBEW in violation of the No-Raiding Agreement.

This case turns on the definition of an established bargaining relationship. The IAM maintains it has such a relationship with the Leach Corporation's Inet Division and the IBEW

disputes it. If it has an established bargaining relationship, then the IBEW is in violation of the No-Raiding Agreement.

That Agreement stipulates that there is such a relationship if a union

> "(a) has been recognized by the employer . . . as the collective bargaining representative for the employees involved for a period of one year or more, or (b) is certified by the National Labor Relations Board or other Federal or State agency having jurisdiction as the collective bargaining representative for the employees."

The employer announced on December 27, 1957 that it recognized the IAM as the sole bargaining agent for the production employees of the Inet Division, but on January 10, 1958 it repudiated this because of the conflicting claims and the NLRB petition of the IBEW. Between these two dates no agreement was made between the IAM and the Company, nor were the provisions of their agreement applicable to certain Los Angeles operations extended to this Division. This recognition by the employer of December 27, 1957, was therefore not for a period of one year or more.

The claim of the IAM that the current agreement automatically applied to the new Compton operation conducted by the Inet Division was rejected by the Company, and is not supported by the agreement. The agreement recites specifically that the IAM is recognized as the sole bargaining agent for two groups of the Company's employees, one being those "at the Company's Los Angeles Plant known as Palmer Electric Manufacturing Division." Neither the Inet Division nor the Compton plant is included. Furthermore, Article XXIII, quoted above, does not cover this situation. If either of the plants covered were sold or transferred to some successor or assign, it would apply. The acquisition by Leach Corporation of some other operation is not covered by this provision; in fact, Leach Corporation's Inet Division operations were not subject to this agreement while at Los Angeles. The IAM recognized this by trying to organize the employees, and it did not succeed.

The remaining question is whether an established bargaining relationship was created by the action of the California Conciliation Service. This cross-check was made at the re-

quest of the employer and the IAM, and as between them alone the findings could well be held to be binding. But the IBEW was not a party to this request or to any related understanding, nor were the employees of the Inet Division. Except with consent, it is clear that jurisdiction over representation matters in manufacturing firms rests with the NLRB under the Taft-Hartley Act, as repeatedly held by the courts, and that with respect to all parties other than the Company and the IAM the California Conciliation Service was not a "State agency having jurisdiction" as contemplated by Section 1 of the No-Raiding Agreement.

It must, therefore, be found that the IAM did not have the kind of established bargaining relationship at the Inet Division at Compton upon which the protections of the No-Raiding Agreement are based.

DECISION

The IBEW is not in violation of the No-Raiding Agreement because of its organizing and representation activities at the Compton plant of the Inet Division of the Leach Corporation.

DAVID L. COLE

DECISION NO. 28-58

May 12, 1958

Between

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF ELECTRICAL WORKERS

And

UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA
(Foothill Electric Corporation, Parkersburg, W. Virginia)

Appearances:

For International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers
Louis Sherman, Counsel
Robert E. Noonan, Assistant International President
J. M. Parker, International Representative
F. E. Clark, Business Manager, Local Union 968

For United Steelworkers of America
Elliott Bredhoff, Associate General Counsel
John J. Brownlee, International Representative

The IBEW began to negotiate with Foothill Electric Corporation at Parkersburg, West Virginia in August, 1956, reaching an agreement on September 26, 1956. On September 25, 1957 the Steelworkers sent the Company a telegram claiming that a majority of the employees had become members of that organization and requesting a meeting to negotiate a collective bargaining agreement, and on September 26, 1957 it mailed a representation petition to the NLRB. The IBEW charges the U.S.A. with violation of the No-Raiding Agreement, primarily because of the filing of this petition.

The issue is whether the IBEW had an established bargaining relationship with the Company when the Steelworkers committed the acts described.

This raises the question whether the IBEW could acquire an established bargaining relationship within the meaning of the No-Raiding Agreement by being recognized by the employer before there were any employees on the job. There was no certification by the NLRB, so that to prevail the IBEW must

show that it acquired an established bargaining relationship by virtue of recognition by the employer, as defined in Section 1 of the No-Raiding Agreement.

It is conceded that when the IBEW began to negotiate with the employer on or about August 23, 1956, and for three months thereafter, no employees within the bargaining unit covered by the agreement of September 26, 1956, were as yet engaged or at work. The workforce now contains some 250 employees, but the first 11 were hired between November 24, 1956 and January 1, 1957.

It was represented at the hearing that the practice of arriving at pre-hire agreements is not unusual in the building trades industry. This operation called for the fabrication of bus-bars for installation later in a new reduction plant at Ravenswood. The purpose of these pre-hire agreements, it was asserted, is to expedite cooperation with the building trades organizations at various locations throughout the country.

IBEW relies on this practice as constituting a normal kind of recognition in the industry, and urges that this was contemplated in providing in Section 1 that an established bargaining relationship could be created either by certification or by recognition for a year or more.

The No-Raiding Agreement, however, stipulates that there is such a relationship if the union "has been recognized by the employer . . . as the collective bargaining representative for the employees involved for a period of one year or more." "For the employees involved" is a part of the definition which may not be ignored. Representation rights are premised on a workforce in a bargaining unit for whom a union may be selected or recognized as the collective bargaining representative. The effect of the No-Raiding Agreement is to restrict severely the rights of employees in a bargaining unit to leave one union and replace it with another affiliate of the AFL-CIO as their bargaining representative. They still retain, however, their initial right as a unit to select the labor organization they desire to have serve in this capacity, and during the first year of such representation they are free, so far as the No-Raiding Agreement is concerned, to replace it, unless the union was certified by the NLRB or some other government agency with jurisdiction to do so. In the cases in which there is certification, the

employees in the bargaining unit are assured an opportunity to make a choice if they desire to do so by the election which is normally conducted by the NLRB or other agency.

This means that either in the original selection or by not taking action within the first year, depending on whether the union became the bargaining representative by certification or through the recognition route, the employees in the unit have had an opportunity to choose their collective bargaining representative. This is a basic right which the drafters of the No-Raiding Agreement reserved for the employees in the unit. Otherwise, the words "for the employees involved" would have no meaning as used in Section 1, nor would the one year period stipulated in that section have any significance. An employer could then "recognize" a union a year before it entered business or started operations, and the moment it started the union could maintain that it has an established bargaining relationship, under the No-Raiding Agreement, and that neither the employees who are hired nor any union affiliated with the AFL-CIO may take any steps to provide the representation which the employees desire. This cannot reasonably be held to be the meaning of the definition of established bargaining relationship as it appears in the Agreement. It would fail to explain the vital distinction made between certification cases, in which the bargaining relationship is deemed "established" immediately, and the recognition cases in which the bargaining relationship does not ripen into the "established" category until a year elapses.

To avoid misunderstanding, it must be observed that the expression "for the employees involved" is not construed to imply that when the employees in the bargaining unit are replaced or supplemented each new group is free, under the No-Raiding Agreement, to insist on the right to make an independent selection of bargaining representation. Employees who are employed after such a selection has been duly made, or after it has been confirmed by inaction for at least a year, are simply part of the bargaining unit and bound by its action or choice.

On the other hand, where there is a total absence of employees in the bargaining unit when the employer recognizes the union, and equally so when the union claims the status of the employees' representative at the time it enters into an

agreement with the employer on their behalf, the situation is quite different. To permit the one year maturing period to run during the total absence of employees in the bargaining unit would invite an easy form of circumvention of an important protective purpose of the No-Raiding Agreement. It would do violence to the essential right of initial choice of bargaining representative, and it would invite the employer to select the bargaining representative for his employees, without consulting them or giving them any opportunity to express their desires. There is nothing in the No-Raiding Agreement whch suggests such an intent.

No opinion is expressed, since it is not necessary under the facts of this case, as to what type or size of workforce there should be before the one year period begins to run under the definition of an established bargaining relationship. Nor is it necessary to pass on the propriety of the alleged practice in the building trades to make pre-hire agreements, for the reason that this is a fabricating operation, and not a construction job. The only electricians employed were those who acted as maintenance men in the plant.

The ruling here is simply that the one year period necessary to convert recognition by the employer into an established bargaining relationship, under the provisions of the No-Raiding Agreement, does not begin to run in a manufacturing or fabricating plant before there are workers actually employed.

It follows that the organizing activities conducted and the NLRB petition filed by the Steelworkers were at a time when the IBEW did not have an established bargaining relationship.

DECISION

The United Steelworkers of America did not violate the No-Raiding Agreement at the Foothill Electric Corporation.

DAVID L. COLE

DECISION NO. 29-58

May 13, 1958

Between

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS

And

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ELECTRICAL, RADIO AND MACHINE WORKERS

(Telemetal Products, Inc., Brooklyn, N. Y.)

Appearances:

For International Association of Machinists
Charles F. West, Grand Lodge Representative

For International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers
Al Hartnett, Secretary-Treasurer

The issue in this case is: When does a union which is recognized by an employer at an after-acquired plant by virtue of a provision of a collective agreement governing the employer's original plant acquire an established bargaining relationship, under the provision of the No-Raiding Agreement.

The IAM has had agreements with the Polarad Electronics Corporation at its plant in Long Island City for some years. The most recent agreement stipulates, in Section 3.1, that:

> "The agreement shall cover, in addition to premises presently occupied, all future plants which the Company may purchase, lease or otherwise operate during the term of this agreement or any extension thereof, in the jurisdiction of the Union, including all plants operated as a result of expansion or change. For the purpose of this agreement, the jurisdiction of the Union shall be defined as the Counties of Richmond, Queens, Kings, New York, Bronx, Nassau, Suffolk Rockland and Westchester in the State of New York, and the Counties of Hudson and Bergen in the State of New Jersey."

This Corporation negotiated for some months in 1957 for the purchase of control of the sheet metal plant of Telemetal Products, Inc. in Brooklyn, Kings County. The Telemetal

plant is eight or ten miles from the Long Island plant. The transaction was concluded on or about December 2, 1957. As of February 25, 1958 Polarad, Telemetal and District No. 15 of IAM entered into an agreement reciting the collective bargaining agreement at the Polarad operation and the acquisition of the Telemetal stock and providing:

> "1. That TELEMETAL hereby recognizes the UNION as the sole and exclusive bargaining agent for all of its employees, as the term 'employees in the bargaining unit' is defined in the agreement of July 31st, 1957, between POLARAD and the UNION.
>
> "2. That all of the terms of the aforesaid collective bargaining agreement of July 31st, 1957, by and between POLARAD and the UNION, shall be applied insofar as they are applicable to TELEMETAL and to the employees of TELEMETAL, effective as of the date of this agreement."

It appears, however, that the president of Polarad had been engaged together with the president of Telemetal in negotiations with the Telemetal employees, extending over a period of eight months, which culminated in a serious disagreement on or about March 20, 1958 when the employees informed him that they were applying for representation by the IUE. He is reported to have charged them with bad faith in doing so, since he had predicated the promise of certain benefits on their remaining out of any union, and he then told them he was withdrawing all offers and that they would have to take his union, meaning the union representing his employees at the Long Island plant of Polarad. This was the first intimation, despite discussions extending over a period of months, that the employer intended to have the Polarad agreement cover the Telemetal operation, and, in fact, the IAM had never been mentioned, nor had any of its representatives made any approach to the employees. IAM did not call for the Telemetal employees to comply with the union shop provisions of its agreement at Polarad after the Telemetal plant was acquired by Polarad in December, 1957, nor did it request dues check-off authorizations.

It would appear, therefore, that the earliest date on which it could be contended that the employer recognized IAM as the

bargaining representative would be December 2, 1957, but that actually it was not done until the supplemental agreement was reached as of February 25, 1958. In either event, when the IUE accepted membership applications and authorizations from the employees of Telemetal in March, 1958 and made its request of the employer that IUE be recognized, the bargaining relationship of IAM for these employees was considerably less than one year old. It could not have dated back retroactively to the time years before when Polarad first recognized the IAM in Long Island City, for this would overlook the requirement of the No-Raiding Agreement that an established bargaining relationship may be acquired if a union "has been recognized by the employer . . . as the collective bargaining representative *for the employees involved* for a period of one year or more" (emphasis added). The employees involved in this instance being obviously those working at the Telemetal plant, there could not possibly have been effective recognition by the employer before December 2, 1957, which is much less than a year before March 20, 1958.

There being no established bargaining relationship in favor of IAM, IUE was free, so far as the No-Raiding Agreement is concerned, to organize and represent these employees.

DECISION

The acts of the IUE at Telemetal Products, Inc. complained of by IAM are not in violation of the No-Raiding Agreement.

DAVID L. COLE

DECISION NO. 30-58

May 13, 1958

Between

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF ELECTRICAL WORKERS

And

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS
(Cascade Research Corporation, Los Gatos, Calif.)

Appearances:

For International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers
Robert E. Noonan, Assistant to the International President
Wallace J. Barrett, International Representative
Paul H. Menger

For International Association of Machinists
Charles F. West, Grand Lodge Representative
Vernon E. Jirikowic

This case, although it involves two unions formerly identified with the AFL, was referred to me as one arising under the No-Raiding Agreement and processed accordingly. This practice started with the resolution of the Executive Council of February 6, 1958, in which it was held that the "basic principle underlying the AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agreement was also expressed in the AFL-CIO Constitution in Article III, Section 4. . . ."

The question raised by the complaint of the IBEW against the IAM is whether an established bargaining relationship of the IBEW at a plant operated by an employer can be extended to a newly acquired plant, under the facts and circumstances of this case.

Monogram Precision Industries, Inc. (formerly International Glass Corp.) owns or controls several formerly independent plants. Its earlier operations were at Culver City, California, where the IAM represented the employees. It acquired a plant owned by Lewis & Kaufman, Ltd., at Los

Gatos, California, some 400 miles north, and there the IBEW has the bargaining rights. In 1957 the Company negotiated for the purchase of another plant at Los Gatos owned by Cascade Research Corporation. While these negotiations were in progress there were discussions in August, 1957 between employer and IBEW representatives, the substance of which was summarized in the following excerpts from a letter of August 19, 1957 from the Executive Vice President of the parent corporation to the Business Manager of IBEW's Local 1969:

> "This will confirm our verbal agreement of August 15, 1957, regarding extension of the terms of the collective bargaining agreement now in effect between our Los Gatos subsidiary, Lewis and Kaufman and Local Union 1969 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, to include new employees resulting from our acquisition of Cascade Research Corporation, Los Gatos, California.
>
> * * *
>
> "This will further confirm our agreement and understanding that if and when our people and our Los Gatos plants are moved or consolidated, the collective bargaining agreement will be effective in the new location."

The merger of Lewis & Kaufman, Ltd. and Cascade Research Corporation was completed on November 1, 1957, at which time the Company wrote to IBEW pointing out that there will be many problems to resolve as to Cascade employees, including "union security, classifications, seniority, etc." On November 27, 1957, however, the Company posted a memorandum addressed to "all employees of that part of Cascade Research that existed as Cascade Research Corporation before the merger." In this memorandum the Company announced the details of various fringe benefits that would be given to the newly acquired employees.

It happens that for some time IAM had been engaged in trying to organize the Cascade employees. In November, 1956 it filed a petition with the NLRB, but at the election it lost out by a vote of 25 to 18. Thereafter, IAM conducted a strike resulting in the reinstatement of a discharged employee; it represented employees in grievancs; and on November 11, 1957 IAM again filed a representation petition with the NLRB.

On December 9, 1957, representatives of IAM and IBEW met in an attempt to resolve their differences. IAM presented an affidavit signed by 37 of the 42 people employed by Cascade saying that they had never been told of IBEW's interest in the Cascade operations and that they had never been approached by any representative of the IBEW. IAM also pointed out that the unilateral action of the Company in changing the fringe benefits was inconsistent with IBEW's claim that the Company had recognized IBEW as the representative of the Cascade employees. Promptly thereafter, the IBEW received from the employer a letter saying that the fringe policies mentioned in the Company's memorandum of November 27 were "specifically intended to be applicable only to those employees not covered by the existing collective bargaining agreement." It must be observed that there is no such specific intention reflected in the November 27 memorandum.

It should also be noted that, while the Company has purchased land in Campbell, California on which it is proposed to erect a building to house the operations of both the Lewis & Kaufman and Cascade divisions, no construction work has as yet been started.

Under these facts can it be said that the IBEW has an established bargaining relationship with respect to the employees of Cascade Research Corporation which IAM is required by the No-Raiding Agreement to respect and therefore to discontinue its organizing efforts?

The IBEW stresses its certification as the representative of the employees at Lewis & Kaufman, Ltd., which is in broad terms, and also its agreements with the Company covering that operation, arguing that the acquistion of the Cascade plant is merely in the nature of accretion to the Lewis & Kaufman operation.

The weakness of this position is that the certification antedated the acquisition of the Cascade plant and could not have been intended to cover its employees if in fact their operations and representation history reflect the need or right to have a separate bargaining unit. It is physically a separate operation, and the recital of the IAM's activities in the past year and a half indicates clearly that the Cascade employees have interests entirely divorced from those of the Lewis & Kaufman

employees. To transfer to the Cascade operations the recognition accorded several years ago to the IBEW at the Lewis & Kaufman plant would deny the Cascade employees the essential right to make their own selection of a bargaining representative. If they were new employees constituting merely an accretion to the old operation, they would have to forego this right, as all employees do when they enter a bargaining unit in which there is an established bargaining relationship. But the facts here are not of this nature.

It is my opinion that when the No-Raiding Agreement speaks of recognition by the employer of a union as the collective bargaining representative *for the employees involved* for a year or more as a ground for creating an established bargaining relationship, it excludes a situation like this one. The reason is that the employer could not possibly have recognized the IBEW as the representative of the employees at the Cascade plant. The Cascade employees were plainly not among "the employees involved" in the Company's original recognition of the IBEW.

This being so, there was no established bargaining relationship in favor of IBEW at the Cascade plant when IAM filed its petition with the NLRB in November, 1957 and when it conducted its organizing activities, and IAM was therefore free, under the provisions of the No-Raiding Agreement, to take such steps.

DECISION

The acts of the IAM at the Cascade Research plant complained of by the IBEW are not in violation of the No-Raiding Agreement.

DAVID L. COLE

DECISION NO. 34-58

July 28, 1958

Between

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS

And

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF ELECTRICAL WORKERS
(Convair Astronautics, a Division of Convair, a Division of General Dynamics)

Appearances:

For International Association of Machinists
Charles F. West, Grand Lodge Representative
Vernon E. Jirikowic, Grand Lodge Representative

For International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers
Robert E. Noonan, Assistant to the International President
Maurice J. Collins, Business Manager and Financial Secretary, Local 569

This case was initiated by a letter on January 16, 1958, from President A. J. Hayes of the IAM to William F. Schnitzler, Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-CIO, protesting alleged raiding activities by Local 569 of the IBEW at Convair Astronautics in San Diego. This local had filed a petition with the NLRB on September 13, 1957 seeking representation rights for a unit of "all electronic technicians, helpers, apprentices . . . in all plants and locations in the State of California of Astronautics . . ." The Regional Director of the NLRB held the existing agreement of the IAM to be a bar, and processing of the complaint under the No-Raiding Agreement was consequently delayed. Subsequently, however, the NLRB held that a substantial and material issue exists as to whether Astronautics is an accretion or a new and separate operation and directed its Regional Director to take testimony on this issue. Mediation efforts within the AFL-CIO having proved fruitless, the matter was heard by the Impartial Umpire.

The case turns largely on the history of the operation and of the bargaining relationships which have been in effect. The IBEW maintains that the IAM does not have an established bargaining relationship with this employer for the employees involved, under the definition of the No-Raiding Agreement, because this is a new operation, independent of that of other Convair operations in San Diego in which the IAM has established bargaining relationships. The IAM insists that its long-established relationship at the San Diego plants of Convair covers the bargaining unit here in question—that the Astronautics Division is merely an accretion or enlargement of those operations.

Lodges of the IAM have been recognized by San Diego Division of Convair for a number of years, as is evidenced by a series of collective bargaining agreements. In the two-year agreement effective on April 2, 1956, there are provisions for maintenance of membership and voluntary check-off. A number of the classifications of employees as to whom the IBEW has filed its NLRB petition are specifically named in the agreement as within the exclusive representation unit of the IAM lodges. The question, however, is whether an agreement covering such employees at the San Diego Division also applies to the San Diego operations of Astronautics.

This is a missiles operation. In 1946 and 1947 Convair in its San Diego Division worked on an Air Force contract called the MX 774 Research Project Missile. From 1948 to 1951 Convair continued its experimental work without an Air Force contract, under the name of the Atlas Project. In 1951 the Air Force contracted with it again for the MX 1593 Project, which was a continuation of the same work. In February, 1955 the fabrication of the Atlas started on a production line in the north end of Building 4 in San Diego, in the southern part of which the CV-440 airplane was being produced. By the end of 1955, the entire building was devoted to the Atlas production, which early in 1956 was called the Model 7 Project. Although this is a very large building, Convair started erecting a considerably larger building for this operation in 1956, at a location in San Diego called Kearny Mesa, some 15 miles from Building 4. In March, 1956 an off-site testing operation was started at Edwards Air Base, and in the April, 1956 agreement Convair extended IAM's coverage to include this.

It should be mentioned at this point that the bargaining unit of the IAM includes practically all production and maintenance employees, excluding three classifications of electricians for whom the IBEW is recognized as bargaining representative, and certain technical employees represented by the San Diego Chapter of the Engineers and Architects Association. At the Edwards Air Base Convair also extended the IBEW contract to cover its electrician classifications.

In March, 1957 the Model 7 Project was turned over by the Company's board of directors to the newly created division called Astronautics, which appears for administrative purposes to be a separate division of Convair, itself a division of General Dynamics. The program director of the Model 7 Project was made manager, and industrial relations were put into the charge of the same individual who had conducted such activities at the Convair San Diego Division. Moreover, the supervision of Astronautics' activities was largely turned over to those who acted in a similar capacity in the Model 7 Project at Building 4.

In 1951 Convair had made an agreement with the IAM for its then relatively small missiles and modification divisions excluding maintenance electricians and clerical employees, and workers moved back and forth from these divisions to other manufacturing operations with no change or loss in seniority. In November, 1956 clerical employees including many working on Model 7 were covered by the IAM agreement. As already stated, many classifications of workers in the missile project were listed in IAM's 1956 contract, and in the latter part of 1957, by an exchange of letters between IAM and Convair certain arrangements concerning such classifications at Astronautics were provided for, including overtime and shift bonuses.

The operations have now been transferred to the new facility, and Model 7 is now the Astronautics Division of Convair.

The IBEW is principally interested in representing a variety of electronics classifications which it has not represented at the San Diego Division. It regards these as appropriately belonging together with skilled electricians, as a development or expansion of that craft. It claims that Astro-

nautics has hired many new employees, that even those formerly employed at the San Diego Division are treated as new hires, and that, therefore, the IAM cannot support its claim that it has been the bargaining agent for these employees, primarily because to the extent that the employer has dealt with IAM with respect to these employees it has not done so for a year or more, and consequenly, lacking certification by the NLRB, the IAM does not have the kind of established bargaining relationship required by the definition contained in Section 1 of the No-Raiding Agreement.

It appears, however, that of 333 types of jobs at Astronautics all but 14% were in use at the San Diego Division in its Model 7 Project, and that all but a trifling number of the clerical jobs have likewise been transferred to Astronautics. It is also clear that large numbers of employees at Astronautics have seniority dates starting considerably prior to the time Astronautics' operations started at the new building, and that the dues check-off authorizations signed at the old facility in favor of IAM have carried over and are in force at Astronautics. The IBEW is therefore in error when it asserts that all Astronautics employees are new hires.

This situation is clearly distinguishable from those in two recent cases in which the Impartial Umpire held that new operations did not, under the facts in each case, constitute an accretion to the existing bargaining unit. In the Foothill Electric case (Case 28-58, decided May 12, 1958, and reported in 30 LA 557) there was a completely new and independent operation at which there were no employees at the time the employer entered into a collective bargaining agreement with the complaining union, and in the Telemetal Products case (Case 29-58, decided May 13, 1958, reported in 30 LA 555) the operation in question was acquired by purchase and had no connection whatever with the facility in which the complaining union had a bargaining relationship.

The new Astronautics facility is for all practical purposes merely an enlargement of the Model 7 Project, as to which the IAM's bargaining relationship has become established beyond any question over a period of years. The reference in Section 1 of the No-Raiding Agreement to "the employees involved" is not meant to require the identity of individual workers. Two

situations analogous to that under review here were ruled on by the Umpire in Case 12-56, 27 LA 119, (Kupfer Products), and in Case 20-57, 28 LA 627 (Ford Motor Company).

Surely an established bargaining relationship is not disrupted when the employer creates a new division within its corporate set-up or adds people to the employment rolls, nor when it modifies processes or adds some process to those carried on in the bargaining unit.

The argument of the IBEW that electronics are closely related to electrical work and that the people engaged in such work should be grouped with skilled electricians has no validity in a raiding case. The test under the No-Raiding Agreement is simply whether there is an established bargaining relationship between the employer and a union which is a party to the No-Raiding Agreement. It is of interest to note in passing, moreover, that in the San Diego Division while IBEW has been certified as the bargaining representative of three classifications of electricians, IAM has been the recognized bargaining representative of production and maintenance employees including specifically a variety of electronic and electrical classifications.

On the other hand, the IAM cannot claim to hold a bargaining relationship with regard to the professional or technical types of employees as to whom the Engineers and Architects Association has been certified and recognized as the bargaining representative.

DECISION

The activities of the IBEW seeking to represent classifications of production, maintenance and clerical employees of Astronautics which have been represented by IAM at Convair San Diego Division of General Dynamics Corporation constitute a violation of the No-Raiding Agreement.

DAVID L. COLE

DECISION NO. 36-58

July 31, 1958

Between

WINDOW GLASS CUTTERS LEAGUE OF AMERICA

And

UNITED GLASS AND CERAMIC WORKERS
OF NORTH AMERICA
(Libbey-Owens-Ford Glass Company and
Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company)

Appearances:

For Window Glass Cutters League of America
Glen W. McCabe, President
Robert A. Wilson, Counsel
W. R. Morton, Preceptor

For United Glass and Ceramic Workers of North America
Ralph Reiser, President
S. L. Rothbard, Counsel
Lewis McCracken, Secretary-Treasurer

This case arises under the No-Raiding Agreement. It was formally initiated by a letter from the president of the Window Glass Cutters League (herein called the "League") to the Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-CIO on May 28, 1958, although there was an informal approach to the problem at a conference with President Meany in February, 1958. The essence of the complaint is that the United Glass and Ceramic Workers (for convenience called the "Glass Workers Union") is insisting that the two employers, Libbey-Owens-Ford Glass Company and Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company include within its bargaining unit certain machine glass cutting jobs which the League maintains have been within its bargaining unit, and that the Glass Workers Union has intervened in a proceeding before the NLRB for the same purpose.

For many years these two companies have bargained jointly with each of these labor organizations. The League was recognized by Libbey-Owens-Ford in 1917 and by Pittsburgh Plate Glass in 1928. The League has represented for 30 years

or more the classifications of cutters and inspectors, (and apprentices) in the window glass departments. In 1933 the League organized the National Flat Glass Workers as a union to represent other classes of workers in these companies, helped it obtain a charter from the AFL, and for some time the present president of the League was also the president and secretary-treasurer of this other organization. This organization subsequently became the United Glass and Ceramic Workers of North America. It was made a separate union because the League apparently preferred to confine its membership to its skilled crafts only.

In 1940 the Glass Workers Union was certified by the NLRB at both companies as the representative of the production and maintenance employees, excluding window glass cutters, and it has had contractual relations with both companies ever since. In the plate glass departments, as distinguished from window glass, this Union represents all the employees.

The misunderstanding arises out of the manner in which glass cutting machines have been handled during a long period of development. Such development work started more than 25 years ago, before the Glass Workers Union was in existence. The League cooperated with the companies in this development, but retained some right of restriction over the ultimate use to be made of these machines when they were put into commercial use. This may be seen, for example, in the agreements with both companies, running from June 15, 1955 to June 15, 1956. While Article 7 provides in Section 1 that:

> "Notwithstanding any provisions in this agreement to the contrary, the Company may develop and commercially use cutting machines and will employ such Cutters in such reasonable numbers as may be required in further development and use of machine cutting. Cutters so employed shall be paid at their average hourly rates."

Yet in Section 3 it is stated that:

> ". . . The Company agrees during the life of this scale [agreement], to avoid any unwarranted expansion in the use of cutting machine equipment, especially should curtailed production become necessary, and in general, to avoid an undue reduction in the amount of glass available for hand-cutting."

Despite contentions to the contrary by the League, it appears that in practical terms these machines have only recently been put into use in integrated production or for commercial purposes. In fact, this is the reason for the very issue before us. The companies, being on the verge of starting full-scale production on the glass cutting machines, made it clear to the League late in 1957 that its decision to do so would depend on its ability to resolve the conflicting claims to the right to represent the machine operators which had been advanced by both the League and the Glass Workers Union. The latter organization has had unquestioned jurisdiction over machine operations, while the League has long been recognized as the bargaining representative for hand cutters and inspectors.

This is an important fact in this dispute. "Cutters" is a broad term, but not more so in the context of this dispute, than "all machine operators." It is not disputed that up to the present time the work of cutting glass by machine has been variously assigned: to hand cutters represented by the League, to machine operators represented by the Glass Workers Union, and to technical or supervisory people represented by no labor organization. Nor can it now seriously be disputed that the fact that the machines were about to go into regular production early in 1958 gave rise to this dispute. The companies' position on the subject has already been stated. Moreover when Mr. McCabe, president of the League, wrote President Meany on February 3, 1958 requesting an appointment, he said:

> "Two of the large manufacturers of window glass are now installing automotive mechanical means of cutting glass, which will in time greatly reduce the number of our members unless we can retain jobs on these machines."

The reference in prior League contracts to the glass cutting machines has already been mentioned. In the negotiation of the current agreements, which was concluded in April, 1958, the League acceded to the companies' insistence that this reference be omitted, and the machines are no longer mentioned.

In place thereof, an unusual procedure was agreed upon. On the same day on which the new collective bargaining

agreements were concluded, the League and the two companies entered into a supplemental agreement which recited that "the League claims jurisdiction over the occupations of Cutting Machine Operator, Reject Cutter-Machine Cut Glass and Inspector Machine Cut Glass;" that the Glass Workers Union "claims jurisdiction over the [same] Cutting Machine Occupations;" and that "the position of the companies is that the Cutting Machine Occupations properly belong in the bargaining unit represented by the" Glass Workers Union. This supplemental agreement then provides that if the jurisdictional issues are submitted to the NLRB and that Board renders a decision:

> "Any decision of the National Labor Relations Board as to the union which shall have jurisdiction over the Cutting Machine Occupations shall be final and binding and no party hereto shall appeal from such decision."

The Glass Workers Union was not named as a party to this supplemental agreement, but it was kept informed of the procedure to be adopted and immediately agreed in writing that with respect to a decision that might be made by the NLRB,

> "This letter will serve as our assurance that we will not appeal from such a decision and will accept it as final and binding."

This, as testified to before the Impartial Umpire, was done in accordance with the understanding of the companies and the League, and when the NLRB proceedings started the Glass Workers Union promptly intervened.

Suffice it to say that the jurisdictional issue has been presented to the NLRB by the companies in two cases which have now been consolidated; that this was done by charges that the League struck to compel the employers to assign work to its members, in violation of Section 8 (b) (4) (D) of the Labor Management Relations Act, 1947; that the Board's examiner has rejected proffers of evidence by the League as to past practice, and that an appeal from this ruling is pending before the Board.

The Umpire is therefore confronted with an unusual problem. The League is moving a complaint before him under

the No-Raiding Agreement predicated on the claim that it has an established bargaining relationship with respect to certain classifications of employees and at the same time the League has agreed that it will observe as final and binding the decision to be rendered by the NLRB on essentially the same issue. Exactly how the League can consistently move down both routes at the same time is difficult to understand. One must assume that in good faith it would accept and be bound by each decision if this No-Raiding proceeding should go forward to completion.

It is true that the issues have technical differences as presented in each forum, but certainly the understanding with regard to the NLRB's decision could not be more clearly expressed. The Board's decision "as to the union which shall have jurisdiction over the Cutting Machine Occupations shall be final and binding."

The stipulation entered into by all the parties in interest represents their choice to have the NLRB finally and completely settle this jurisdictional dispute. It is an effective means of doing so, for, unlike most inter-union conflicts, the employers have taken a definite position with regard to the merits of the respective union contentions, and it is important that the decision be one which will bind them as well as the unions. This of course would not be so if the decision were that of the Impartial Umpire, because the employers are not parties to a No-Raiding proceeding. His decision would call for certain steps to be taken under the No-Raiding Agreement, if he should find one union guilty of raiding, but his decision under this Agreement obviously would not and could not require the employer to comply.

Irrespective of the technical differences between the issues between the two unions under the No-Raiding Agreement and that before the NLRB, the indisputable fact is that a decision in the NLRB case will completely settle the entire issue and a ruling under the No-Raiding Agreement would be academic.

The No-Raiding Agreement does not make it mandatory that every raiding complaint be prosecuted to finality before the Umpire. The great majority have been settled by negotiation, mediation, or by letting them run their course before

the NLRB. There are other special circumstances under which the Umpire may conclude that the activities, although constituting a raid, do not call for a decision of violation. See, for example, the Zwicker Knitting Mills case (Case 23-57, reported at 29 LA 316).

For the foregoing reasons it is not necessary to inquire into the scope of the respective bargaining relationships or other matters of similar kind.

DECISION

The decision, under the circumstances, is that the United Glass and Ceramic Workers Union has not violated the provisions of the No-Raiding Agreement.

DAVID L. COLE

DECISION NO. 39-58

September 5, 1958

Between

UPHOLSTERERS INTERNATIONAL UNION
OF NORTH AMERICA

And

UNITED FURNITURE WORKERS OF AMERICA
(International Furniture Company Division of
Schnadig Corp.)
(Montoursville, Pennsylvania)

Appearances:

For Upholsterers International Union of North America
M. H. Goldstein, Counsel
Ray M. Pudlines, Director, Org. and Service Dept.
John A. Coffey, Business Agent, Pennsylvania Joint Board
Chester Miles, President, Local 190

For United Furniture Workers of America
Martin Raphael, General Counsel
Morris Pizer, International President
Michael Di Cicco, Vice President

The complaining union, the UIU, charges that the UFWA has violated the No-Raiding Agreement by soliciting UIU members to vote for UFWA in an anticipated NLRB election, by demanding of the employer that UFWA be recognized as the representative of an enlarged group of employees which includes members of two prior bargaining units, and by "failure to disclaim intention to appear upon the ballot if the NLRB ordered an election."

The employer, the Schnadig Corporation, has a number of upholstered furniture manufacturing plants. The plant in question is in Montoursville, Pennsylvania, and was acquired in 1952 by purchase from the original owner, the International Furniture Company. The International Furniture Company in turn had purchased in 1951 all the assets of S. Karpen & Bros., and had begun manufacturing a higher quality product

under the Karpen name in a new building which was attached to International's original building in Montoursville. Until recently the Schnadig Corporation operated in the old building as the "International Furniture Company Division of Schnadig Corporation" and in the new building as the "Karpen Furniture Division of Schnadig Corporation." In June, 1958 the employer combined the manufacturing operations of both divisions by transferring the Karpen Division operations, previously conducted in the new building, to the old building. The new building has been converted mainly to warehousing purposes. To a very substantial extent the employees now perform interchangeable tasks producing furniture under the brand names of both Karpen and International. The International Division has always been the larger of the two, with some 270 employees in its bargaining unit as compared with 90 in that of the Karpen Division. Since this consolidation of operations the Schnadig Corporation has been checking off dues for both unions, and it has been continuing the former employee insurance coverage in accordance with its understanding with each union.

The UFWA has been the representative of the production and maintenance employees in the Karpen Division. It was certified by the NLRB on August 24, 1955, and its latest agreement with the Company was made October 14, 1957 and will not expire until October 15, 1958.

The UIU was certified by the NLRB as the representative of the production and maintenance employees in the International Division on May 7, 1957, and on August 21, 1957 made its first collective bargaining agreement with the Company. The term of this agreement was one year, expiring July 15, 1958, with automatic renewal unless specified notice was given.

When the operations were consolidated in the old building the Company expressed the view that both existing bargaining units were thereby destroyed and it petitioned the NLRB for an election to determine the representative of the bargaining unit which is now appropriate. At the NLRB hearing in August the UFWA agreed with the Company's contention that such an election was necessary and proper, that the unit should include all the production, maintenance and shop clerical employees in the combined operation, and that it should be on

the ballot if such an election is held. It did not, however, intervene formally in the NLRB proceeding.

At some points the UFWA expressed the expectation or hope that the UIU would agree that this dispute should be resolved by the NLRB along the lines indicated. The UFWA conducted a meeting on May 26, 1958 at its headquarters to which by word of mouth UIU members were invited. At this meeting the likelihood of an NLRB election was discussed and the hope expressed that UIU would consent to such an election.

This meeting led directly to the filing by the UIU of this complaint of violation of the No-Raiding Agreement. This was because officials of the UFWA compared their agreement with that of the UIU, and pointed out what they regarded as the superior features of the UFWA agreement; because they asked UIU members to leave their names and addresses, and proposed the formation of a committee to support the UFWA in the NLRB election, a proposal which was promptly withdrawn, however, when one of the UIU members questioned its propriety.

The UFWA finds itself in a most difficult position. As the established bargaining representative of the employees of the Company's Karpen Division, who have now been moved into the premises of the International Furniture Division, it believes that the two former bargaining units have been obliterated and that it has the right to seek to be selected as the bargaining agent for the so-called new unit. It has accordingly felt itself free to make approaches to employees who were formerly in its own unit, as well as to others who have been in the International (UIU) unit, for support in the expected election. Without intervening in the formal manner, it appeared at the NLRB proceedings and took an active part urging that the Board find that there is now a single new bargaining unit. At the same time it has shown a certain amount of hesitancy in advancing its cause and pressing its position out of deference apparently for the restrictions of the No-Raiding Agreement.

The UIU's position has been more positive. It regards the Company's transfer of the Karpen Division operations into the International Furniture Division as of no consequence with respect to its established bargaining rights in

the International Furniture Division, and maintains in this proceeding as well as before the NLRB that its bargaining rights have not been disturbed or altered by this move—that at most there has been an accretion which does not affect its position as the duly certified bargaining agent. It belittles the UFWA explanation that at the above-mentioned meeting of May 26, 1958 representatives of the UFWA made it clear that they were advocating an election to be conducted by the NLRB in the new bargaining unit only if the UIU agreed that such an election should be held.

On the evidence, one must agree with the UIU that UFWA's proposition that UIU's bargaining unit in the International Division has been eliminated has not been conditioned on UIU's agreement that this is so; nor has the UFWA's contention that there should be a new election of bargaining agent for the combined operation been made dependent on UIU's agreement. The UFWA recognizes the fact that the action of the employer has done away with its own bargaining unit in the Karpen Division. It does not question the right of the UIU to seek to represent the employees now in the International Division who were formerly in the Karpen Division but it insists it has a similar right with respect to both groups of employees.

This proceeding is obviously governed by the provisions of the No-Raiding Agreement. By Section 5 (e) the Umpire may merely determine whether the acts complained of constitute a violation of the Agreement. He is not privileged to base his determination on general considerations of equity or of policy.

If, therefore, the UIU had an established bargaining relationship for the employees involved, as defined, then any move by the UFWA to represent or to seek to obtain the right to represent such employees, or to disrupt the established bargaining relationship, would be contrary to the provisions of Section 3 of the No-Raiding Agreement.

It is difficult to conceive any theory on which it may be held that UIU's established bargaining relationship with respect to the production and maintenance employees in the International Division has been terminated, within the principles set forth in the No-Raiding Agreement. This organiza-

tion was duly certified by the NLRB, it has actively represented the employees in that division, and has entered into a contract with the employer on their behalf. The complications of this case did not arise because of any activity of the UIU. The employer simply elected to move the smaller Karpen Division operations into the International Division.

Under the circumstances it seems that, understandable as it may be, the campaigning efforts of the UFWA representatives at the meeting of May 26 and their demand on the Company that it recognize this union as the bargaining representative for all the employees now in the International Division were contrary to the provisions of Section 3 of the Agreement. Under the uncertain conditions that prevailed, it may be debated whether the UFWA had an affirmative duty to disclaim any intention to appear on the ballot if the NLRB ordered an election, and it is not necessary to decide that question.

DECISION

The United Furniture Workers of America violated the No-Raiding Agreement by inviting employees of the International Furniture Division of the Schnadig Corporation to attend the meeting of May 26, 1958 at the UFWA headquarters, by soliciting their support in the anticipated election, and by demanding of the Company that it recognize the UFWA as the collective bargaining representative of the production and maintenance employees of the International Furniture Division.

DAVID L. COLE

DECISION NO. 41-58

September 26, 1958

Between

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS

And

TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA
(Stock Clerks of Pan American World Airways, Inc.)

Appearances:

For Transport Workers of America
Asher W. Schwartz, Attorney
James Horst, International Vice President
William Grogan, International Vice President

For International Association of Machinists
Charles F. West, Grand Lodge Representative
Frank Heisler, Airline Coordinator
George Kleiman, Grand Lodge Representative

The stock clerks of the Pan American World Airways have been represented system-wide by the International Association of Machinists since 1945 when this union was certified by the National Mediation Board pursuant to the Railway Labor Act. In 1953 the IAM was challenged by the Transport Workers Union of America, and after an election the National Mediation Board again certified the IAM. The current collective bargaining agreement between the IAM and the Company is a three-year agreement which will expire February 9, 1959.

In February, 1958, an independent union called the Airline Supply Technicians Union was organized in Florida. It obtained some 500 signatures from stock clerks favoring an election to question the IAM's representation. The election was conducted by the National Mediation Board on or about May 1, and it was reported that the independent union, ASTU, received 25 votes, the IAM 219, but that by virtue of write-ins approximately 502 employees voted for the TWU. The total number of eligible employees was 843 at the time, and 754 valid ballots were cast. On July 11, 1958, the

National Mediation Board certified that TWU had been duly designated and authorized to represent the craft or class of stock clerks employed by Pan American World Airways.

The TWU has not yet undertaken to represent these employees, except to a limited and temporary extent, although on July 17 the Company in response to an inquiry from one of the prime movers of the ASTU and of an offshoot thereof, the Rank and File Certification Committee, stated that it would respect the Board's certification. It was also reported at the hearing that since some time in May, because of the uncertainty that developed during the election campaign period, the Company has declined to deal with the IAM as the bargaining representative of these employees, even in the handling of grievances.

On April 18 President Hayes of the IAM wired President Quill of the TWU calling attention to the restrictions of the No-Raiding Agreement, to which both unions are parties. On June 2 President Hayes wrote to President Meany summarizing the developments to date and stating that "any attempt, directly or indirectly, on the part of the Transport Workers Union of America, AFL-CIO, to take over the bargaining rights of the stock clerks . . . will be considered as being in violation of the applicable provisions of the AFL-CIO Constitution." Finally, on July 10 the IAM registered a formal protest against the action of the TWU "in their deliberate raid . . . on Pan American Airlines . . . in violation of the AFL-CIO Constitution and No-Raiding Agreement," requesting Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler to notify TWU to cease and desist and to have TWU "formally notify the National Mediation Board that they cannot accept certification for this group under the No-Raiding Agreement and AFL-CIO law."

The foregoing digest indicates the general outline of this dispute. More pointedly, however, the TWU maintains, with little or no direct contradiction by specific evidence, that until the IAM lost its established bargaining relationship on July 11 by reason of the National Mediation Board's certification of the TWU, it respected the rights of the IAM. It insists that it notified the employees concerned and the National Mediation Board that it had no interest in repre-

senting these employees, and that it declined to represent them and refrained from engaging in any organizing activities. The position of the TWU is essentially that if it is found guilty of violating the No-Raiding Agreement it must be by virtue of activities it engaged in while IAM had its established bargaining relationship, that is to say, prior to July 11, the date on which, in the view of TWU, the IAM lost this relationship when the Board certified a new bargaining representative, namely the TWU.

It is not disputed that when the move was instituted to unseat the IAM this organization had an established bargaining relationship with this Company covering the stock clerks, a relationship which started in 1945. This was by virtue both of National Mediation Board certification and recognition by the employer, the recognition being incontrovertibly evidenced by the most recent collective bargaining agreement which was made in February, 1956, to run until February 9, 1959. Nevertheless, despite the purposes and provisions of the No-Raiding Agreement, and of the AFL-CIO Constitution, we find that as of July 11, 1958, some seven months before its collective bargaining agreement was to expire another affiliate of the Federation was contending that it was free to organize and represent the employees in question.

This presents a question as to the termination of an established bargaining relationship, and as to the scope and implications of the obligations imposed on signatory unions by the No-Raiding Agreement.

The promises made by each union party to the No-Raiding Agreement in Sections 2 and 3 are that:

> ". . . each union . . . agrees that neither it nor any of its locals will, directly or indirectly, (a) organize or represent or attempt to organize or represent employees as to whom an established bargaining relationship exists with . . . any union which is signatory hereto . . .; (b) seek to represent, or obtain the right to represent, such employees or to disrupt the established bargaining relationship; or (c) engage in any cessation of work . . . or any other form of concerted activity in support of an attempt to organize or represent such employees

by a union other than the union which has the established bargaining relationship."

It should be noted that in Section 11 it is stated that:

"This Agreement, and its faithful observance is the first and essential step toward the achievement of organic unity between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, a goal to which both organizations wholeheartedly subscribe . . ."

While there is now one federation, the difficulties of adjusting conflicts between affiliated unions over jurisdiction have by no means ended. This is still a major problem.

Reverting to the basic promises contained in Sections 2 and 3, the existence of an established bargaining relationship is the starting point. It is hard to imagine how a higher degree of protection could be provided for a union with a given existing bargaining relationship. Where a union has an established bargaining relationship, no other union may directly or indirectly organize or represent or seek to represent or obtain the right to represent such employees, nor may it, directly or indirectly, engage in any form of concerted activity in support of such an attempt by any other union.

At all times prior to July 11, 1958, as acknowledged by the TWU, the IAM had such an established bargaining relationship, yet starting July 11 the TWU believes it became free to organize and represent the employees in question because the National Mediation Board certified the TWU in place of the IAM on that date. There is, however, another basis on which a bargaining relationship is established, namely, recognition by the employer for one year or more. The employer in this case took the position, relying on the new certification of July 11, that it would no longer recognize the IAM. Yet at the time there was in force a collective bargaining agreement between Pan American and IAM which was not to end until February 9, 1959. The Company may be on firm ground in taking this position, but there is a very real question whether for the purposes of the No-Raiding Agreement, *as between unions signatory to this Agreement*, the established bargaining relationship does not continue until the expiration date. This is to say that while there may be

ways under the Railway Labor Act of decertifying a union during the term of an agreement or of substituting another union for the one holding an agreement still in effect, it is dubious in light of the strict provisions of the No-Raiding Agreement and of the clear purpose of this Agreement whether the second union may replace the incumbent without violating the No-Raiding Agreement under such circumstances.

In this connection, attention is directed to the very first case decided by the Umpire under the No-Raiding Agreement, that involving the Amalgamated Meat Cutters Union at Swift and Company (Case 1-54, reported at 23 LA 275).

It is not necessary, however, to decide this question of whether an established bargaining relationship predicated on recognition by the employer may, under the No-Raiding Agreement, be terminated by the employer during the term of the collective bargaining agreement, because of the ruling about to be made with respect to the more general obligations under this Agreement.

The TWU was undoubtedly circumspect during the election campaign period instituted by the Airline Supply Technicians Union in February or March, 1958. On April 21, replying to the telegram of President Hayes of the IAM of April 18, President Quill said:

> ". . . you are advised that TWU has no interest in PAA stores employees . . . TWU officers and representatives on PAA property have already been officially directed to give no aid to the Airline Supply Technicians Union in any form as previously requested by IAM representatives. This statement is now being posted on TWU bulletin boards on PAA property."

When the leadership of the ASTU nevertheless began urging employees throughout the PAA system not to vote for ASTU at the election but rather to write in the name of TWU, and when sample ballots began appearing at the various bases of the Company with the name "Transport Workers Union of America, AFL-CIO" written in, representatives of the IAM naturally became apprehensive. On May 9 President Hayes wrote President Quill reciting certain facts and requesting that he advise the National Medi-

ation Board that TWU has no interest and "is not to be considered in any manner by the National Mediation Board in its final disposition of this representation dispute." President Quill replied on May 16 expressing surprise at the information contained in President Hayes' letter, and with regard to the request that he advise the National Mediation Board of his organization's position, he wrote:

> "Since the vote in the National Mediation Board election is secret, I could not possibly be given any such information at this time by the National Mediation Board or any interested party. It would therefore be presumptuous and inappropriate for me to communicate with the National Mediation Board on this matter, as you suggest."

The IAM raised the problem with the National Mediation Board, and on June 6 the Board, through its Executive Secretary, wrote to Vice President Horst of the TWU informing him that it had received copies of the above-mentioned wire of April 21 and the letter of May 16, but it asked directly:

> "Will you please advise as promptly as possible whether, as stated in these documents, the Transport Workers Union of America, AFL-CIO, has no interest in representing the Pan American World Airways Stores employees."

Vice President Horst did not answer until June 12, and his answer was a telegram in these words:

> "Reur letter June 6 Case R 3262 inasmuch as I have received no information from the National Mediation Board on this matter respectfully request receipt of report of election results."

At a hearing conducted by the National Mediation Board on June 25 to consider the disposition of certain disputed ballots, the TWU was represented by an observer. The attorney for the ASTU, and other representatives of this group, however, appeared and spoke at length in favor of holding that the disputed ballots be counted for TWU and urged that TWU be certified as the bargaining representative of the stock clerks of Pan American.

The following day President Hayes again wired President Quill pointing out that the "situation concerning this case

at National Mediation Board is terribly confusing . . . It is necessary that you direct telegram to National Mediation Board giving them official disclaimer of interest . . ."

President Quill responded four days later by a telegram to the Board stating that TWU's position as indicated in his wire of April 21 and his letter of May 16 to President Hayes, referred to above, was still unchanged. It is of significance, however, that President Quill's statement of position was in this form:

> "Although TWU believes the question of interest is immaterial under the Railway Labor Act, I wish to restate that TWU's position of no interest is still unchanged."

All the foregoing events occurred prior to July 11, 1958, at a time when TWU does not dispute the fact that IAM clearly had an established bargaining relationship. There was no evidence at the hearing that TWU or any of its representatives affirmatively assisted ASTU or its representatives in their program to have an election and to have TWU written in as the choice of the stock clerks to replace IAM. On the contrary, there was testimony that they declined to do so.

Nevertheless, the program was an open one. Considering TWU's assertions to the effect that it was scrupulously observing the provisions of the No-Raiding Agreement, can it fairly be said that it was not directly or indirectly seeking to represent or obtain the right to represent these employees, or that it was not directly or indirectly disrupting IAM's established bargaining relationship or engaging in a concerted activity with ASTU of the kind forbidden by the Agreement? Was there the faithful observance of the Agreement which it and all other signatories promised?

As already indicated, TWU was circumspect, but it was evidently strongly tempted to let ASTU proceed on its behalf and see whether it could not thereby replace the IAM without being in violation of the No-Raiding Agreement. It spoke of its position as being one of no interest and yet it never said during the campaign which was openly conducted on its behalf that it could not and would not as the result of this campaign represent these employees, even though IAM then

had an established bargaining relationship. In fact, as one reads the pertinent correspondence, there is plainly an effort to avoid saying this, either in response to President Hayes' request or that of the National Mediation Board. The request was either evaded or responded to by repetition of the previous ambiguous statement or by something in the nature of argumentation. This may be seen particularly in the reply of June 12 to the Board's letter of June 6 and the wire to the Board of June 30 in answer to President Hayes' direct request of June 26. Moreover, considering its assertion that it had no interest, one may well wonder why the TWU sent a representative to the Board hearing of June 25 even to act as an observer.

In the face of the obvious purpose of the No-Raiding Agreement, where the basic condition of an established bargaining relationship is present, no union signatory to the Agreement may stand by when there is openly a movement under way to have it displace the incumbent union without announcing plainly and without qualification that it may not and will not represent the employees as the result of that movement or program.

Under the facts of this case, I am satisfied that while the TWU did not organize or represent the employees during the March 1-July 11 period, it nevertheless did indirectly seek to represent them or to obtain the right to represent them; that indirectly it engaged in concerted activity with ASTU in support of an attempt to displace the IAM as the bargaining agent; and that the consequence of all this was that it assisted in the disruption of the established bargaining relationship. Its activities were subtle. Superficially and tangibly it conformed to the behavior pattern required by the No-Raiding Agreement, but its hope and its desire through indirect means to become the bargaining agent in place of the IAM may be easily inferred from its unwillingness to reply directly and frankly to specific requests, the meaning of which was quite clear.

It follows that it may not now, in view of the intent and purpose of the No-Raiding Agreement, be permitted to benefit from its conduct during the period prior to July 11. This ruling, under other facts, is consistent with that

made in the International Chemical Workers Union case at Dryden Rubber Company (Case 17-57, reported at 28 LA 61).

DECISION

The failure of the Transport Workers Union of America to state clearly and unequivocally during the campaign conducted on its behalf by the Airline Supply Technicians Union on the Pan American World Airways System that it could not and would not represent the stock clerks in place of the International Association of Machinists and the contention of the Transport Workers Union of America that it is free now to represent such employees constitute a violation of the No-Raiding Agreement.

DAVID L. COLE

DECISION NO. 42-58

October 13, 1958

Between

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ELECTRICAL, RADIO AND MACHINE WORKERS

And

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF OPERATIVE POTTERS
(Ingersoll-Humphryes Division, Borg-Warner Corporation)
(Richland County, Ohio)

Appearances:

For International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers
Roger Coyne, Assistant to Secretary-Treasurer

For International Brotherhood of Operative Potters
Leonard Greco, Vice President

The International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, herein called the IUE, was certified by the NLRB in December, 1954, as the bargaining representative of the production and maintenance employees of the Humphryes Manufacturing Company at its Mansfield, Ohio plant. On March 21, 1955, its Local 719 entered into its first contract with the employer, to run until September 21, 1956, with automatic renewals for yearly periods unless 60 days notice was given to the contrary. The IUE gave such notice, and on August 18, 1956 a new agreement was negotiated for a five year term. This agreement covers the "employees of the Company at the Enameled Cast Iron Division in Mansfield, Richland County, Ohio and the Vitreous China Sanitary Ware Division in Springfield Township, Richland County, Ohio."

The Vitreous China division was new, having been added since the first agreement was made in 1955. Vitreous China operations were first conducted at the old plant in Mansfield, and when transferred to the new plant at Springfield a number of the Mansfield employees were sent there as part of this department. On August 21, 1956 the Borg-Warner Corpora-

tion acquired the assets of the Humphryes Manufacturing Company and a new division, the Ingersoll-Humphryes Division of Borg-Warner, was created. Some two weeks later a supplement was added to the collective bargaining agreement negotiated on August 18, 1956, making the agreement applicable to this new division, rather than to the employer originally named.

On September 14, 1956, with no prior claim for recognition, the International Brotherhood of Operative Potters filed a petition with the NLRB for certification as bargaining agent for the employees of the Vitreous China division. The Board ruled that the two divisions constituted one appropriate unit, that the agreement of August 18, 1956 as supplemented on September 6, 1956 was a bar to the representation petition of the IBOP, and that the petition should be dismissed.

Nevertheless, in the early part of 1958 the IBOP set up its Local Union No. 242 for the sole purpose of organizing and representing the employees at the Springfield plant. It has distributed organizing leaflets, has criticized the IUE contract terms, and has encouraged employees to withdraw from IUE Local 719, providing suggested withdrawal forms. It tries to justify these activities on the grounds that the employees in question have requested them to do so and that the wage rates it would seek would be higher than those provided under the IUE agreement and in line with rates it has obtained in certain other plants.

None of these grounds justify a raid as defined in the No-Raiding Agreement. In this raiding case the findings of the NLRB in its order of May 22, 1957 are practically a complete denial of the grounds relied on by the IBOP. The Board found that when the IUE contract of August 18, 1956 was made there were 45 employees at Springfield, which number had expanded to 74, that the entire unit (both plants) had expanded only from 445 to 474 employees, and that, as stated above, the two plants constituted one appropriate unit. Even if the IBOP were able to induce the employer to pay higher rates, this could not serve as a basis for disrupting the clearly established bargaining relationship which the IUE has in this case, nor may the IBOP ignore such a relationship and take steps aimed at having it replace the IUE as the repre-

sentative of all or some of the employees covered by this relationship, without directly violating the No-Raiding Agreement!

Although hardly necessary in arriving at the decision, it may be noted that all hiring and office functions for both plants are done at the old Mansfield plant, and that supervision as well as a nucleus of trained help were moved from the old plant to the new one when the Vitreous China operations were transferred.

The facts of this case are clearly distinguishable from those in the Foothill Electric case decided by the Umpire in May, 1958, (Case 28-58, reported at 30 LA 557). The situation is similar in many respects to that ruled on by the Umpire in July, 1958, at Convair Astronautics (Case 34-58, reported at 30 LA 953).

DECISION

In setting up a local union to organize the employees of the Vitreous China Sanitary Ware Division of this employer in Richland County, Ohio, in encouraging and assisting such employees to withdraw from the IUE, and in conducting other activities designed to disrupt the established bargaining relationship of the IUE, the International Brotherhood of Operative Potters is in violation of the provisions of the No-Raiding Agreement.

DAVID L. COLE

DECISION NO. 44-58

November 10, 1958

Between

INTERNATIONAL PRINTING PRESSMEN AND ASSISTANTS UNION OF NORTH AMERICA

And

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF BOOKBINDERS
(Brenner Paper Products Company, Long Island City, N. Y.)

Appearances:

For the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants Union of North America
Alexander J. Rohan, Vice President
Sol Fishko, President, Printing Specialties and Paper Products Union No. 447

For the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders
Isadore Katz, Attorney
Joseph Hellman, Representative

On September 26, 1958, a petition was filed with the NLRB on behalf of Local No. 119 of the Bookbinders for certification as the representative of "all straight cutters and high die cutters" of Brenner Paper Products Company. A local of the Pressmen's Union, Printing Specialties and Paper Products Union No. 447, having represented the die cutters and having had contracts covering them with this employer since 1951, the Pressmen's Union promptly complained that this is in violation of the No-Raiding Agreement.

The employees in question work in the envelope department of this Company. About seven years ago the Bookbinders petitioned the NLRB to be certified as bargaining representative of the employees in this department but the petition was dismissed. The Bookbinders, however, represent the classification designated as straight cutters, known in the trade as guillotine cutters, but there is only one employee in that classification. It also bargains for one other utility employee.

It was not seriously questioned at the hearing that the die cutters have been within the bargaining unit of the Pressmen since it made its first agreement with the Company in 1951. All wage adjustments have applied to them; the grievance procedures of the agreements have been applied to them; and for a period of time a die cutter served as the steward of this department which includes 66 employees in other classifications. The current Pressmen contract was made on October 31, 1958, replacing the agreement of June 24, 1957, and the new agreement has a two-year term.

Essentially, the basis on which the Bookbinders have proceeded is that die cutters constitute a craft or classification customarily within its jurisdiction, and that in the New York area it has succeeded in obtaining for this craft wage rates and other conditions superior to those provided by the Pressmen's contract.

Whether superior conditions could be obtained for employees in this specialty plant might be disputed by the Pressmen, but it is completely beside the point. The No-Raiding Agreement, as has been repeatedly pointed out in earlier cases, was plainly designed, on the eve of the merger of the AFL and CIO, to protect established bargaining relationships. In the two extensions of the Agreement its provisions have been continued without change. Now, by virtue of four years of experience, of innumerable rulings and settlements made within the framework of this Agreement, it is well understood that all signatories are firmly bound neither directly nor indirectly to organize or represent, nor to interfere with, employees as to whom an established bargaining relationship exists in favor of some other signatory.

There have been several rulings by the Umpire which have rejected the position here advanced by the Bookbinders. See, for example, Milton Bradley Company (Case C-35-58, reported at 30-LA 955), Borg-Warner (Case 42-58, reported at 31-LA-389), and Long Island Railroad Co. (Case C-43-58, reported at 31-LA-390).

DECISION

The filing of the petition by the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, or its subsidiary body, of the peti-

tion with the NLRB on or about September 26, 1958, seeking the right to represent the die cutters at Brenner Paper Products Company constitutes a violation of the No-Raiding Agreement.

DAVID L. COLE

DECISION NO. 51-58

December 9, 1958

Between

BOOT AND SHOE WORKERS' UNION
And

UNITED SHOE WORKERS OF AMERICA
(Clinton Footwear Corporation, New York, New York)

Appearances:

For United Shoe Workers of America
Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., Counsel
Fileno De Novellis, National Director
Angelo G. Georgian, Secretary-Treasurer
Anthony Scimeca, Secretary-Treasurer,
Joint Council No. 13

For Boot and Shoe Workers' Union
John J. Wickham, General Counsel
Jack Mara, President
Loretta Gordon, Organizer
Michael Tesoro, Regional Director

The Boot and Shoe Workers' Union does not have an established bargaining relationship with Clinton Footwear Corporation, as defined in the No-Raiding Agreement. It has neither been recognized by the employer for one year or more, nor has it been certified by the NLRB. Its charge against the United Shoe Workers of America can therefore not be sustained.

DECISION

The United Shoe Workers of America is not in violation of the provisions of the No-Raiding Agreement by reason of its activities at Clinton Footwear Corporaton.

DAVID L. COLE

RECOMMENDATION NO. C-31-58

March 21, 1958

Between

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF FIREMEN AND OILERS

And

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF OPERATING ENGINEERS
(Bush Terminal Buildings Co. and number of Dairy Products Plants in the Metropolitan New York area)

Appearances:

For International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers
Anthony E. Matz, President
William E. Fredenberger, Vice President
George M. Evaul, International Representative
Joseph Sullivan, Local Union 56

For International Union of Operating Engineers
Paul O. Larson, Assistant to General President

The International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers has complained to President George Meany of the AFL-CIO that the International Union of Operating Engineers is raiding its established collective bargaining relationships at Bush Terminal Buildings Company and at a number of dairy products plants in the Metropolitan New York area, in violation of Article III, Section 4 of the AFL-CIO Constitution. Pursuant to the resolution of the Executive Council adopted at Miami on February 6, 1958, these complaints have been referred to me, as Impartial Umpire under the AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agreement, for hearing and recommendations.

This is the first complaint processed under this resolution of the Executive Council. The resolution recites, in part:

> "The basic principle underlying the AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agreement was also expressed in the AFL-CIO Constitution in Article III, Section 4, which provides that the integrity of each affiliate of this federation shall be maintained and preserved and that each such affiliate shall

respect the established collective bargaining relationship of every other affiliate and shall not raid such established collective bargaining relationship.

* * *

"Under the AFL-CIO Constitution, the basic no-raiding principle is applicable to all affiliates. Those affiliates signatory to the No-Raiding Agreement have available, to effectuate this principle, the mechanisms established by the No-Raiding Agreement. Other unions, although bound by the same principle, proceed under the procedures specified in Article III, Section 4 of the Constitution."

It continues:

"In accordance with these views, the Executive Council resolves: 1—All disputes concerning charges of violation of the No-Raiding principle expressed in Article III, Section 4 of the AFL-CIO Constitution shall be processed under the provisions and procedures of the No-Raiding Agreement, referred to in Article XVIII of the AFL-CIO Constitution, provided that with respect to such disputes the impartial umpire shall issue recommendations in lieu of decisions or awards."

Then follows a description of the steps to be taken by the President and the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO to secure compliance.

It is clear from this resolution and from a comparison of the No-Raiding Agreement and Article III, Section 4 of the Constitution that the principles and purposes of the No-Raiding Agreement are identical with those set forth in Article III, Section 4, except that the constitutional provision is applicable to all affiliates regardless of their antecedent affiliation with the AFL or CIO. Article III, Section 4, of the AFL-CIO Constitution declares that:

"The integrity of each affiliate of this Federation shall be maintained and preserved. Each such affiliate shall respect the established collective bargaining relationship of every other affiliate and no affiliate shall raid the established collective bargaining relationship of any other affiliate."

In Sections 2 and 3 of the No-Raiding Agreement, it is stipulated that:

"The American Federation of Labor [and the Congress of Industrial Organizations] and each union signatory hereto affiliated with it, and each of them, agrees that neither it nor any of its locals will, directly or indirectly, (a) organize or represent or attempt to organize or represent employees as to whom an established bargaining relationship exists [with the other federation] or with any union which is signatory hereto affiliated with [the other federation] (including any of the locals of such union); (b) seek to represent, or obtain the right to represent, such employees or to disrupt the established bargaining relationship; . . .".

There have been issued some 25 decisions interpreting or applying the No-Raiding Agreement. Those that deal with the essential purposes and principles of the No-Raiding Agreement are equally applicable to Article III, Section 4 of the Constitution.

The facts giving rise to the charges filed by the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers are not disputed. At the Bush Terminal Buildings Company and at the Sheffield Farms Company and other milk or dairy processing plants in the New York City area, this union has been recognized by the employers for 15 years or more, and at the times of the alleged raids had effective collective bargaining agreements in force. Nevertheless, the International Union of Operating Engineers, acting through its locals, conducted organizing drives among the employees involved and filed and undertook to process before the NLRB petitions requesting that it be certified as the representative of these employees for purposes of collective bargaining. At one point, when the office of the President of the Federation intervened, the Operating Engineers tentatively agreed to discontinue these efforts and to withdraw their petitions, but this has not been done.

The principal explanation offered by the Operating Engineers for these activities at the hearing was that some other affiliates of the AFL-CIO have similarly raided them in other relationships.

Obviously, this explanation is not a justification or excuse for a clear violation of the provisions of the Constitution. The resolution of the Executive Council is of recent origin, and it

may reasonably be expected to minimize if not to eliminate raids against the established bargaining relationships of all affiliates of the AFL-CIO by other affiliates. The unanimous view of the members of the Executive Council expressed in the resolution of February 6, 1958 should make clear the meaning of Article III, Section 4 and the determination of the Federation to enforce it. Certainly, the course which the Federation is now following will serve the purposes and promote the welfare of all affiliates far better than could possibly be accomplished by the resort to self-help typified by the activities of the International Union of Operating Engineers in the instances here involved. No constructive program designed to protect the integrity and the established bargaining relationships of the unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO could be administered in an orderly and effective manner if the course followed by the Operating Engineers in this case were permitted.

For these reasons, I find that the International Union of Operating Engineers is in violation of the provisions of Article III, Section 4 of the Constitution in attempting to organize and represent employees covered by established collective bargaining relationships of the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers at the Bush Terminal Buildings Company and at the Sheffield Farms Company and other dairy products companies in the New York City area, it is therefore,

RECOMMENDED

That the International Union of Operating Engineers forthwith discontinue its efforts to organize or represent such employees and withdraw its petitions before the NLRB by which it seeks to be certified as the representative of such employees for collective bargaining purposes.

DAVID L. COLE

RECOMMENDATION NO. C-32-58

June 6, 1958

Between

UNITED STONE AND ALLIED PRODUCTS WORKERS OF AMERICA

And

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF OPERATING ENGINEERS
(Duval Sulphur & Potash Co., Carlsbad, New Mexico)

Appearances:

For United Stone and Allied Products Workers of America
Samuel E. Angoff, Counsel
John C. Lawson, Secretary-Treasurer
Joseph D. McGee, Director, District 5

For International Union of Operating Engineers
Paul O. Larson, Assistant to General President
J. G. Curtis, Assistant District Representative

This case was presented before the Impartial Umpire under the AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agreement pursuant to the resolution of February 6, 1958, of the AFL-CIO Executive Council, as a charge of raiding in violation of Article III, Section 4 of the Federation's constitution.

The facts are simple and not disputed. At the potash mining operation of Duval Sulphur & Potash Company in the Eddy County basin in New Mexico, the NLRB conducted two representation elections in 1956. The first ballot listed the two labor organizations named above as well as the unaffiliated Mine, Mill and Smelter Union, and the Operating Engineers received the largest number of votes but was ruled ineligible to be placed on the run-off ballot for failure to qualify under the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act. In the run-off election the Stone Workers defeated the Mine, Mill and Smelter Union, and was certified by the NLRB on November 7, 1956 as the bargaining representative for the employees involved. A collective bargaining agreement was entered into on May 17, 1957 by the employer and the Stone Workers Union.

While this agreement was in force the Operating Engineers, on March 31, 1958, filed a representation petition with the NLRB for the same unit covered by the certification and agreement of the Stone Workers. The Mine, Mill and Smelter Union intervened. At the oral hearing the Operating Engineers withdrew their petition, the Mine, Mill and Smelter Union filed its petition to represent the employees, and the Operating Engineers immediately intervened in that petition.

These acts of the Operating Engineers are complained of as in violation of Article III, Section 4 of the AFL-CIO Constitution in which each affiliated union is required to respect the integrity of all other such unions, as interpreted by the Executive Council on February 6, 1958, at which time it was held that this constitutional restriction is governed by the principles laid down in the AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agreement.

The position of the Operating Engineers raises an interesting point. It appears that on June 15, 1955 the Brotherhood of Operating Engineers was certified by the NLRB as the representative of the production and maintenance employees at the operations in question, having previously been the recognized representative of the maintenance employees. The Operating Engineers did not become a party to the AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agreement. The merger of the AFL and CIO was completed late in 1955 and the new constitution was adopted at the same time. On February 28, 1956 the Stone Workers Union filed a petition with the NLRB to represent the maintenance employees, and on March 30, 1956 another petition to represent both the maintenance and production employees. The unaffiliated Mine, Mill and Smelter Union intervened, and the outcome of the 1956 elections was, as indicated above, favorable to the Stone Workers Union.

The Operating Engineers urge now that the 1956 action of the Stone Workers was as much a violation of the constitution as its present efforts to recapture the bargaining relationship which is enjoyed prior to the 1956 NLRB proceedings.

This is probably so. The difficulty is that the Operating Engineers did not prefer charges against the Stone Workers and permitted the NLRB proceedings to run to their course. The reason may have been one of two: (1) both unions desired to exclude the Mine, Mill and Smelter Union from the property,

or (2) the procedures for implementing or enforcing the provisions of the Federation's constitution, and particularly Article III, Section 4, were uncertain at the time, and, not being a party to the No-Raiding Agreement, the Operating Engineers may have felt it had no form of redress available.

Nevertheless, the principle of protecting the established bargaining relationship is clearly stated in the No-Raiding Agreement which is now applicable to cases of this kind, and the rulings made thereunder have consistently sought to protect such established relationships irrespective of how they may have been attained.

As this situation is presented, the Stone Workers Union plainly now has an established bargaining relationship by virtue of a certification in its favor by the NLRB. The activities of the Operating Engineers are openly designed to destroy this relationship, and it must be found that this constitutes a violation of Article III, Section 4.

RECOMMENDATION

It is therefore recommended that the International Union of Operating Engineers withdraw completely from the pending NLRB proceedings and that it desist from any and all activities which might directly or indirectly interfere with or disrupt the established bargaining relationship which the United Stone and Allied Products Workers of America has at the premises of the Duval Sulphur and Potash Company.

DAVID L. COLE

RECOMMENDATION NO. C-33-58

June 27, 1958

Between

UNITED BRICK AND CLAY WORKERS OF AMERICA

And

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF OPERATING ENGINEERS

(Eleven Sewer Pipe Plants in Uhrichsville, Ohio Area)

Appearances:

For United Brick and Clay Workers of America
H. R. Flegal, International President
William Tracy, International Secretary
Nathan Duff, General Counsel
Clyde Myers, International Representative

This complaint, raised under the resolution of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO of February 6, 1958, was fully processed through the mediation steps within the Federation, and then scheduled for hearing before the Impartial Umpire under the No-Raiding Agreement. The representatives of the International Union of Operating Engineers participated in all prior steps but did not appear at the hearing before the Umpire, although duly notified thereof. The hearing therefore proceeded in their absence, the representatives of the complaining union, the Brick and Clay Workers, presenting proof concerning their bargaining relationship and answering the points made by the Operating Engineers at the earlier conference conducted by the AFL-CIO.

The Brick and Clay Workers have had a multi-employer bargaining relationship for more than 20 years with a number of employers producing clay sewer pipe in and near Uhrichsville, Ohio. There have been collective bargaining agreements with these employers continuously since 1936, the most recent agreement having been made on April 16, 1958 to remain in force until April 4, 1959. Included in the coverage of these agreements are the production and maintenance workers at the following 11 plants:

The Evans Pipe Company, Uhrichsville
Stillwater Clay Products Company, Uhrichsville
Robinson Clay Product Co. Factory #6, Midvale, Ohio
Clay City Sewer Pipe Co., Uhrichsville
Larson Clay Products Company, Uhrichsville
Robinson Clay Product Co., Mogadore, Ohio plant
McClain Firebrick Division of H. K. Porter, Uhrichsville
Universal Sewer Pipe Corp. Plant #1, Uhrichsville
Universal Sewer Pipe Corp. Plant #2, Goshen, Ohio
Universal Sewer Pipe Corp. Plant #5, Uhrichsville
The Dennison Sewer Pipe Corporation, Dennison, Ohio

In March and April, 1958 the International Union of Operating Engineers filed petitions with the NLRB to be certified as the bargaining representative for the powerhouse employees at these 11 plants, who have been and are covered under the agreements between the employers and the Brick and Clay Workers. In furtherance of these petitions, the representative of the Operating Engineers has conducted meetings and otherwise solicited the support of the powerhouse workers. These are the acts which the Brick and Clay Workers complain of as in violation of Article II, Section 8 and Article III, Section 4 of the AFL-CIO Constitution.

The essence of these constitutional provisions is that each union affiliated with the AFL-CIO.

> "shall respect the established collective bargaining relationship of every other affiliate and no affiliate shall raid the established collective bargaining relationship of any other affiliate."

The Executive Council has held that this means that all affiliates must observe the principles of the No-Raiding Agreement.

At the prior mediation conference the Operating Engineers did not deny the facts recited above, but argued that: its members have enjoyed higher wage rates than the powerhouse employees at these sewer pipe plants; that such employees are properly within the jurisdiction of the Operating Engineers; that in 1921 these two unions entered into an organizational agreement which recognized the superior right of the Operating Engineers to such employees; that the employees in question have come to the Operating Engineers without any solicitation on the part of this union.

The protection of established bargaining relationships is the primary purpose of the No-Raiding Agreement, and similarly of the cited constitutional provisions. This protection is not dependent in the least on the rates of pay which the employees receive or any comparison with the rates some other union may assert it may be able to get for them. Nor is this protection qualified at all by the traditional jurisdictional or charter rights of the respective unions. It was known at the time of the merger that there would be conflicting charter rights, and the test set up was that of the established bargaining relationship and not that of traditional or charter rights.

The 1921 agreement referred to was on its face restricted to the brick-making industry in Chicago and vicinity. The clay sewer pipe industry in Ohio was clearly not covered; indeed, these Ohio operations were not even in existence at the time.

The facts plainly contradict the assertion that the Operating Engineers have not solicited employees covered by the Brick and Clay Workers' agreement at the 11 plants in question. The Operating Engineers filed numerous additional petitions with the NLRB, even for a plant that was idle and had been idle for about a year, subsequently withdrawing such petitions. There can be no doubt on the evidence submitted that the Operating Engineers are "directly or indirectly . . . [attempting] to organize or represent employees as to whom an established bargaining relationship exists," in the language of the No-Raiding Agreement.

It is therefore

RECOMMENDED

That the Operating Engineers withdraw the petitions it has filed with the NLRB seeking to be certified as the bargaining representative of the powerhouse employees at the 11 plants identified above, in the Uhrichsville, Ohio area, and that it discontinue all efforts to organize or represent these workers.

DAVID L. COLE

RECOMMENDATION NO. C-35-58

July 30, 1958

Between

RETAIL, WHOLESALE AND DEPARTMENT STORE UNION

And

AMALGAMATED LITHOGRAPHERS OF AMERICA
(Milton Bradley Company, Springfield, Massachusetts)

Appearances:

For Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union
Alex Bail, Executive Vice President
Richard H. Granger, President, Local 224

For Amalgamated Lithographers of America
George A. Canary, International President
Benjamin M. Robinson, General Counsel

This case was raised and processed as a violation of Article III, Section 4 of the AFL-CIO Constitution, in keeping with the resolution of the Executive Council of February 6, 1958.

The issue is a simple one. On January 15, 1958 the RWDSU complained to the AFL-CIO that the Lithographers Union was raiding it at the Milton Bradley Company, a toy manufacturing concern, in Springfield, Massachusetts, as evidenced by a representation petition filed with the NLRB by the Lithographers Union to represent the lithographers employed by that Company. Officials of the AFL-CIO attempted to bring the parties to an understanding, and finally referred the matter to the Impartial Umpire. In cases like this, in which one or both unions are not party to the No-Raiding Agreement, the Umpire may merely make recommendations and not a binding decision.

The Retail, Wholesale Union succeeded in organizing this plant after a strike in 1937. It has had contracts continually since then. Its original unit excluded the lithographers but the Amalgamated Lithographers made no organizing efforts until 1941, and actually had only some informal memorandum

agreements with the employer for five years, ending in 1946. These memoranda simply provided that the lithographers would get wage adjustments paralleling those obtained by Local 224 of the RWDSU. These memorandum agreements were discontinued in 1946. In April, 1948 the RWDSU took steps before the NLRB to be granted the right to have a union shop agreement for all employees including the lithographers, and no objection was raised by the Lithographers Union, although some of its local officers worked in the plant. The RWDSU prevailed and since 1948 all lithographers have been subject to its union shop agreement with this Company. In all collective bargaining agreements since 1952, including the two most recent, made respectively on April 1, 1957 and April 1, 1958, recognition is given the RWDSU as the sole and exclusive bargaining agent for all production and maintenance employees not excluding the lithographers, and provision is made for compulsory union membership as well. Department 11, in which the lithographers work, voted in the 1948 union shop election, and each year it elects its departmental steward.

The Lithographers Union does not dispute the facts on which RWDSU's bargaining relationship rests. It maintains, however, that "captive" lithography shops represent a threat to the welfare and standards of skilled lithographers and should as a matter of policy be compelled to accept specialized craft union representation. It urges that when it organizes or seeks to represent lithographers, whether represented by another union or not, it does so in accordance with its charter and cannot at the same time be accused of raiding.

A policy of this kind, however, is not for the Impartial Umpire to set or determine. He is under mandate to apply the principles of the No-Raiding Agreement to all raiding cases presented to him. This means that where a union has an established bargaining relationship, as the RWDSU clearly has in this instance, no other affiliate of the AFL-CIO will directly or indirectly seek to represent the employees involved nor to disrupt this relationship. All that the Umpire can do is to decide whether or not the principles of the No-Raiding Agreement are being observed. In this case, they are obviously being ignored.

The recommendation, therefore, is that the Lithographers Union withdraw the petition it has pending before the NLRB

and that it notify the Milton Bradley Company that it does not claim the right to represent the lithography department at its Springfield plant.

DAVID L. COLE

RECOMMENDATION NO. C-37-58

August 4, 1958

Between

UNITED GARMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA

And

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA
(Cal-Crest Outerwear, Inc., Murphysboro, Illinois)

Appearances:

For United Garment Workers of America
Joseph P. McCurdy, General President
Earl W. Carroll, International Representative
Madge M. King, International Representative & General Board Member

For Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America
Jacob Sheinkman, Associate General Counsel
Nick Marsella, Manager, St. Louis Joint Board

On June 18, 1958 the president of the United Garment Workers of America wrote Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler complaining of activities of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers with reference to employees at Cal-Crest Outerwear, Inc., Murphsboro, Illinois, which it charged constituted raiding in violation of the AFL-CIO Constitution. The dispute was referred to the Impartial Umpire under the No-Raiding Agreement, pursuant to the February, 1958 resolution of the Executive Council, when mediation proved unavailing.

The Garment Workers Union has had contracts with this employer covering the employees in question since August 1, 1949. The last agreement was made as of March 1, 1956, running to March 1, 1958. The negotiations for a new agreement for the period after March 1, 1958 were drawn out by the unavailability of the representative of the UGWA. Early in June the matter came to a head when the employer refused to grant holiday pay for Memorial Day. The employees declined to work from June 6 on, and on June 10 and June 11 took steps to decertify the UGWA. About two weeks later the Amalgamated filed a representation petition with the

NLRB, and persuaded the Company to enter into an agreement with it as the representative of the employees in question, subject to the decertification of UGWA and proof that the Amalgamated represents the employees. The UGWA charges that the strike and the decertification proceedings were inspired by the Amalgamated for the purpose of displacing the UGWA as the bargaining representative.

The ACWA defends its activities and its right to step in and represent the employees on the ground that UGWA had so neglected these employees since 1956 as to indicate that it had abandoned the relationship with the employer on their behalf. It insists that it had no contact with this matter until after the employees had of their own choice decided to leave the UGWA and seek representation from some other union.

As of June, 1958, the UGWA's relationship with this employer had become very thin. The preceding contract had an expiration date of March 1, 1958, and at the urging of Local 231 of UGWA the international representative had notified the Company that the contract would terminate on that date. There were some negotiations with the Company, but on March 19 the membership rejected the Company offers. The international representative thereupon left Murphysboro promising to return within 30 days. In the meantime the old agreement was left in force, although there were some very serious disputes of the Company's prior application of some of its provisions. The local officers tried to get the representative back several times, but on May 13 this representative was still busy elsewhere, and almost a month more went by before she returned to Murphysboro. The Company, late in May, notified the local that the temporary contract extension would be ended on June 12 and that it did not intend to give the employees pay for the May 30 holiday. On June 6, unable to reach the international representative, the local president telephoned the international president and was told where to reach the international representative. The Company was then offering to grant the holiday pay if the old contract would be renewed without change. The employees in protest thereupon sat down and refused to work. Unable to get help from the international, the employees went to the local Building and Construction Trades Council and were referred

to an attorney in St. Louis. He sent them to the St. Louis attorney of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, and finally they met the attorney of the ACWA, who advised them of their right to demand decertification. At a meeting of the workers on June 10 a strong majority voted to decertify and a petition was promptly filed with the NLRB regional office. The Amalgamated sent an organizer in on June 12, in the first instance to assist the employees in their strike which was still in effect. The Company offered to grant the disputed holiday pay but the employees refused to return to work under a contract with the UGWA. On June 20 the Company offered to recognize the Amalgamated as the bargaining agent on condition the decertification of the UGWA was granted and proof was offered that ACWA represented a majority of the employees. On June 24 the employees returned to work and a representation petition was filed by the ACWA.

In the meantime, on June 14, the international representative of the UGWA arrived at Murphysboro and promptly demanded that Local 231 turn over its books and records, which was done. On June 18 the UGWA wrote the AFL-CIO complaining of the raid by ACWA. On June 27 the UGWA filed unfair labor practice charges aginst the employer for allegedly supporting the Amalgamated and recognizing it while UGWA represented a majority of the employees and while decertification and representation petitions were pending before the NLRB. It was also charged that the Company was refusing to execute an agreement negotiated with the UGWA.

Under the 1956-1958 agreement the UGWA had given very little service to the employees of Cal-Crest. There were probably four or five occasions when international representatives appeared, although there were many troublesome grievances. In desperation the employees called on the Chambers of Commerce for help in getting grievances resolved but that organization declined to intervene. There were some visits, however, by time study people associated with the international union, and apparently they were helpful in preventing the Company from cutting wages or in getting some items corrected. In June of 1958, when the employees felt themselves compelled to strike, they were

left without help or advice and, as stated, turned to the Jackson County Building and Construction Trades Council for advice and help. This led to the meeting with the St. Louis attorney of the Amalgamated. On July 11, 1958, over the signatures of its president and recording secretary, this Trades Council wrote that the workers of Cal-Crest have not had proper cooperation from their organization and that they should be granted the privilege of negotiating through "a more representative organization, which will give them the proper representation."

The question nevertheless remains: had the UGWA given up or abandoned its established bargaining relationship with this Company when the Amalgamated stepped in, advised the workers concerning decertification, and then took steps to replace the UGWA as the bargaining agent?

Article III, Section 4, of the AFL-CIO Constitution provides:

> "The integrity of each . . . affiliate of this Federation shall be maintained and preserved. Each such affiliate shall respect the established collective bargaining relationship of every other affiliate and no affiliate shall raid the established collective bargaining relationship of any other affiliate."

The No-Raiding Agreement, the principles of which are applicable to all raiding cases, states the proposition that no affiliate will directly or indirectly organize or represent or attempt to do so as to employees for whom there is an established bargaining relationship, and that no affiliate will disrupt the established bargaining relationship of any other affiliate. The Umpire is directed to determine only whether the acts complained of constitute a violation of the Agreement.

The lack of service to the employees in this case by their international union reflected an indifference which one might find to be close to an abandonment of the agency to represent them. The steps taken by the employees in searching for help in other quarters demonstrates the extreme position in which they found themselves. Still, when the ACWA stepped in through their St. Louis attorney, the UGWA was the established bargaining representative of

these employees, as defined in the No-Raiding Agreement, and the so-called "abandonment" had not yet reached the point at which it could be said, in light of the No-Raiding Agreement, that the employees, the employer, or the UGWA believed that the relationship had been terminated.

Accordingly, the ACWA violated the principles of the No-Raiding Agreement and it is therefore

RECOMMENDED

That it withdraw its NLRB petition to represent these employees and notify Cal-Crest Outerwear, Inc., that it does not claim the right to represent its employees at the Murphysboro plant.

DAVID L. COLE

RECOMMENDATION NO. C-38-58

August 11, 1958

Between

UNITED PAPERMAKERS AND PAPERWORKERS

And

AMALGAMATED LITHOGRAPHERS OF AMERICA
(Sutherland Paper Company, Kalamazoo, Michigan)

Appearances:

For United Papermakers and Paperworkers
Henry Sayre, Executive Vice President
George Pescatore, Vice President

For Amalgamated Lithographers of America
George A. Canary, President
B. M. Robinson, Counsel

In this complaint the United Papermakers charge the Amalgamated Lithographers with raiding at the Sutherland Paper Company, Kalamazoo, Michigan. The acts complained of are the demand of the Lithographers made of the employer on March 21, 1958 that it be recognized as the representative of all lithographic production employees and the petition filed by the Lithographers with the NLRB on March 24, 1958 to be certified as the representative of such employees.

In an earlier decision, Case 11-56, decieded May 14, 1956, similar charges by the Papermakers against the Printing Pressmen's Union were sustained. In that decision the history of the bargaining relationship at this plant was discussed in some detail. It is interesting to note that the Pressmen's Union intervened in the NLRB proceeding involved in the present case but when the Papermakers again complained the Pressmen withdrew.

The Papermakers Union was certified by the NLRB on October 9, 1955 as the bargaining representative for all production and maintenance employees, as the result of an election conducted on June 2, 1955. An agreement was made with the Company on September 23, 1955 to run until June 29, 1958, with automatic yearly renewals thereafter unless writ-

ten notice to the contrary was given by either party. A new agreement was made on April 2, 1958 to remain in effect until August 2, 1959 subject again to similar automatic yearly renewals. Both agreements provide for the union shop in favor of the Papermakers Union, and the coverage of the agreement is provided for in Article I and Article II, of the 1955 agreement as follows:

> "The term 'employee' as used in this agreement refers to all persons employed by the Management in the Kalamazoo, Michigan area in any and all departments excepting: Officers, Executives, Managers, Superintendents, Assistant Superintendents, Foremen, Assistant Foremen, Foreladies, Office Employees, Watchmen and Drivers in the Motor Truck Division."

> "The Management recognizes the Union as the sole collective bargaining agent for all of its employees as defined in ARTICLE I hereof by virtue of existing certifications of the National Labor Relations Board."

Article I, defining "employee," is the same in the 1958 agreement, but Article II, is phrased somewhat differently, as follows:

> "The Management recognizes the Union as the exclusive representative for the purpose of collective bargaining of the employees covered by this Agreement, as defined in Section 1 of Article I, in respect to rates of pay, wages, hours of work and other conditions of employment."

The lithographic operations are conducted in the Company's Divisions which include the Printing Department, and the lithographic employees now number 52 and are complying with the union shop provisions of the agreement. On the face of both the 1955 and 1958 agreements it is clear that the collective bargaining agency recognized by the Company is broad enough to include these employees in the bargaining unit, and consequently that the Papermakers Union has an established bargaining relationship with regard to them, as defined in the No-Raiding Agreement.

The Amalgamated Lithographers argues that when the 1955 agreement was made the Company had practically no lithographic operations, as is evidenced by the fact that specific wage rates for such employees were not set forth in the

list of wage rates attached to the agreement. Not until October 23, 1957 were rates stipulated for employees operating the Company's five-color offset presses, and not until the 1958 agreement were rates indicated for plate-making operations.

The fact is, however, that in the spring of 1955 the Company installed a large offset press, and by June or July, 1955 this press was in operation with a crew of six men. These men were in training starting in March, 1955. The 1955 NLRB proceedings leading to the certification of the Papermakers Union were under way during this period, the election being on June 2, 1955. When the September, 1955 agreement was made this offset press had been in use for some three months, and the employees had been in training or at work for approximately seven months. Nevertheless, they were not excluded from the classifications of employees covered by the agreement, as were certain other types of employees. By the end of 1955, some three months after the September, 1955 agreement was made, the Company had installed another large offset press, and in 1956 still another. This large, expensive equipment undoubtedly called for a considerable amount of planning, and one may not assume that if it was intended to exclude the employees who were manning or to man these machines it was merely an oversight that they were not listed among other excluded groups.

The significant feature is that in September, 1955, with six lithography employees already on the job for some months, and with another large offset press on the verge of being installed and put into operation, the Company and the certified union provided in their labor agreement that the "Management recognizes the Union as the sole collective bargaining agent for all of its employees as defined," referring back to a definition which states that " 'employee' as used in this agreement refers to all persons employed by the Management in the Kalamazoo, Michigan area in any and all departments," with certain exceptions not germane to us.

The absence of specific wage rates for these employees in the 1955 agreement cannot be taken as an inferential nullification of the unqualified and broad coverage stated in the recognition clause. There are numerous provisions of the contract which applied to the lithography employees, and their

compliance with the union shop requirements is evidence that all parties knew that the Papermakers Union was certified and recognized as their bargaining agent.

The case of the Amalgamated Lithographers rests mainly on the point it stressed in the Milton Bradley Company case, in which the Umpire made his recommendations on July 30, 1958 (Case C-35-58). This is, in brief, that a specialized craft union should be permitted to represent members of its craft in a so-called captive shop which is part of a broader integrated setup; that the denial of this right may result in serious deterioration of the standards of the craft and of the craft union as a whole. In the Milton Bradley Company case it was pointed out that the Umpire has no authority to make such policy decisions, that he may merely determine whether the principles of the No-Raiding Agreement have been violated or not. This is equally true with respect to the facts of the case under discussion.

It is, therefore,

RECOMMENDED

That the Amalgamated Lithographers of America withdraw the petition it has pending before the NLRB to be certified as the representative for the lithographic production employees at Sutherland Paper Company, Kalamazoo, Michigan, and that it withdraw its request of said Company to recognize it as such representative.

DAVID L. COLE

RECOMMENDATION NO. C-40-58

September 22, 1958

Between

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS

And

PATTERN MAKERS LEAGUE OF NORTH AMERICA
(San Diego Division of Convair, A Division of General Dynamics Corp.)

Appearances:

For International Association of Machinists
Charles F. West, Grand Lodge Representative

The International Association of Machinists complains that the Pattern Makers League of North America is in violation of the AFL-CIO Constitution in its efforts to represent pattern makers employed by Convair, a division of General Dynamics Corporation, in its operations at San Diego, California. This complaint was first made by President Hayes of the International Association of Machinists to President Meany of the AFL-CIO in his letter of February 25, 1958, a copy of which was sent to President Lynch of the Pattern Makers League.

The Pattern Makers League did not reply to this letter, nor to subsequent letters on the subject from President Meany and Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler. They did not respond to the invitation of the officers of the Federation to meet on April 29, 1958 to discuss the matter. Although duly notified thereof, they also failed to appear at the hearing conducted by the Impartial Umpire at the hearing rooms of the American Arbitration Association in New York City on September 19, 1958.

Having had no response from the Pattern Makers League to his notice of hearing, the Impartial Umpire proceeded in the absence of its representatives to take evidence on the complaint of the International Association of Machinists. This was in accordance with the procedure outlined by the Umpire in the *Textile Workers Union—Upholsterers International Union* case (Case 3-55, reported at 24 LA 529).

The Pattern Makers League is not a signatory to the No-Raiding Agreement, and this complaint is therefore governed by the provisions of the AFL-CIO Constitution, particularly Article III, Section 4, in which, among other things, it is stated:

> "The integrity of each affiliate of this Federation shall be maintained and preserved. Each such affiliate shall respect the established collective bargaining relationship of every other affiliate and no affiliate shall raid the established collective bargaining relationship of any other affiliate."

It has been ruled by the Executive Council as has been repeatedly mentioned in earlier cases, that the constitutional provisions make the principles of the No-Raiding Agreement applicable to all affiliates, whether signatory to the Agreement or not.

Under the facts of this case, there can be no doubt that the International Association of Machinists has an established collective bargaining relationship at the San Diego Division of Convair. It was certified by the NLRB as the representative of the production and maintenance employees, with certain exceptions not relevant here, in November, 1943, and it has had agreements with the employer for many years. When the acts complained of were committed, its agreement of April 11, 1956 was in effect. On May 12, 1958 a new agreement was entered into for a period of two years between the Company on the one hand and International Association of Machinists' Silvergate District Lodge No. 50 and its Aeronautical Machinist Lodge No. 1125 on the other. These agreements covered the pattern makers. Specific mention is made of six classifications of metal, wood and plastic pattern makers, with wage rates stipulated for each classification.

Despite the existence of this established bargaining relationship, the Pattern Makers League on February 13, 1958 wrote the employer that its Pattern Makers Association of Los Angeles and Vicinity represents a majority of the wood and metal pattern makers working for the Company and requesting a meeting for negotiation purposes. One day after the date of this letter the Pattern Makers League filed a petition with the NLRB for the purpose of being certified as collective

bargaining representative of the pattern makers, reciting in this petition that the recognized or certified bargaining agent is the International Association of Machinists through its two Lodges named above.

These facts indicate a perfectly clear picture of an established bargaining relationship and of acts designed to raid and disrupt that relationship. The Pattern Makers League has ignored all opportunities to explain or justify its conduct, despite the clear violation of the constitutional proscriptions. The recommendations which follow are based on the facts which were established at the hearing by documents and testimony offered by the International Association of Machinists, without any contradiction or explanation from the Pattern Makers League.

It is therefore

RECOMMENDED

That the Pattern Makers League of North America and its subordinate or affiliated bodies forthwith withdraw the request made in the letter of February 13, 1958 that the San Diego Division of Convair as employer recognize and treat with it as the representative of pattern makers employed by said Division, and that it forthwith withdraw its petition filed with the NLRB and discontinue proceedings thereunder designed to have the NLRB certfy it as the bargaining representative of such employees.

DAVID L. COLE

RECOMMENDATION NO. C-43-58

October 14, 1958

Between

BROTHERHOOD OF RAILROAD SIGNALMEN OF AMERICA

And

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF ELECTRICAL WORKERS

(Long Island Railroad Company, Queens County, New York)

Appearances:

For Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America
Jesse Clark, President
C. K. Fields, Vice President
F. J. Mashek, General Chairman

For International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers
Frank W. Graham, Assistant to International President

This charge by the Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of violation of the principles of the No-Raiding Agreement by the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers relates to certain grade elimination projects of the Long Island Railroad in Queens County, New York. The case arises under the AFL-CIO Constitution for the reason that the Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen has not become a signatory to the Extension of the No-Raiding Agreement.

It is not disputed that the Signalmen have had contracts with this Carrier for more than 30 years, and that the current scope rule, similar to those in prior agreements, covers

". . . the classifications herein set forth engaged in the installation and maintenance of all signals, interlocking, telegraph and telephone lines and equipment including telegraph and telephone office equipment wayside or 'office equipment of communicating systems (not including such equipment on rolling stock or marine equipment), highway crossing protection (excluding highway crossing gates not operated in conjunction with

track or signal circuits), including the repair and adjustment of telegraph, telephone and signal relays and the wiring of telegraph, telephone and signal instrument cases, car retarder systems, electric strip type switch heaters and all other work in connection with installation and maintenance thereof that has been generally recognized as telegraph, telephone, or signal work—represented by the Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America and shall govern the hours of service, working conditions and rates of pay of the respective positions and employes of the aforesaid (employer) specified herein, namely, foremen, assistant foremen, leading maintainers, leading signalmen, signal maintainers, telegraph and signal maintainers, telegraph and telephone maintainers, signalmen, assistant signalmen, and helpers.

"EXCEPTIONS

* * *

'(b) This Agreement shall not apply to inspectors or assistant inspectors in the offices of the Chief Engineer and Engineer Maintenance of Way and such inspectors or assistant inspectors shall not be required or permitted to perform any of the duties of employees of the classifications set forth in this Agreement'."

The grade elimination projects in question were undertaken by order of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and the Department of Public Works of New York State is providing 85 per cent of the cost. The IBEW does not question the established bargaining relationship of the BRS with respect to employes who install and maintain the signal and communication equipment of the Long Island Railroad under normal conditions, and concedes that after the installation work connected with these projects is completed future work would revert to employes covered by the Signalmen's contract. It argues, however, that there are three reasons why its insistence on having this work done by employes who are represented by the IBEW is not in violation of the No-Raiding Agreement: (1) this is construction work of a kind customarily done under IBEW agreements; (2) other phases of the work are being performed by members of other construction unions; (3) New

York State is bearing the major part of the cost, so that the bargaining relationship of the BRS is really not applicable or controlling.

The first two reasons mentioned are not entertainable under the No-Raiding Agreement. This Agreement calls for the absolute protection of established bargaining relationships. It does not make an exception of such a relationship on the ground that the work is of a type generally performed by another union. In other contractual proceedings such tests are set up, as in the Internal Disputes Plan of the AFL, and in the plan for settling jurisdictional disputes in the building and construction industry (the National Joint Board procedure), and to modified degree in the Organizational Disputes Agreement of the Industrial Union Department (formerly the CIO agreement). The reason why the No-Raiding Agreement as a step toward the unification of the AFL and CIO could not provide for the determination of jurisdictional disputes on the basis of charter or traditional rights is self-evident.

Moreover, as a matter of fact, it happens that in at least a dozen grade elimination projects on this railroad extending over a period of years the signal and communications work has been done by employes under the BRS contract. It is also not a fact that other railroad unions functioning on the railroad have been replaced by construction unions in so far as this project goes. The Maintenance of Way employes are doing the track work, for one, and it is not clear that other labor organizations have been replaced for the duration of the job as alleged. Even if so, it would not justify the IBEW in disrupting what appears to be the clearly established bargaining relationship of the Signalmen.

The fact that New York State is paying a large part of the cost and that the prevailing wage doctrine may apply to this project does not entitle the IBEW to bypass the clear restrictions of the No-Raiding Agreement. There were similar conditions in the Baldwin and Massapequa grade eliminations on this railroad in recent years, and neither the IBEW nor the Carrier questioned the right of the BRS to have the work performed under the coverage of the Signalmen's agreement. On the contrary,

the Carrier has formally supported the present position of the BRS, writing on June 25, 1958, that:

> "On the other hand, under the scope of the existing Agreement, installation of all signals, interlocking, etc., accrues to railroad Signal Department employes."

The violation complained of is the insistence of the IBEW, through its Local 3, that on grade elimination projects and on all new construction of railroad tracks, employes covered by IBEW contract are entitled to all electrical work, including telegraph, signal and communication installations. This position was advanced by the IBEW to the Carrier on June 24, 1958, and at prior times.

It is, therefore,

RECOMMENDED

That IBEW withdraw its request that the Long Island Railroad Company assign electrical work of the types described above only to employes covered by an agreement with its Local 3 rather than to employes covered as in the past by the BRS agreement.

DAVID L. COLE

RECOMMENDATION NO. C-45-58

November 13, 1958

Between

UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AIRCRAFT AND AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA

And

PATTERN MAKERS LEAGUE OF NORTH AMERICA
(Fisher Body Plant No. 1, Grand Rapids, Michigan)

Appearances:

For UAW

Jesse Ferrazza, Assistant to Secretary-Treasurer

This is the first in a series of five situations in which the UAW charges the Pattern Makers League with attempting to interfere with its established bargaining relationship in violation of the provisions of the AFL-CIO Constitution. Although duly notified of these complaints and requested to attend a meeting under the auspices of the Federation to see whether the disputes could not be resolved through mediation, the Pattern Makers League did not attend, nor has it made any effort to dispute the charges or explain its activities. It was given ample notice of the Umpire's hearing on November 6, 1958, but again it did not communicate with the Umpire or appear at the hearing. Thus, as in the Convair, San Diego case in which a similar complaint was made by the International Association of Machinists (Case C-40-58, reported at 31 LA 265), proceedings had to be conducted without hearing the viewpoint of the Pattern Makers League.

The obligations of unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO to respect the established bargaining relationships of all other affiliates are serious, and all affiliates are on notice that the constitutional restrictions must be observed and are subject to enforcement by the Federation. The Executive Council made this perfectly clear by the resolution adopted in Miami at its February, 1958 meeting. Since then numerous complaints have been transmitted to the Umpire for processing and a number of recommendations have been made by him

in line with the principles laid down in the No-Raiding Agreement. This obligation cannot be escaped by ignoring invitations to confer or to appear before the Umpire if mediation fails.

The UAW was certified by the NLRB at this plant as the representative of the production and maintenance employees in 1941. UAW has had collective bargaining agreements with General Motors applicable to this plant ever since April 12, 1941, and its Local 730 has had local agreements setting forth specific wage rates for the skilled trades, including the pattern makers, for 15 years or more. The local agreement also covers seniority rules, apprenticeship and journeymen cards and other matters of concern to the pattern makers as part of the skilled trades group. The most recent agreement affecting this plant was made on October 2, 1958, and the companion local agreement about a week later.

Nevertheless, on March 11, 1958 the Pattern Makers League filed a petition with the NLRB seeking to carve out of the production and maintenance group classifications of pattern makers and apprentices comprising 34 employees. The unit represented by the UAW includes between 1500 and 2000 employees.

The NLRB ruled in May, 1958 that it would entertain petitions of this type only if separate craft representation were sought on a company-wide basis. Since this petition does not meet this requirement, it is not necessary to determine whether if it did it would not still be in violation of the no-raiding principles applicable to AFL-CIO affiliates. The Pattern Makers League has, however, filed similar separate petitions with respect to employees at other General Motors plants.

It is clear that the UAW has an established bargaining relationship at this plant, as defined in the No-Raiding Agreement and as contemplated in Article III, Section 4 of the Constitution, and it is, therefore,

RECOMMENDED

That the Pattern Makers League promptly withdraw the aforementioned petition filed with the NLRB for the purpose of carving out a group of employees from the unit for which

the UAW has an established bargaining relationship and that it discontinue and refrain from other efforts to accomplish this purpose.

DAVID L. COLE

RECOMMENDATION NO. C-46-58

November 13, 1958

Between

UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AIRCRAFT AND AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA

And

PATTERN MAKERS LEAGUE OF NORTH AMERICA
(Ford Stamping Plant, Bedford, Ohio)

Appearances:

For UAW

Jesse Ferrazza, Assistant to Secretary-Treasurer

The controlling facts are similar to those in the preceding case. The UAW has had collective bargaining agreements with Ford Motor Company covering the production and maintenance employees at this plant since December 7, 1954. The most recent agreement was concluded on or about September 15, 1958. There have been local agreements between the Company and Local 420 of the UAW which provide the wage rates and special conditions applicable to the skilled trades including the pattern makers.

On March 28, 1958 the Pattern Makers League filed its petition with the NLRB seeking to be certified as the representative of a unit of eight pattern makers. The Board's ruling of May 28, 1958, referred to in the preceding Fisher Body case, that a craft may be severed in cases of this kind only on a company-wide basis presented a barrier to the League.

It is clear that the UAW has an established bargaining relationship at this plant, as defined in the No-Raiding Agreement and as contemplated in Article III, Section 4 of the Constitution, and it is, therefore,

RECOMMENDED

That the Pattern Makers League promptly withdraw the aforementioned petition filed with the NLRB for the purpose

of carving out a group of employees from the unit for which the UAW has an established bargaining relationship and that it discontinue and refrain from other efforts to accomplish this purpose.

DAVID L. COLE

RECOMMENDATION NO. C-47-58

November 13, 1958

Between

UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AIRCRAFT AND AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA

And

PATTERN MAKERS LEAGUE OF NORTH AMERICA

(General Motors Truck & Coach Plant, Pontiac, Michigan)

Appearances:

For UAW

Jesse Ferrazza, Assistant to Secretary-Treasurer

The facts in this case are almost identical with those in the Fisher Body case. The UAW was certified by the NLRB on July 25, 1940 as representative of the production and maintenance employees and promptly entered into its first agreement, which has been renewed or modified by a series of agreements ever since. The current agreement was made on October 2, 1958, and the complementary local agreement between the Company and Local 594 of UAW about a week later.

The Pattern Makers League filed its NLRB petition on March 27, 1958, for the purpose of carving out a unit of 14 pattern makers, model makers and apprentices, all of whom have been within the coverage of the UAW agreements for 18 years.

It is clear that the UAW has an established bargaining relationship at this plant, as defined in the No-Raiding Agreement and as contemplated in Article III, Section 4 of the Constitution, and it is, therefore,

RECOMMENDED

That the Pattern Makers League promptly withdraw the aforementioned petition filed with the NLRB for the purpose of carving out a group of employees from the unit for which the UAW has an established bargaining relationship and that it discontinue and refrain from other efforts to accomplish this purpose.

DAVID L. COLE

RECOMMENDATION NO. C-48-58

November 13, 1958

Between

UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AIRCRAFT AND AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA

And

PATTERN MAKERS LEAGUE OF NORTH AMERICA
(Chevrolet Experimental Unit of General Motors, Warren, Michigan)

Appearances:

For UAW

Jesse Ferrazza, Assistant to Secretary-Treasurer

In this case the UAW was certified in July, 1940 when the operations were conducted at the Chevrolet Gear and Axle plant in Detroit, a few miles from its present location. When the plant was moved in November, 1954 the Company formally agreed with UAW that the employees would continue to be covered by the general agreement, although the UAW placed the employees in its Local 160 in place of Local 157. On May 4, 1955 an election was conducted by the NLRB, and the Pattern Makers League was certified as representative of the wood pattern makers. The UAW has continued throughout as the certified and recognized representative of all production and maintenance employees, including the skilled crafts, but excluding since May, 1955 the limited group of wood pattern makers.

The petition of the Pattern Makers League giving rise to this complaint seeks to enlarge the group for which it was certified in 1955 by including the plastic and plaster pattern makers and model makers, the wood shaper operators, and apprentices in the Model Room, all of whom have for 18 years been part of the UAW unit.

It is clear that the UAW has an established bargaining relationship at this plant, as defined in the No-Raiding Agreement and as contemplated in Article III, Section 4 of the Constitution, and it is, therefore,

RECOMMENDED

That the Pattern Makers League promptly withdraw the aforementioned petition filed with the NLRB for the purpose of carving out a group of employees from the unit for which the UAW has an established bargaining relationship and that it discontinue and refrain from other efforts to accomplish this purpose.

DAVID L. COLE

RECOMMENDATION NO. C-49-58

November 13, 1958

Between

UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AIRCRAFT AND AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA

And

PATTERN MAKERS LEAGUE OF NORTH AMERICA
(Moline-Hopkins Plant, Hopkins, Minnesota)

Appearances:

For UAW
Jesse Ferrazza, Assistant to Secretary-Treasurer

The production and maintenance employees in this plant were formerly represented by the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union. That organization was displaced by the UAW in 1956, the first UAW contract being dated July 1, 1956. The UAW has been recognized by the Employer continuously since that date, and the parties are currently engaged in negotiations for a new agreement. The unit is comprised of approximately 1000 employees.

The Pattern Makers League filed its petition with the NLRB in January, 1958 for the purpose of carving out a unit of some seven or eight pattern makers, who have heretofore been and now are part of the unit for which the UAW has the established bargaining relationship by virtue of recognition by the Company for more than one year.

It is clear that the UAW has an established bargaining relationship at this plant, as defined in the No-Raiding Agreement and as contemplated in Article III, Section 4 of the Constitution, and it is, therefore,

RECOMMENDED

That the Pattern Makers League promptly withdraw the aforementioned petition filed with the NLRB for the purpose of carving out a group of employees from the unit for which

the UAW has an established bargaining relationship and that it discontinue and refrain from other efforts to accomplish this purpose.

DAVID L. COLE

RECOMMENDATION NO. C-50-58

November 17, 1958

Between

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS

And

PATTERN MAKERS LEAGUE OF NORTH AMERICA
(Union Malleable Manufacturing Co., Ashland, Ohio)

Appearances:

For International Association of Machinists
Charles F. West, Grand Lodge Representative

This complaint falls in all respects into the pattern of an earlier case in which the IAM complained of the activities of the Pattern Makers League, and in which the League ignored the request of the AFL-CIO to discuss the matter and the invitation of the Impartial Umpire to appear at a duly scheduled hearing. The prior case involved employees of the Convair Division of General Dynamics Corporation at San Diego (Case C-40-58, reported at 31 LA 265). A similar course has since been followed by the Pattern Makers League in five cases in which the UAW was the complaining union.

In the case now under consideration, the IAM was certified, together with the Brotherhood of Teamsters, as the representative of the production and maintenance employees. The employer has duly recognized the IAM since 1945, the last agreement expiring on May 27, 1958. In the negotiations for a new agreement, the IAM indicated that there would thereafter be separate agreements made by the IAM and the Teamsters with the Company, the IAM agreement covering the production and maintenance employees.

Despite the above history, on May 14, 1958 the Pattern Makers League filed a petition with the NLRB seeking severance of "all wood and metal patternmakers and their apprentices," a total of four employees out of the established unit of 202. There is no question but that the IAM has been recognized as the representative of these patternmakers for some 13 years.

It is therefore

RECOMMENDED

That the Pattern Makers League of North America promptly withdraw its aforementioned NLRB petition and discontinue all efforts to sever the classifications of employees in question from the larger bargaining unit, as to which the IAM has an established bargaining relationship.

DAVID L. COLE

MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING *

This Memorandum of Understanding entered into this 26th day of March, 1958, by and between the Retail Clerks International Association, AFL-CIO, for and on behalf of itself and its chartered Local Union Number 189, herein jointly referred to as R.C.I.A., and the Retail Wholesale and Department Store Union, AFL-CIO, for and on behalf of itself and its chartered body, New England Joint Board, herein referred to as R.W.D.S.U.

WHEREAS, R.C.I.A. is the certified bargaining agency of salespersons employed at the Metropolitan Transit Authority Stands in Boston and vicinity, and as such has had established bargaining relationships with the Franchise Operators of said stands since 1941; and

WHEREAS, By reason of a collective bargaining agreement subsisting between R.W.D.S.U. and the Company, the R.W.D.S.U. since April 1957, has represented such employees of the Company, which on or about January 1, 1957, as successors to ABC Vending Corporation, became the operator of the aforesaid stands.

THEREFORE, The parties herein desiring amicable to resolve the dispute, herewith agree upon the following:

1. R.W.D.S.U. acknowledges that it is guilty of a breach of the "no raiding" agreement by virtue of the above facts.

2. R.W.D.S.U. will cease such violation, and will not, directly or indirectly, represent or seek to represent the employees involved.

3. R.W.D.S.U. will promptly notify the Union News Company that it is withdrawing all claims for recognition with respect to the employees indicated above.

RETAIL CLERKS
INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION
EARL D. McDAVID
Acting Organizing Director
Eastern Division

RETAIL WHOLESALE AND
DEPARTMENT STORE UNION
JOSEPH H. HORAN, *Vice President*

By virtue of authority conferred on me by the aforementioned parties, I do hereby approve and award as indicated above.

DAVID L. COLE

* Disputes coming before the Umpire may still be withdrawn from the Umpire and settled by the parties. In such cases, the Umpire may be called upon to determine the *means* for reaching a final settlement such as a Memorandum of Understanding rather than the substance of a settlement.

Appendix

The No-Raiding Agreement

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations have each accepted the report and recommendations of the Joint Committee and have each recommended to the unions affiliated with it that they subscribe to this no-raiding Agreement, which shall be enforceable by and against any union signatory thereto; and

WHEREAS, The parties hereto accept these recommendations, recognizing that definite, tangible and valuable advantages will accrue to each of them through the elimination of raids on their established jurisdictions; now

THEREFORE, The parties signatory hereto, in consideration of the matters set forth above and the mutual promises set forth below, do hereby agree as follows:

1. As used herein the term "federation" means the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations; the term "union" means any national or international unions affiliated with either the American Federation of Labor or the Congress of Industrial Organizations which is signatory hereto and each of the federations; the term "local" means any local union, council, joint board, or other organization engaged in the representation of employes, which is a part of, subsidiary to or chartered by a union as herein defined, and also includes any Federal labor union, department, local industrial union, organizing committee, or council engaged in the representation of employes which is chartered directly by either of the federations; the phrase "established bargaining relationship" means any situation in which a union or a local, as herein defined, either (a) has been recognized by the employer (which for this purpose shall include any governmental agency) as the collective bargaining representative for the employes involved for a period of one year or more, or (b) is certified by the National Labor Relations Board or other Federal or State Agency having jurisdiction, as the collective bargaining representative for the employes.

2. The American Federation of Labor and each union signatory hereto affiliated with it, and each of them, agrees

that neither it nor any of its locals will, directly or indirectly, (a) organize or represent or attempt to organize or represent employes as to whom an established bargaining relationship exists with the Congress of Industrial Organizations or with any union which is signatory hereto affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations (including any of the locals of such union); (b) seek to represent, or obtain the right to represent, such employes or to disrupt the established bargaining relationship; or (c) engage in any cessation of work or refusal to transport, install or otherwise work on or with materials or any other form of concerted activity in support of an attempt to organize or represent such employees by a union other than the union which has the established bargaining relationship.

3. The Congress of Industrial Organizations and each union signatory hereto affiliated with it, and each of them, agrees that neither it nor any of its locals will, directly or indirectly, (a) organize or represent or attempt to organize or represent employes as to whom an established bargaining relationship exists with the American Federation of Labor or with any union which is signatory hereto affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, (including any of the locals of such union); (b) seek to represent, or obtain the right to represent, such employes or to disrupt the established bargaining relationship; or (c) engage in any cessation of work or refusal to transport, install or otherwise work on or with materials or any other form of concerted activity in support of an attempt to organize or represent such employes by a union other than the union which has the established bargaining relationship.

4. Each of the parties signatory hereto agrees to file with the Secretary-Treasurer of the federation with which it is affiliated the name and address of a representative who is authorized to receive all complaints of violation of this Agreement. The Secretary-Treasurer of each federation shall transmit such names and addresses to the Secretary-Treasurer of the other contracting federation, who shall make distribution of such information to each of the unions signatory hereto affiliated with his federation. If any party shall fail to comply with this provision, the President of that organization shall be deemed to be such representative.

5. Each of the parties hereto agrees to settle all disputes which may arise in connection with this Agreement in accordance with the following procedure:

(a) Any union a party hereto which claims that any other union a party hereto (including any local of such a union) which is affiliated with the other federation has violated the provisions of this Agreement shall immediately notify in writing the representative of the union complained against, designated in accordance with paragraph 4 of this Agreement, and shall also notify the Secretary-Treasurer of the federation with which that union is affiliated.

(b) The authorized representatives of the unions involved shall make every effort to settle the dispute.

(c) In the event the dispute is not settled within 15 days after the mailing of the notification provided for in paragraph (a), the Secretary-Treasurers of the federations, or their designated representatives, shall meet to attempt to achieve compliance with this Agreement.

(d) In the event that the authorized representatives of the unions involved are unable to settle the dispute within 15 days after the mailing of the notification provided for in paragraph (a), either union of the Secretary-Treasurer of either federation may, not earlier than five days thereafter, submit the dispute to the Impartial Umpire herein provided for.

(e) In any dispute submitted to him in accordance with the provisions of this paragraph, the Impartial Umpire shall have jurisdiction only to determine whether the acts complained of constitute a violation of this Agreement.

(f) A complaining union may withdraw its complaint of violation of this Agreement at any time prior to decision by the Impartial Umpire, in which event the pending proceeding shall terminate.

6. The parties hereto agree that the Impartial Umpire under this Agreement shall be jointly appointed by the President of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the President of the American Federation of Labor. The Impartial Umpire shall decide any case referred to him within 30 days unless an extension of time is agreed to by the parties

to the dispute or is requested by the Umpire and agreed to by the parties. The decision of the Impartial Umpire in any case referred or submitted to him under the terms of this Agreement shall be final and binding.

7. Each of the parties signatory hereto agrees that, in any case in which it is found that it, or any of its locals, has violated the provisions of this Agreement, it will cease such violation and will not, directly or indirectly, during the term of this Agreement, represent or seek to represent the employees involved, and that it will, in addition, take the following remedial action upon request of the complaining union:

(a) Any petition for representation rights filed with the National Labor Relations Board, or any other appropriate federal or state agency, will be immediately withdrawn.

(b) Any claims for recognition which may have been submitted to the employer will be withdrawn immediately.

8. Each union signatory hereto agrees to be bound by the provisions of this Agreement with respect only to such unions affiliated with the other federation as are then signatory hereto or which may thereafter become signatory hereto. The parties further agree that any party to this Agreement to whom they are so bound shall have the right to institute such actions or proceedings as may be necessary to compel compliance with the terms of this Agreement only after exhausting all of the steps provided herein.

9. (a) The American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations agree that this Agreement will be submitted for approval to their respective conventions next forthcoming.

(b) All of the parties signatory hereto agree that this Agreement shall not become effective unless both of such conventions approve the Agreement and that, if so approved, the Agreement shall then become effective on January 1, 1954, as to all parties then signatory to it; the Agreement shall become effective with respect to parties who become signatories to it subsequent to January 1, 1954, on the date of their signature.

(c) This Agreement shall not apply to disputes in which representation proceedings are pending before the National

Labor Relations Board or other appropriate federal or state agency, on January 1, 1954, and so long as such proceedings are pending. Both organizations will exercise their best efforts, in the interim, to minimize such disputes.

10. This Agreement shall expire on December 31, 1955.

11. This Agreement, and its faithful observance is the first and essential step toward the achievement of organic unity between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, a goal to which both organizations wholeheartedly subscribe. It is the intention of both parties to continue their joint meetings in the endeavor to achieve this objective.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, The parties hereto by the authorized representatives have hereunder set their hands and seals.

After fully considering the benefits and advantages to be gained through a no-raiding agreement, the Executive Council recommends the approval of this agreement to the convention.

AFL-CIO Constitution

Article II, Section 8

To preserve and maintain the integrity of each affiliated union in the organization to the end that each affiliate shall respect the established bargaining relationships of every other affiliate and that each affiliate shall refrain from raiding the established bargaining relationship of any other affiliate and, at the same time, to encourage the elimination of conflicting and duplicating organizations and jurisdictions through the process of voluntary agreement or voluntary merger in consultation with the appropriate officials of the Federation, to preserve, subject to the foregoing, the organizing jurisdiction of each affiliate.

Article III, Section 4

The integrity of each such affiliate of this Federation shall be maintained and preserved. Each such affiliate shall respect the established collective bargaining relationship of every other affiliate and no affiliate shall raid the established collective bargaining relationship of any other affiliate. When a complaint has been filed with the President by an affiliate alleging a violation of this section by another affiliate, that has not been settled under the provisions of the No-Raiding Agreement referred to in Article XVIII, the President shall endeavor, by consultation with the appropriate officers of both affiliates, to settle the matter by voluntary agreement between such affiliates. In the event no such voluntary agreement is reached within a reasonable time the President shall report to the Executive Council with such recommendations as he may deem appropriate. Upon such report being submitted, the Executive Council shall consider the same, shall hear the appropriate officers of the affiliates involved, and shall make such decision as it believes to be necessary and proper to carry out the provisions of this section. In the event an affiliate shall fail to comply with such decision, the Executive Council shall submit the matter to the convention for such action as the convention may deem appropriate under the provisions of this constitution.

ARTICLE XVIII—Existing Agreements

SECTION 1

The agreement for the merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, as approved by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Board of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the conventions of both federations is incorporated herein and made a part of this constitution.

SECTION 2

The AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agreement shall be preserved and, with the consent of the signatories, shall be extended for a period of two years from its present expiration date and amended to make it effective as between all unions signatory to it irrespective of their former affiliation. The CIO Organizational Disputes Agreement shall be maintained in force for its term as between the unions which have adhered to it. The AFL Internal Disputes Plan shall be maintained in force for its term with respect to the unions which have adhered to it. A Joint Comittee shall be established by the Executive Council to formulate the means for incorporating these three agreements into a combined no-raiding and organizational and jurisdictional disputes agreement which can be effective as between all of the unions becoming signatory to it irrespective of their former affiliation and for the purpose of extending, by voluntary agreement, such provisions to all affiliates of this Federation.

Resolution Adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council on AFL-CIO Constitutional Provisions Regarding Raiding

The AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agreement, when it was first signed in 1953, provided the basis upon which the negotiations which resulted in organic unity between the two branches of the American labor movement in December 1955 were conducted. In the period of its operation, both prior to the merger and thereafter, it has proved its value as a method of enforcing a basic minimum principle governing the relationships between affiliates of the AFL-CIO.

The basic principle underlying the AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agreement was also expressed in the AFL-CIO Constitution in Article III, Section 4, which provides that the integrity of each affiliate of this Federation shall be maintained and preserved and that each such affiliate shall respect the established collective bargaining relationship of every other affiliate and shall not raid any such established collective bargaining relationship. With the establishment of this principle as a basic constitutional principle of the AFL-CIO in December, 1955, the No-Raiding Agreement of 1953 no longer stands as the embodiment of a principle applicable only to its signatories but represents a procedural device to enforce a principle applicable to all AFL-CIO affiliates. Under the AFL-CIO Constitution, the basic No-Raiding principle is applicable to all affiliates. Those affiliates signatory to the No-Raiding Agreement have available, to effectuate this principle, the mechanisms established by the No-Raiding Agreement. Other unions, although bound by the same principle, proceed under the procedures specified in Article III, Section 4 of the Constitution.

In the view of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO there remains no reason why this difference in procedures should continue to exist in enforcing the same basic principles.

In accordance with these views, the Executive Council resolves:

1. All disputes concerning charges of violation of the No-Raiding principle expressed in Article III, Section 4 of the AFL-CIO Constitution shall be processed under the provisions and procedures of the No-Raiding Agreement, referred to in Article XVIII of the AFL-CIO Constitution, provided that with respect to such disputes the Impartial Umpire shall issue recommendations for settlement in lieu of decisions or awards.

2. In the event a complaint is filed with the President by an affiliate alleging that another affiliate has refused to abide by a decision of the umpire administering the No-Raiding Agreement or the recommendations of the umpire administering the No-Raiding provision of the Constitution, the President of the AFL-CIO shall endeavor, by consultation with the appropriate officers of both affiliates, to secure forthwith compliance. In the event compliance is not obtained, the President shall promptly report to the Executive Council. Upon such report being submitted, the Executive Council shall con-

sider the same, shall hear the appropriate officers of the affiliates involved and shall make such decision as is necessary to insure compliance with the decision or recommendation as the case may be.

Adopted February 6, 1958.

Resolution by the AFL-CIO Executive Council on AFL-CIO Constitutional Provisions Regarding Boycotts

The AFL-CIO Constitution in Article II, 8, and in Article III, Section 4, explicitly guarantees that the integrity of each affiliate of the federation shall be maintained and preserved.

These constitutional provisions and the basic principles of trade union morality require that no affiliate of the AFL-CIO should engage in a boycott or similar activities of goods or materials manufactured or processed by employes represented by another affiliate of the AFL-CIO.

The Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, to implement and enforce the AFL-CIO Constitution, resolves and directs that:

1. No affiliate of the AFL-CIO shall engage in any boycott, cessation of work, or refusal to transport, install or otherwise work on or with materials which have been manufactured or processed by workers represented by any other affiliate.

2. All disputes concerning charges of violations of the obligations herein imposed shall be settled under the procedures applicable to the No-Raiding Provision, Article III, Section 4 of the AFL-CIO Constitution.

Adopted February 7, 1958.

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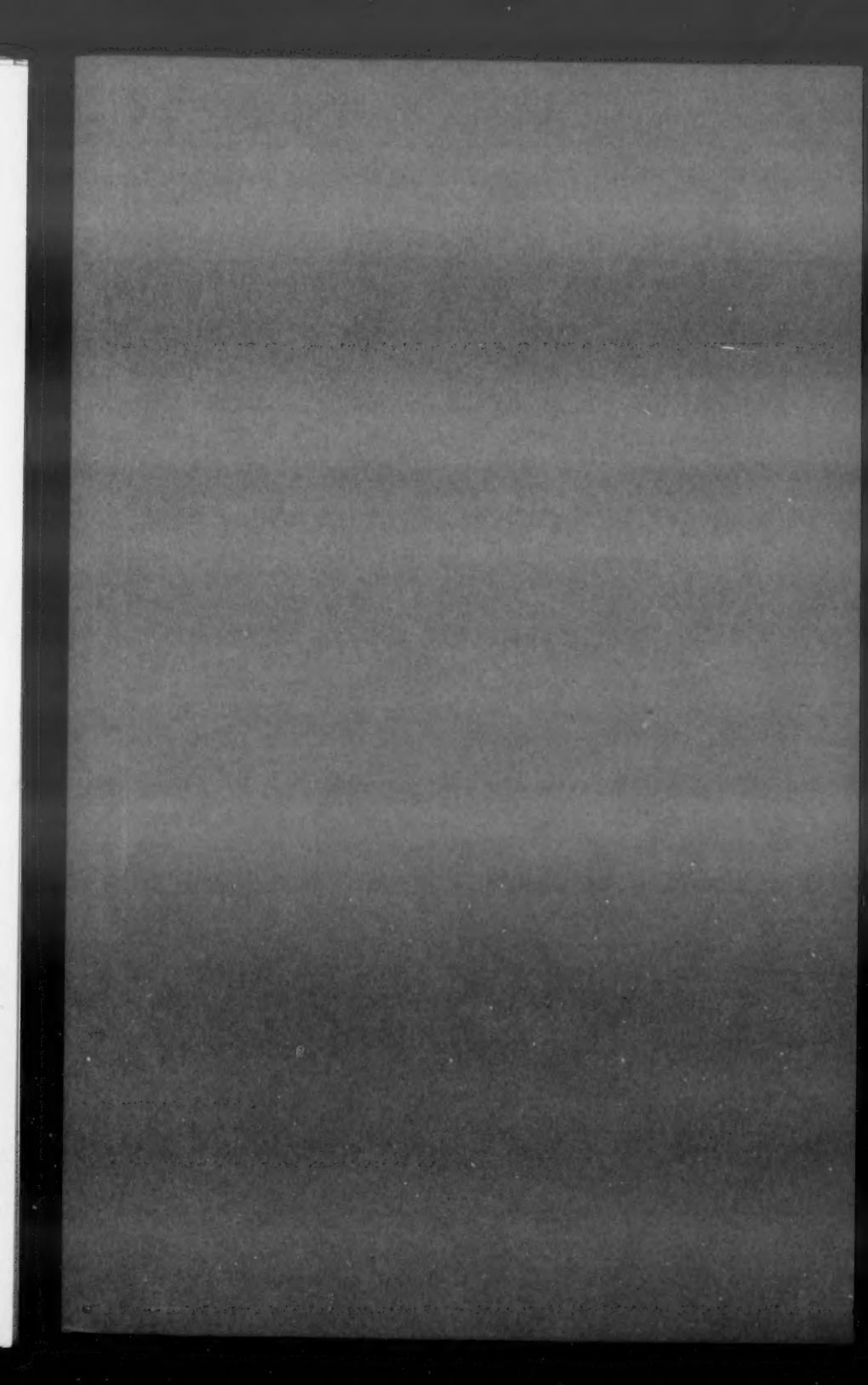
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Labor Wants Action On

THE FEDERAL UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION BILL

(S. 791, H.R. 3547)

Introduced January 29, 1959, in the House by Congressmen Karsten, Machrowicz, and 130 others; in the Senate by Senators Kennedy, Case, McCarthy and 30 others.

WHAT IS IN IT?

1. *Higher benefits*—A weekly benefit of at least half the individual's wages, subject to a state-wide maximum benefit of 2/3rds of the state's average weekly wage.

2. *39 weeks duration* for those unemployed who are eligible and qualified, who are able and available for work but cannot obtain suitable employment.

3. *Limited eligibility restrictions.* Some states have severe restrictions on who is qualified. This bill would place limits on those restrictions. Furthermore, state benefits could not be denied or reduced for those receiving negotiated supplementary unemployment benefits.

4. *More Coverage.* All employees in small companies would be covered. This would add an additional 2 million workers now excluded.

5. *Better Financing.* A state would be able to choose either experience rating (now the only choice allowed) or uniform tax rate reductions for all employers. This would open the door to better ways of financing U.C.

6. *Reinsurance grants* to those states which are in financial difficulty because of high rates of unemployment. This would relieve fear of insolvency which has kept benefits down.

7. *East state law* must be made to comply with the above minimum standards by July 1, 1960.

HOW MUCH WOULD IT COST?

The total long run cost of these benefits would still be only one half of the original and intended cost of U.C. The average employer tax would rise only 7/10ths of one cent per employee-hour worked.

This would require no appropriations by Congress. It would be financed, as at present, within the federal-state unemployment compensation payroll tax.

IS THIS AN ENCROACHMENT OF FEDERAL POWER OVER THE STATES?

No. The basic unemployment compensation law is a federal one. The tax is a federal tax. There are already 36 standards in the federal law with which a state law must comply in order to get the funds from the federal government.

This bill would add three benefit and eligibility standards, and amend an existing financial standard. There would be no change in the basic federal-state relationship. The states would continue to administer their own programs.

WHO WANTS FEDERAL STANDARDS?

In addition to the AFL-CIO, the following have spoken for a basic overhaul of U.C.:

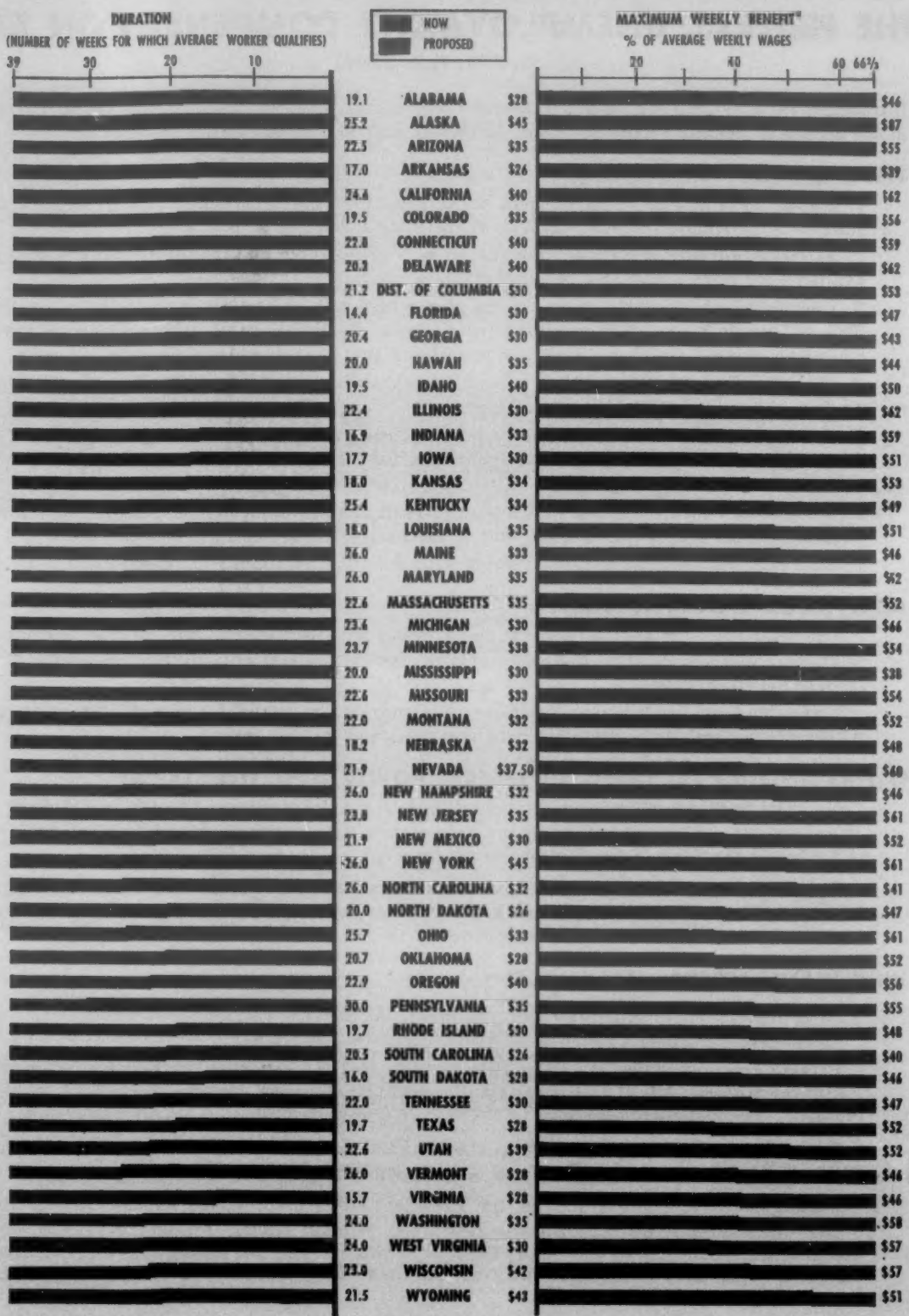
The governors of major industrial states representing the bulk of workers covered under U.C.

Private and governmental groups that have studied U.C. such as the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, the Federal Advisory Council on Employment Security, and the New York Advisory Council.

Public service organizations such as the National Consumers League, the American Public Welfare Association, and the National Association of Social Workers.

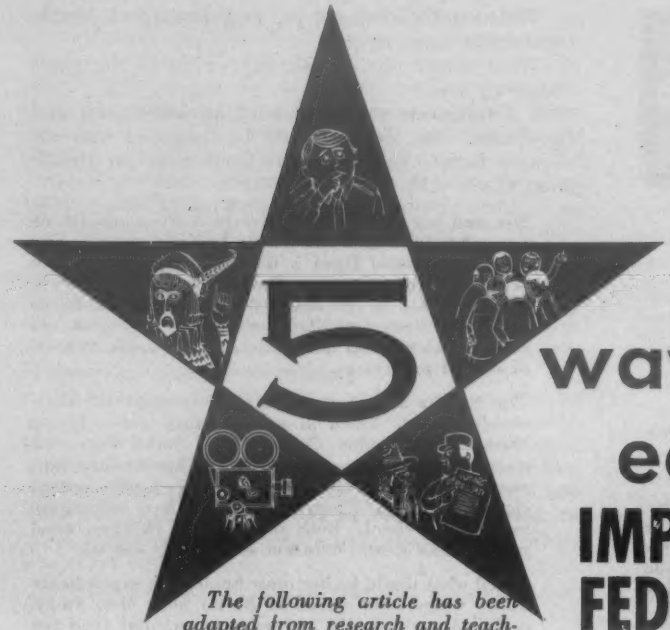
Distinguished economists such as the President's former economic advisor Arthur Burns of the National Bureau of Economic Research; William Haber, Fedele Fauri and Wilbur Cohen of the University of Michigan; Douglas Brown and Richard Lester of Princeton; Eveline Burns of Columbia; Sumner Slichter of Harvard; Dale Yoder of Stanford; and Herman Somers of Haverford.

HOW CONGRESS CAN HELP THE UNEMPLOYED BY PASSING THE FEDERAL U. C. STANDARDS BILL



19.1	ALABAMA	$28	$46
25.2	ALASKA	$45	$87
22.5	ARIZONA	$35	$55
17.0	ARKANSAS	$26	$39
24.6	CALIFORNIA	$40	$62
19.5	COLORADO	$35	$56
22.8	CONNECTICUT	$40	$59
20.3	DELAWARE	$40	$62
21.2	DIST. OF COLUMBIA	$30	$53
14.4	FLORIDA	$30	$47
20.4	GEORGIA	$30	$43
20.0	HAWAII	$35	$44
19.5	IDAHO	$40	$50
22.4	ILLINOIS	$30	$62
16.9	INDIANA	$33	$59
17.7	IOWA	$30	$51
18.0	KANSAS	$34	$53
25.4	KENTUCKY	$34	$49
18.0	LOUISIANA	$35	$51
26.0	MAINE	$33	$46
26.0	MARYLAND	$35	$62
22.6	MASSACHUSETTS	$35	$52
23.6	MICHIGAN	$30	$46
23.7	MINNESOTA	$38	$54
20.0	MISSISSIPPI	$30	$38
22.6	MISSOURI	$33	$54
22.0	MONTANA	$32	$52
18.2	NEBRASKA	$32	$48
21.9	NEVADA	$37.50	$60
26.0	NEW HAMPSHIRE	$32	$46
23.8	NEW JERSEY	$35	$61
21.9	NEW MEXICO	$30	$52
26.0	NEW YORK	$45	$61
26.0	NORTH CAROLINA	$32	$41
20.0	NORTH DAKOTA	$26	$47
25.7	OHIO	$33	$61
20.7	OKLAHOMA	$28	$52
22.9	OREGON	$40	$56
30.0	PENNSYLVANIA	$35	$55
19.7	RHODE ISLAND	$30	$48
20.5	SOUTH CAROLINA	$26	$40
16.0	SOUTH DAKOTA	$28	$46
22.0	TENNESSEE	$30	$47
19.7	TEXAS	$28	$52
22.6	UTAH	$39	$52
26.0	VERMONT	$28	$46
15.7	VIRGINIA	$28	$46
24.0	WASHINGTON	$35	$58
24.0	WEST VIRGINIA	$30	$57
23.0	WISCONSIN	$42	$57
21.5	WYOMING	$43	$51

*Does not include dependent allowances. Nothing in the proposed Federal Standards Bill would prevent a state from continuing dependent allowances in addition to the basic maximum



5 ways to educate on: IMPROVING THE FEDERAL FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT

The following article has been adapted from research and teaching materials prepared by the Joint Minimum Wage Committee, the IAM Education Department and the Labor Management Institute of Rutgers University.

The Kennedy-Morse-Roosevelt bill represents the absolute minimum that is needed to correct the most glaring deficiencies in the FLSA. It should be enacted without delay.

AFL-CIO EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Back in 1937, President Roosevelt, alarmed by widespread wage cutting and the lengthening of the workweek without overtime pay, sent a message to Congress asking for enactment of a federal fair labor standards law. This is what he said:

"A self-supporting and self-respecting democracy can plead no justification . . . for chiseling workers' wages or stretching workers' hours . . . Our problem is to work out in practice those labor standards which will permit the maximum but prudent employment of our human resources to bring within the reach of the average man and woman a maximum of goods and of services conducive to the fulfillment of the promise of American life."

At that time Congress set the minimum wage at 25¢ an hour, with the provision that by the end of 1941 the legal minimum would rise to 40¢ an hour. In 1949 Congress raised the minimum to 75¢. In the 1955 session of Congress the minimum wage was raised to $1.00 an hour, effective March 1, 1956, but the fight for increased coverage was lost.

Today the AFL-CIO Executive Council believes that Congress should act immediately to:

"1. Increase the minimum wage to at least $1.25 and broaden the coverage.

"2. Correct present abuses in provision for sub-minimum wages for so-called learners. If a special provision for learners is continued, the minimum rate for learners should be at least $1.10, and the authorization to permit payment of sub-minimum wages should be limited to two years.

"3. Provide for increasing the minimum wage for Puerto Rico as rapidly as possible, and initially by the same cents per hour as the increase proposed in the minimum wage for mainland workers.

"The Kennedy-Morse-Roosevelt bill (S.1046 and H.R.4488) recently introduced in the Congress would go far toward meeting most of the minimum wage objectives of the AFL-CIO. This bill would raise the minimum wage to $1.25 an hour and extend minimum wage coverage to nearly 8 million workers now denied the law's protection. It also provides for raising the minimum wage for Puerto Rico by the same cents per hour as the increase for mainland workers."

Use the following educational programs to develop understanding and support for the Kennedy-Morse-Roosevelt bill.

1. How to Use Role Playing



1. The aim here is to project the students' thinking into the minds and reactions of some typical workers not covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act. Role playing will be used to illustrate the problem.

2. Have each student keep in mind the method used by stewards to elicit information on a grievance presented by a worker as a guide to use for the cases under discussion.

3. The presentation of the skit should be discussed and the class encouraged to comment on the presentation and its conclusions.

4. The "actors" must be carefully briefed on their rolls.

5. Have extra copies of case studies for actors.

2. Here's A Quiz Program



HOW MUCH DO YOU KNOW ABOUT MINIMUM WAGE LAWS?

1. **The official name of the federal law setting the minimum wage is the Fair Labor Standards Act. This law makes regulations about**
   - ☐ wages
   - ☐ hours
   - ☐ child labor
2. **This law was first passed by Congress during the New Deal period.**
   - ☐ True
   - ☐ False
3. **Labor wants the federal minimum wage raised to**
   - ☐ $1.00 an hour
   - ☐ $1.25 an hour
   - ☐ $1.50 an hour
4. **The $1.00-an-hour minimum in the Fair Labor Standards Act applies to**
   - ☐ 24 million workers
   - ☐ 44 million workers
   - ☐ everyone
5. **Does your state have a *state* minimum wage law?** ☐ yes ☐ no

   Whom does it apply to?.....

   .....
6. **The AFL-CIO wants Congress to increase coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act and put more workers under its protection.** ☐ True ☐ False
7. **A high minimum wage drives employers out of business and hurts the prosperity of the whole country.** ☐ True ☐ False
8. **Some businesses (like retail stores, for example) cannot afford to pay their employees the legal minimum wage and the law should not force them to pay it.** ☐ Agree ☐ Disagree
9. **Most union members are under the protection of the federal minimum wage law so it doesn't matter to us whether Congress changes the law to make it apply to more workers than it does now.** ☐ Agree ☐ Disagree

(See page 4 for answers)

Set Up the Following Situations

You, (the student), an investigator concerned with the minimum wage problem, are on an official visit to a Mrs. Smith of Asheville, N.C. Mrs. Smith is a laundry worker earning $27.50 for a 52½ hour week. This amounts to 52¢ an hour.

Before the role playing begins, lead the class toward some of the questions an investigator should prepare himself with for his mission, such as:

What is it that you as an investigator are trying to find out?

What questions would you raise?

How delicate or pointed should you be?

What conditions would you look for: moral, health, recreation, comfort, etc.

What would Mrs. Smith buy or do if she made $1.00 an hour?

Get 2 volunteers to play role of an investigator and Mrs. Smith. Mrs. Smith should be furnished with the following facts: (These facts are from an actual investigation of the AFL-CIO).

> **She and her two children live in a five-room frame bungalow for which the rent is $40 per month. The only heat comes from a wood-burning stove which is not enough to heat the whole house in cold weather. Her furniture in the house which Mrs. Smith keeps spotlessly clean consists of the wood stove, an old torn-up cabinet and old-fashioned beds badly in need of decent mattresses.**
>
> **The Smiths are rarely able to have meat for their evening meal. Once in a while they get a frying chicken for Sunday dinner. Mrs. Smith buys one quart of milk every other day for her underweight son. She buys no clothes for herself and only enough clothes for her children so that they have something to wear to school. Both she and her children need medical and dental care but cannot pay for it.**
>
> **Asked what would be her most immediate expenditure if her wages were raised to $1 an hour Mrs. Smith said: "first thing, I'd buy more substantial food for my children. Next I'd have my eyes tested and my glasses fixed. I'd have my daughter's teeth fixed. I'd pay on my debts and then I would buy the mattresses we need and a few clothes."**

3. Buzz Sessions Get Discussion



Use one of these two methods:

(1) Reproduce and distribute this to the group and allow 10 to 15 minutes times for reading. Follow with a group discussion on some or all of the questions listed at the end of the article.

(2) Divide your class into small groups of about 7 each. Allow 10 minutes time for reading. Assign each group one of the questions and give them 3 minutes to report to a general session. Allow time for questions from the entire group.

What is a Minimum Living Standard?

The basic goal of the Fair Labor Standards Act is to eliminate "conditions detrimental to the maintenance of the minimum standard of living necessary for health, efficiency, and general well-being of workers."

It is appropriate therefore to ask what level of earnings is necessary to maintain the minimum standard of living the Act seeks to foster. For this purpose, we have two guides.

The first is the City Workers' Family Budget of the Department of Labor. This budget is the minimum necessary to provide a "modest but adequate" standard of living.

Unfortunately, the Department of Labor has not recomputed this budget since 1951. In fact, even the 1951

survey was based largely on pre-World War II patterns of living and therefore does not take account of many items which should be included in a "modest but adequate" budget today, but which may not have been considered a necessary item 20 years ago. Despite these limitations, the AFL-CIO Research Department has attempted to bring the 1951 budget up to date.

Based on these computations, minimum earnings of $4656 would be needed to provide the items included in the Labor Department budget. Assuming steady employment all year and a 40-hour workweek, this annual budget would require wages of about $90 a week or $2.25 an hour.

This budget requires more than twice the present statutory minimum wage of $1 an hour. Yet, it actually provides a very modest level of living.

For example, although it is intended to cover a family of four, including two children, it provides for *less than two quarts of milk a day*. Clothing purchases permitted under this budget are quite limited. The husband can buy one heavy wool suit every two years and a light wool suit every three years. It permits three phone calls a week on a pay phone outside the house and allows no leeway whatsoever for savings.

If $2.25 an hour can provide only such a modest standard of living, it does not take much imagination to realize how very little can be afforded when a family must exist on the $1 an hour assured as a minimum to covered workers under the Act. As a matter of fact, $1 an hour is even less than enough to provide for the minimum needs of a single woman worker with no dependents. Recent studies in 13 different states found an average annual income of over $2,500 would be necessary for a minimum adequate budget for a single woman. This would require an hourly rate of $1.25 based on 2,000 hours worked per year or $1.39 based on 1,800 hours per year.

Thus there is no question that $1 an hour falls far short of meeting the basic goal of the Fair Labor Standards Act. Yet there are millions of workers who somehow support themselves and their families on even less. They are among the 20 million workers in jobs that are not covered by the law at all.

Most of these workers are in the retail and service trades. Smaller but still significant numbers are in transportation, finance and insurance, construction, etc. Agricultural workers are also excluded.

While the minimum wage is so low and its coverage so restricted, many millions of Americans cannot maintain a basic minimum standard of living even though employed.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. **Why weren't there minimum wage laws before the New Deal?**
2. **How were minimum wages set before the present law (1938)?**
3. **Did political action play a part in previous minimum wage laws?**
4. **Why don't the workers affected by the minimum wage law organize into unions?**
5. **Why are we discussing the minimum wage law at this time?**
6. **Can't the states take care of this problem?**
7. **Should an employer stay in business if he can't pay $1.25 an hour?**
8. **Won't a higher minimum wage raise prices?**

4. New Film Gives History

Another technique which local union education or legislative committees can use for educating on improving the federal minimum wage law is to show a 16mm sound film. Careful preparation should be made for the showing of this film. It should be previewed and a discussion planned which will tie the showing of the film to the present legislative fight.

This 28-minute film, "The Constitution and Employment Standards," describes the development of the test case which resulted in a decision by the U. S. Supreme Court upholding the constitutionality of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938. Along the way it reviews the history of previous minimum wage laws, showing how the balance of the court swung gradually in favor of federal regulation in this area. It can be rented from the AFL-CIO Department of Education for $3.00. (Please give two showing dates.)

The film is *not* a plea for a higher minimum or for the extension of coverage. To be used effectively, it *must* be accompanied by discussion.

However, the film does point out that federal jurisdiction over wages and hours in companies engaged in interstate commerce—and in the firms that supply them or are otherwise involved in their operations—now has judicial approval. This implies, of course, that the extension of coverage contemplated by the Kennedy-Roosevelt bill would also be constitutional.

Discuss These Points

The following are among the points that should be brought out in connection with the film:

1. The principle of federal wage-hour regulation has been firmly established by Congress and the courts. The only issues today are purely legislative—how high the minimum should be, and how extensive its coverage.

2. One of the points involved in the test case was the employer's custom of paying his workers less when they performed duties which, if carried on by an independent firm, would not be covered by the act—i.e., local deliveries. The court ruled that such work is covered when performed for an employer whose other operations are covered.

3. Similarly, the court found that the suppliers of firms in interstate commerce (in this case, the loggers who supplied the sawmill) also came under the act.

4. In 1949, Congress took away the wage-hour safeguards of some of these workers in related occupations. This was done by narrowing the law's definitions of "commerce" and "production". The Kennedy-Roosevelt bill proposes to restore the original language, which the Supreme Court has already upheld.

5. What's reasonable for a sawmill in Georgia is certainly reasonable for a big chain or department store.

6. The preamble or statement of policy in the law pledges to "correct and as rapidly as possible to eliminate" labor conditions "detrimental to the maintenance of a minimum standard of living necessary for health, efficiency and general well-being of workers." The present

law is clearly inadequate to meet this purpose, both as to the minimum wage and coverage. (Supporting facts are set forth in the source materials prepared by the Joint Minimum Wage Committee, 815 16th St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C.)

5. Dramatize Past Victories



Local union education and legislative committees should plan programs which relate the present drive for increased coverage and $1.25 minimum wage to the 20-year history of the labor movement's struggle to improve the living standards of the lower third.

Use the tape recording, "The Test of our Progress," which reproduces the script of the pageant celebrating the 20th anniversary of the Wage-Hour legislation in Washington last December. It features Helen Gahagan Douglas as narrator and Joe Glazer singing labor songs. It runs 30 minutes, is recorded at 7½ IPS and is available from Sound Studios, Inc., 306 Sixth St., N.W., Washington, D. C., for $7.50.

The AFL-CIO Department of Education has a two-page outline of the step-by-step fight to improve the minimum wage law in the 86th Congress which ended with the raising of the minimum wage from 75¢ to $1. The dramatic battle to fight off the Eisenhower Administration's amendment for a 90¢ minimum is described.

Use the voting records of your Congressmen in the following fashion:

A regional education director in the Midwest has taken two budget items from the record of the 85th Congress and compiled the voting record on these issues in all Congressional Districts where his union has locals. On one, the House of Representatives actually voted to cut the Wages and Hours Inspection Division budget by $288,000. The budget for this purpose was already inadequate. The cut was passed by a vote of 214 to 205.

This vote can be used to show that the fight for an adequate budget for law enforcement is extremely important. Material on this vote and another is available from the AFL-CIO Education Department with the voting record for all members of the House of Representatives. By getting the materials on past legislative battles and the tape referred to above, your committee can prepare an interesting one-hour education program for a local union meeting or for a central body meeting. Reproduce the background materials that you plan to use—voting records, etc.

Investigate specific industries in your own locality not now covered by the federal minimum wage law and publicize your own findings through local union papers and through the general press. This will build understanding of the importance of passing the Kennedy-Morse-Roosevelt bill in the 86th Congress.

For Further Reading

Below is a list of books and pamphlets that can help you broaden your understanding of the problems and laws dealing with the minimum wage laws:

The People America *Can't* Forget, published by Joint Minimum Wage Committee, AFL-CIO. 22 pp. 10¢ each; 100 copies, $3.

Today's Forgotten People, published by Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO. 24 pp. Single copies free.

Consumer is a key—WILL 1959 BRING PROSPERITY?, Labor's Economic Review, January, 1959 (8 pp. AFL-CIO Dept. of Research. Single copies, free. $4.50 for 100.)

For general reading you may want to try George Soule's **Introduction to Economic Science,** Pocket Book 1952.

ANSWERS TO MINIMUM WAGE QUESTIONNAIRE

1. **ALL THREE. The Fair Labor Standards Act does three things: It sets a minimum legal wage for the workers it covers; it requires the payment of time and a half after 40 hours for the workers it covers; and it makes regulations about child labor.**
2. **TRUE. The Fair Labor Standards Act was passed in 1938. At that time Congress set the minimum wage at 25¢ an hour, with the provision that by the end of 1941 the legal minimum would rise to 40¢ an hour. In 1949 Congress raised the minimum to 75¢; in 1955, Congress raised it to $1.**
3. **$1.25. The AFL-CIO, and unions generally, want the federal minimum wage raised to $1.25 an hour.**
4. **The federal law applies to about 24 MILLION U.S. workers. Congress has decided who it applies to. There are about 44 million wage and salary earners in the U.S., so about half of them are protected by the federal minimum law.**

   The law covers only those workers who are in INTERSTATE COMMERCE. This means workers who make products that are shipped across state lines. However, Congress has left out some groups of interstate commerce workers.
5. **Some states have minimum wage laws which protect workers who make products which are not shipped across state lines, but used solely inside the state. Most of these state laws are very poor.**
6. **TRUE. The AFL-CIO is supporting a bill to make the Fair Labor Standards Act apply to nearly 8,000,000 more workers, particularly in big department stores, grocery chain stores, laundry and dry cleaning chain stores, and big hotels.**
7. **FALSE. Low-wage employers always cry when the federal minimum wage is raised. However, past experience (in 1938, 1949, and 1955) shows that raising the minimum wage does not drive employers out of business. In addition, the whole country benefits, because low-income families get more purchasing power and can buy more.**
8. **Employers often say this when we want to raise wages, whether it is by law or by negotiations. Any employer who cannot afford to pay his workers $1.25 an hour is paying starvation wages. He is no help to the country.**

   The retail stores raise a fuss about being covered by the minimum wage law. They point to the problems of the little grocery store run by mom, pop, and the kids. The bill in Congress will not apply the minimum wage to this kind of store, so this argument is only a smoke-screen for the big chain stores.
9. **FALSE. Low wages in one company have a bad effect on wages in the whole city or town. Moreover, low-wage workers don't have the money to buy the things we make, and this is one cause of unemployment.**

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AFL-CIO Education News & Views
17 17
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Four New Education Department Publications To Help You In Your Local Union Programs.

If local officers think nothing can be done about attendance at union meetings, developing active committeemen, or communicating with the general membership, they should read and plan to use HOW TO REACH THE UNION MEMBER. This 8-page reprint from "Education News and Views" offers time-tested suggestions for building stronger unions: (1) at local union meetings; (2) through stewards and committeemen; (3) on the job and (4) in the community.

AFL-CIO Publication No. 91 is useful for workshops on union democracy and union administration. Single copies, free; 2 to 99 copies, 5c each; 100 for $3 (8½" x 11" format).

* * *

Developing understanding of a national legislative program, a single issue or helping to elect the right person to Congress starts with how Congress works. HELPING TO WRITE YOUR NATION'S LAWS outlines program techniques for teaching this process and suggests how members can help. Useful for classes on legislative issues, the legislative process, or COPE. 4-pages, free in limited quantities (8½" x 11" format).

* * *

New films can help you in your local union education programs. USE THESE NEW FILMS IN YOUR EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS, AFL-CIO publication No. 64-A, is an excellent introduction on films. It describes recent additions to the library of films available from the AFL-CIO Education Department. The AFL-CIO Film-of-the-Month Plan is described. Free in limited quantities (8½" x 11" format).

* * *

Programs aimed at helping local union officers conduct steward's training should include 6 KEYS TO STEWARD'S TRAINING. This roundup supplements the AFL-CIO Teaching Guide for use with the AFL-CIO MANUAL FOR SHOP STEWARDS. It is useful only for training instructors—not for stewards! 16 pages 2-99 copies, 6c each; 100 copies, $5 (8½" x 11" format).

Write to AFL-CIO Education Department, 815 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.

ORDER BLANK

Please send copies of the publications checked in the quantities indicated:

*copies*____ 1. How to Reach the Union Member

*copies*____ 2 . Helping to Write Your Nation's Laws

*copies*____ 3. Use These News Films in Your Educational Programs

*copies*____ 4. Keys to Stewards Training

(Make check payable to Wm. F. Schnitzler)

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

CITY_____ STATE_____

UNION_____ LOCAL_____

Get Crooks-Not Unions!

"We support legislation that will get at the crooks.

"We oppose legislation which will do harm to the trade union movement."

With these words, AFL-CIO President George Meany summarized labor's opposition to the so-called "labor reform" bill passed by the Senate.

The Senate's amendments changed the bill (S. 1555) from one which would have aided the trade union movement in its campaign against corruption into a measure which could do grave and irreparable harm to clean, decent American unions.

This leaflet outlines the evils of this bill and summarizes the legislation the AFL-CIO seeks.

How the Senate Bill Wo

On the floor of the Senate amendments cutely titled a "Bill of Rights of Members of Labor Organizations" were added to the measure. Instead of establishing "rights" for union members, these amendments would destroy the most effective right a worker has—the right to a strong and effective union. Here's how:

- The bill says a union must accept every person who applies for membership. This would make it impossible for unions to keep out Communists, crooks or company spies who try to infiltrate our ranks to destroy unions.

- The bill pretends to guarantee equal rights for members. In practice it would mean the government would decide who could run for office, for it outlaws union constitutions prohibiting Communists and other destructive elements from being candidates.

- The bill limits the methods by which union members can determine how their dues will be set. International unions would be required to set dues at conventions, and would be forbidden to do so by referendum.

- The bill substitutes the federal courts for normal, democratic trade union procedure, thus exposing unions to constant law suits by company agents, Communists or disgruntled candidates rejected by their fellow-members.

- The bill threatens local union officers with two years in prison and $10,000 fines for such reasonable rulings as d[a]ying to speak at a meeting. An could be jailed for disciplin[ing] led a wildcat strike.

- The bill pretends to requir[e] by labor and management, [but] lows employers to conceal ar[e] tures. For example, an empl[oyer] tain a regular, full-time l[abor] payroll and never have to r[eport]

- The bill empowers the fed[eral] cide for what purpose uni[ons]

Labor Wa[nts]

The AFL-CIO want[s] a st[rong] law to get at the crooks in labor. We want:

- Public financial report[s] employers, policed by the bor to eliminate corruptio[n]

- Safeguarding of union by federal law.

- Elimination of [tax] exempt[ion] posed for unethical purpo[ses]

- Encouragement of vo[luntary] ethical practices by unio[ns] including their own enforc[ement] and establishment of a co[de] labor-management relatio[ns] visory committee to the S[enate]

American Federation of Labor and Cong[ress] of Industrial Organizations
815 16th St., N.W., Wa[shington]

George Meany, *President*

Printed in U.S.A.

Would Hurt Your Union

as denying a drunk the right eting. An entire local union r disciplining a worker who e.

ds to require equal reporting nagement, but actually it al- conceal anti-union expendi- le, an employer could main- full-time labor spy on his have to report it.

ers to federal courts to de- rpose union funds may be spent. It exposes union officials to civil and criminal prosecution for carrying out a membership vote to extend strike aid to another union. A single company spy could use this provision to keep a union or its officers in court all year, every year.

● The bill imposes new bans on peaceful picketing which would not only block traditional union activities but would invite unscrupulous employers to escape legitimate union organization by signing backdoor, sweetheart contracts with corrupt locals.

or Wants An Anti-Racketeering Law

want a sound, constructive e cracks in management and t:

cial reports by unions and ced by the Secretary of La- e corruption.

of union election processes

f improper trusteeships im- ical purposes.

nt of voluntary codes of s by union and employers, own enforcement provisions, nt of a continuing study of ent relations through an ad- e to the Secretary of Labor.

● Embezzlement of union funds to be made a federal crime.

● Overdue revision of Taft-Hartley in areas where labor, management, the Administration and Congress have long agreed justice requires it. These provisions would sanction pre-hire contracts in the construction industry, reinstate pre-hearing elections, restore the voting rights of economic strikers and eliminate the jurisdictional "no man's land" created by the NLRB.

Most of these measures were contained in the bill reported by the Senate labor committee. They will protect the democratic rights of union members and safeguard their funds. They will promote better relations between labor and management.

and Congress of Industrial Organizations
N.W., Washington, D. C.

Wm. F. Schnitzler, *Sec'y-Treas.*

rinted in U.S.A.

Defend Your Union

Reactionary employers are trying to destroy your union.

They don't want to get the crooks. They like doing business with the crooks.

Unless you join this fight now they can block labor's battle against corruption. They can pass laws that will drastically weaken your union.

WRITE YOUR CONGRESSMAN TODAY

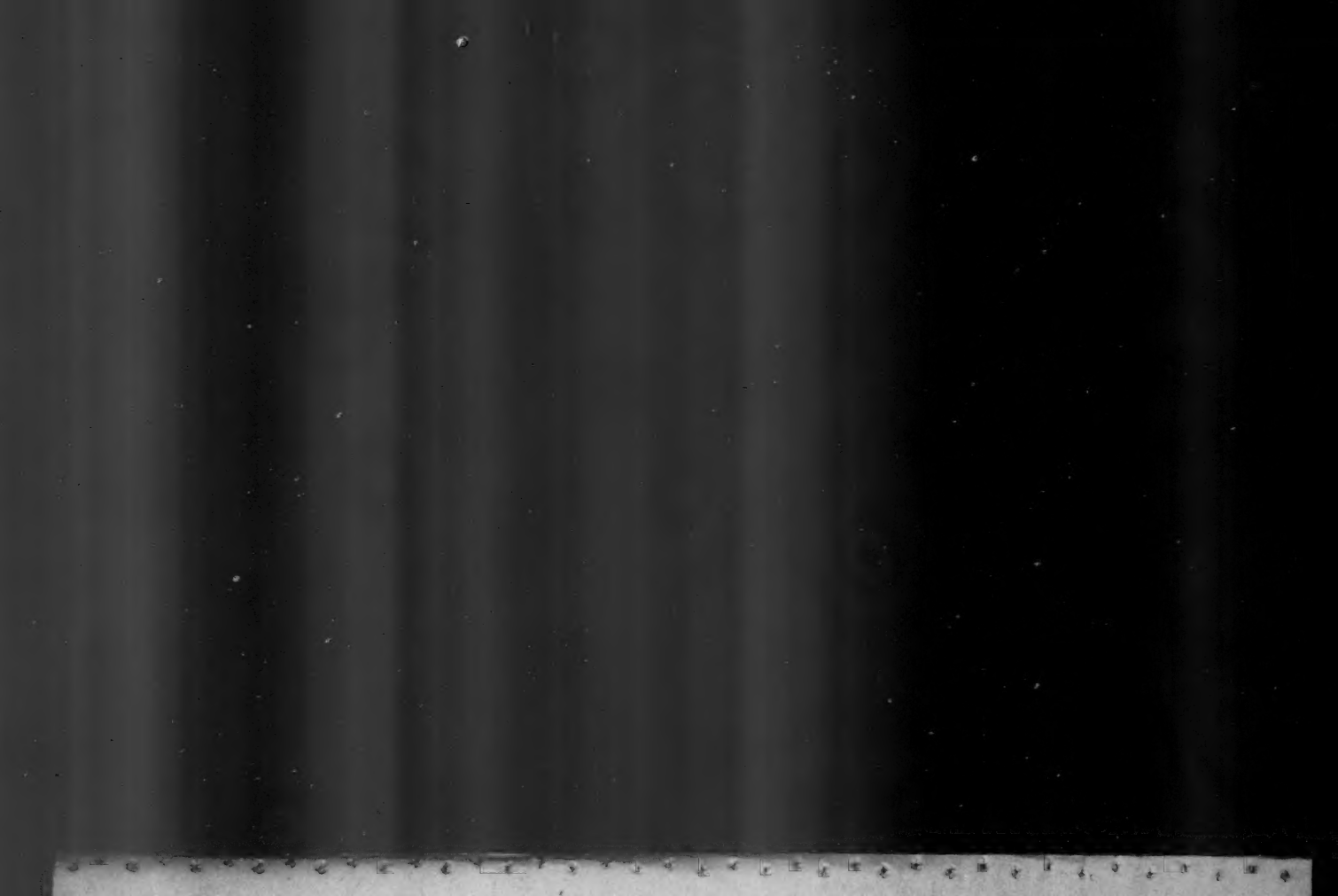
Tell him you want to get at the crooks.

Tell him you won't stand for a law that hurts your union.

Tell him you want honest labor-management reform—not labor ruin.

Where to Write

Your Congressman
House Office Building
Washington 25, D. C.



AFL-CIO Publishes New Pamphlet on Union Meetings



How to Run a Union Meeting is the newest publication prepared by the AFL-CIO Department of Education. It contains 16 chapters, beginning with "Why Parliamentary Law?" and ending with "All the Rules at a Glance." It is 64 pages, pocket size.

The material which is addressed to local union officers is based on Roberts Rules of Order. The rules are discussed in a simple, straightforward manner.

The emphasis is on the content and purpose of a meeting. It recognizes that meeting time is premium time in the lives of union members and their officers. The pamphlet shows how rules should be used to keep the meeting moving, not to trap the uninformed.

It suggests ways of improving union meetings and increasing membership participation, including planning for better and more interesting meetings with use of films, pamphlets, committee reports, and speakers.

Another section deals with "Motions for Unusual Actions." Here are included: tabling a motion, limiting debate, withdrawing a motion, etc. A special distinction is made between a motion to "call for the previous question" and just a plain call of "question" from the back of the room.

Discussed under the heading, "A List of Motions with Peculiar Characteristics" are: "Things you may do when another member has the floor", "motions that cannot be debated," "motions that do not require a second," etc.

Also included is a ten point check list for union meetings; a list of films on this subject, and some suggestions for education programs on this subject.

Under the heading "Basic Rules of Order—How Motions Get Action," the steps are traced for introducing a motion, getting discussion, making amendments, or a substitute motion and voting to decide the will of the members. Each step in the procedure is described from the chairman's and the member's point of view.

The pamphlet contains sample agendas, and is illustrated with humorous cartoons.

As President George Meany indicates in his introduction: "If this handbook is put to work, we will not only reap the benefits in our movement, we will also increase the spirit and knowledge of democratic participation which our members and leaders will carry over into other organizations in the community to which they belong."

ORDER HANDBOOK NOW!

AFL-CIO Department of Education
815 16th St., N. W., Washington 6, D. C.
Please send ..... copies of HOW TO RUN A UNION MEETING (20c a copy; 10 to 99 copies, 17c each; 100 to 999, 15c each; 1000 or more, 13c each) to:

Name.....Office.....

Local Union.....

Address.....

City.....Zone.....,State.....

☐ **Check enclosed** ☐ **Please bill**
Make checks payable to Wm. F. Schnitzler







Printed in U.S.A.

Labor and the Churches

An excerpt from the

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE AFL-CIO TO THE THIRD CONVENTION

1959

A REPORT OF THE AFL-CIO EXECUTIVE COUNCIL TO THE THIRD CONVENTION, SEPTEMBER 17, 1959
on

Labor and the Churches

The AFL-CIO, realizing that the forces of religion and labor have so many aims and objectives in common, seeks through its Office for Religious Relations to interpret the labor movement to the various religious bodies in our country and to encourage trade union members to join the church or synagogue of their choice and to take an active part in the work of their religious organizations.

Our program of relations between labor and religious organizations is carried out through the distribution of AFL-CIO publications, particularly through the pamphlets "Religion and Labor" and "Why Unions?"; through its "memorandums" setting forth significant pronouncements of Protestant, Catholic and Jewish religious organizations on the outstanding ethical, economic and labor issues of the day; through its mailing of the Labor Sunday and Labor Day statements of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., the National Catholic Welfare Conference, and the Synagogue Council of America, and through the addresses and lectures of Charles C. Webber, the AFL-CIO Representative for Religious Relations.

The religious organizations—Protestant, Catholic and Jewish—and their leaders, in the months since the 1957 AFL-CIO Convention, have continued to speak out through their national, state and local bodies on the great social, economic and labor issues confronting the American people.

That the forces of religion and labor have many common aims and objectives is evident from the following statements and pronouncements in which religious organizations have taken a stand on major issues of mutual concern:

On Labor-Management Relations

In their Labor Day and Labor Sunday Messages and in other of their "policy statements" and "pronouncements," while supporting vigorously every gain made within labor and in labor-management relations in the direction of democracy, they have called upon both labor and management to eliminate corruption and injustice.

Alarmed at the campaign in the public press, on TV and over the radio to discredit free collective bargaining they have reiterated their half-century old stand for "the right of both employes and employers to organize for collective bargaining."

They have also made it very plain "that in the collective bargaining process there should be recognition of the fact that negotiation requires the existence of recognized entities, each respecting the right of the other to exist."

On the So-Called 'Right-to-Work' Laws

Deeply concerned about the reactionary movement to persuade state legislatures as well as Congress to adopt so-called "right-to-work" laws, they have labeled them as "fraudulent"—as compulsory "open shop" legislation.

Union membership as a condition of continued employment, they have declared, "should be neither required nor prohibited by law but should be left to negotiation between statesmanlike labor and statesmanlike management."

On Unemployment

Faced with the tragic suffering that millions of unemployed fellow Americans are undergoing through no fault of their own, Protestant, Catholic and Jewish religious leaders have publicly asserted that "large-scale unemployment or long continued unemployment for any considerable number of persons able and willing to work is intolerable."

They have supported unemployment compensation and have maintained that "adequate compensation will require an increase in the amount, duration, and coverage now available under present laws."

They have called upon their members "to participate actively as citizens in community, state and national programs—including the retraining of workers—which will put workers back to work."

On Minimum Wage

Realizing the great importance of adequate purchasing power in the hands of the great majority of the American people they have resolved repeatedly "that the principle of minimum wage legislation, federal and state, should be supported as a practical and proven means of assuring at least the minimum standard of living necessary for the maintenance of health and decency for family living today and should be extended to all workers."

On Race Relations

Recognizing that "God is no respector of persons because of the color of their skins," they have supported and are continuing to support the 1954 decision of the U.S. Supreme Court requiring the desegregation of our country's public schools.

In addition, they have urged their members "on religious grounds to work against discrimination in churches and synagogues and other religious institutions, in trade unions, in employment, in housing, and in educational and recreational organizations and facilities, both private and public."

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Labor Reform—

Where We Stand

by George Meany
President, AFL-CIO

Introduction

In order to be ready in time for the national high school debates program, this pamphlet is being written before the labor-management reform bill has taken shape in the House of Representatives. Thus it is impossible to say whether the legislation, in its final form, will be supported or opposed by the labor movement.

What has happened up to now (July 1959) is this:

The Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, after extensive hearings, reported a bill which the AFL-CIO supported, despite some reservations about certain provisions.

This bill was hastily and drastically amended on the Senate floor. Careful study of the amended bill caused the AFL-CIO to withdraw its support.

The measure is currently being revised in the House Committee on Education and Labor. It seems likely that the House bill will differ materially from both the original and amended versions written by the Senate.

While it is therefore impossible to present at this time a section-by-section analysis of the pending legislation, there is no secret about the AFL-CIO's stand on the various proposals advanced so far.

AFL-CIO President George Meany has twice set forth the AFL-CIO position in detail at hearings of the House subcommittee on labor legislation—both before and after adoption of the Senate bill.

The following material taken from his testimony, with transitional passages (in italics) inserted in the interests of brevity, appears in Labor and Management: The Thirty-third Discussion and Debate Manual, copyright 1959. However, the contents of this pamphlet may be reproduced at will.

THE AFL-CIO, by its constitution, by convention action and by implementing actions of its Executive Council, is pledged to the elimination of corruption and racketeering which have penetrated into some segments of the labor movement.

We have expelled organizations with a membership in excess of 1.5 million because these organizations had come under the dominating influence of corrupt individuals.

To set the record straight, let me point out that the AFL-CIO believes some legislation is essential.

Certainly the steps taken by the AFL-CIO in its self-policing campaign are no protection for workers or for the general public against the corrupt activities of unions which are not part of the federation or which were expelled by the federation for these very corrupt practices.

Certainly a federation of trade unions cannot halt the immorality and unethical practices engaged in by certain segments of the business world; and it must be obvious to this committee and to the nation that the national associations of businessmen—the National Association of Manufacturers, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the American Retail Federation—are either unwilling or unable to come to grips with the corrupt elements in their own ranks.

For these reasons we believe that some legislation is necessary, as respects both unions and employers.

I turn now to the question of what general form legislation should take.

1—Public reporting. We believe that public reporting and disclosure of union finances and certain aspects of employer finances dealing with labor relations will, if backed by adequate checking on the reports by the federal government, operate to curtail many of the abuses disclosed by the (McClellan) Senate Select Committee.

Some people seem to be under the impression that these reports will require the disclosure only of conduct that is criminal or at least highly reprehensible. That is not the case. Unions must report *all* receipts and disbursements. The "conflict of interest" transactions required to be reported by union officials may be criminal, or may be unethical but not criminal, or may in particular circumstances be justifiable. So, too, of the transactions required to be reported by employers and (labor relations) consultants.

Obviously these reports are not aimed only at wrongdoers. They

proceed in part on the premise that the persons affected—the union members, the employees, the stockholders and the general public—have an interest in knowing the facts, and that that interest outweighs any legitimate countervailing interest in secrecy.

Neither is it thought that a criminal is going to write a report of his crime. The theory is that the would-be perpetrator of a criminal transaction will either refrain from misconduct, which will be all to the good; or will file no report or a false report, either of which will lay him open to prosecution. Of course, reports filed by honest officers might easily reveal misconduct by others.

Broad Powers Backed

These bills make a major advance by giving the Secretary of Labor broad powers to inspect books and records and question witnesses in order to check on the accuracy of reports and any failure to file a report. We have been criticized for supporting these provisions. We recognize that they are far-reaching, and subject to abuse. Nevertheless we think they are necessary, and that if the powers conferred are vigorously and properly used the reporting requirements will make a major contribution toward the elimination of corruption and questionable practices.

Even the most rudimentary sense of fair play demands that if unions are to be required to make full public disclosure of all aspects of their finances, employers at the least must be required to make similar public disclosure of their expenditures in the field of labor relations. Public financial reporting should also be required of outside labor relations consultants. Reputable consultants would have nothing to fear from full reporting, and if disreputable ones *have* something to fear, so much the better.

We have one vigorous criticism (of the reporting proposals as written) and that is the double standard of justice contained in the false entry section.

That section provides a fine and imprisonment for an official of a labor organization who makes a false entry in a book or record for the purpose of misleading the Secretary of Labor—a provision which we support. It does not, however, provide any punishment at all for false entry in the books or records of any employer or labor relations consultant for the same purpose.

Certainly there is no difference in the crime. There should be no difference in the penalty.

(This sort of double standard is found in other aspects of the Senate-passed bill, Mr. Meany noted. The reporting requirements for employers are far less rigorous than for unions, and in many respects are inadequate. The penalties imposed for various criminal acts are far heavier for union offenders; the bribe-taker is subject to adequate punishment, but the bribe-giver is not.)

2—Union trusteeships. The ethical practices codes which the AFL-CIO has adopted recognize that an international union must have the power to institute trusteeship over subordinate bodies in order to insure responsible and honest administration. Yet they also recognize that care should be taken against abuse. Legislation to implement these principles (through enforcement power lodged in the Secretary of Labor) has our support.

3—Union elections. We in the AFL-CIO very firmly believe that it is of the utmost importance that union elections be honestly and democratically conducted and that such elections be held with sufficient frequency to ensure continuing membership participation and control over the management of the union's affairs. Our movement is founded on the democratic tradition; freedom and democracy are its essential attributes.

Accordingly, we have undertaken to see to it that all our affiliates provide for the basic elements of union democracy in the conduct of their affairs. Our code on union democratic processes spells out the basic democratic rights which each affiliate of the AFL-CIO should assure its members and the procedures it should follow in connection with election of officers, terms of office, the holding of conventions, the conduct of membership meetings and the exercise of disciplinary and corrective powers with respect to local unions and subordinate bodies.

Code Assures Democracy

Under our code, each member of each of our affiliates is to have the right to vote periodically for local and national or international union officials, either directly through referendum vote or through delegate bodies; to honest elections; to stand for and to hold office, subject only to fair qualifications uniformly imposed; and to voice his views as to the methods in which the union's affairs should be conducted. In addition, he is to have the right to fair treatment in the application of union rules and law, including the essential

elements of due process—notice, hearing and judgment on the basis of the evidence—and a method of appeal to a higher body.

These democratic rights of members under our code comprehend virtually all of the rights which have been proposed in the various bills to safeguard union democracy.

(*Nevertheless, Mr. Meany said, the AFL-CIO supports the establishment of further safeguards, enforced through the Secretary of Labor, as written into the Senate committee bill. What the AFL-CIO does not support in this area is described later in Mr. Meany's testimony.*)

4—Ethical practices. We likewise support the provision which seeks to encourage unions and employers, through their own voluntary action, to adopt and adhere to codes of ethical practices, including provisions for their effective implementation and enforcement, that will enable them to eliminate and prevent improper activities.

It also provides for labor and management assistance in carrying out the provisions of the bill (as a whole), by setting up a 15-member advisory committee, equally representative of labor, management and the public, to advise the Secretary of Labor in administering the bill. Finally, it calls for a report by the Secretary to Congress within three years after the bill becomes law on the progress unions and employers have made in developing principles and procedures adequate to assure fair and honest conduct of their affairs and their relations with each other.

In our opinion, these provisions are sound. No group in our society has a monopoly on unethical practices. As a matter of fact, many of the corruption problems the trade union movement is coping with today are the direct result of trade union leaders aping the unsavory practices of employers. The entire "fast buck" philosophy of the business world is at the very heart of the corruption problem in the trade union movement.

Therefore we would welcome, and we believe Congress should encourage, the cooperation of other groups, including employers, in seeking to rid the entire economic, social and political fabric of our society of all corrupting influences.

* * *

This completes the general outline of the sort of legislation we think Congress should enact. We have not, of course, listed all the

detailed or individual provisions, but have sought simply to sketch in the broad picture.

We likewise believe that certain amendments to the Taft-Hartley Act should be enacted at this time—amendments which are either related to preventing improper activities in the labor-management field or are relatively non-controversial.

By stating our support of legislation along these lines we do not mean to foreclose support of any other legislation. Conceivably new approaches may hereafter be devised superior to those now under consideration. If so, so much the better.

(The preceding pages summarize the positive reform legislation advocated by the AFL-CIO. It should be noted that labor's position is unprecedented. Never before has a major force in American society supported, much less urged, any degree of government regulation over its affairs. All the rest—the railroads, the utilities, the stock markets, the banks—have fought against any and all regulation and have accepted only that which was forced upon them.

(Unfortunately, the amendments tacked on to the bill on the floor of the Senate, and many similar provisions contained in the Barden bill, the Kearns bill and others introduced in the House, would not achieve either the stated objectives of their sponsors or those set forth by Mr. Meany. Intentionally or not, they would at best be unworkable and at worst would disrupt and paralyze the honest labor movement while leaving the crooks unscathed.

(Many of these provisions are complex and highly-technical. The following digest of Mr. Meany's testimony against them is aimed at exposing their shortcomings in as simple terms as possible.)

'Bill of Rights' Misnamed

Anyone opposing something labelled a "bill of rights" is obviously, and perhaps intentionally, put in an awkward position from the standpoint of public relations. The opponent of such a measure must at the outset surmount a semantic barrier quite unrelated to the merits of the proposal.

Nevertheless we are opposed to these attractively-titled proposals, and I hope at the least to convince you that our opposition is based on well-founded concern that these proposals would redound to the detriment rather than the benefit of workers and their unions.

We know there are powerful elements that seek the destruction of the labor movement under the guise of eliminating or preventing corruption. Yet we understand, and we sympathize with, the motives of those who sincerely believe the time has come when it is no longer sufficient to rely upon internal union procedure to safeguard members' rights and assure honesty in union administration. We acknowledge that the corrective actions we can take are limited both in their effects and in their scope. There are limits to what we can do, and there are important unions outside our ranks that we cannot reach.

It does not follow, however, that a legislated "bill of rights" is the answer to all our problems. Indeed, a legislated "bill of rights" may well mean the beginning of far more difficult and serious problems—problems created by encouraging irresponsibility by undisciplined groups which could adversely affect the public welfare.

What's Wrong With It

Why do I say this? What is wrong with guaranteeing by law that every member shall have equal rights to vote and attend union meetings with every other member? That every member shall have the right to freedom of speech and assembly? That the members shall have the right to vote on changes in dues and initiation fees and on levying assessments? That they should not be denied the right to resort to courts, administrative bodies or the legislature for redress of grievances? Or that members should not be disciplined without being assured of certain procedural safeguards? These are basic principles which should be included in all union constitutions and bylaws, and are included in nearly all, if not all, of the constitutions and bylaws of unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO.

But it is one thing to include such rights and safeguards in a union's constitution and bylaws—or even to include them in a code of ethical practices policed by the labor movement itself, as we in the AFL-CIO have done—and quite another thing to incorporate them into a federal statute.

Neither the union nor its members could administer a federally-legislated members' bill of rights with the flexibility which might be needed. The reason is that a federally-legislated members' bill of rights is not simply a statement of principles which a union can observe with greater or less rigidity as circumstances dictate. Such

a bill of rights contains limitations that a member or the government can enforce as rules of law through whatever remedies are provided in the statute. It is a device by means of which union officials or unions themselves, as entities, can be haled before federal administrative bodies or the federal courts and compelled to account for the manner in which its internal affairs are being conducted.

A basic difficulty, as we see it, is that any effort to write a detailed, legally-enforceable code of internal procedure for all unions into federal law must inevitably end up in such general terms as to be susceptible of almost any interpretation (and hence a breeding-ground for litigation) or as a straitjacket which would inhibit obviously reasonable and proper union practices.

Examination of the specific terms (of the Senate amendments) shows exactly how each one of its provisions has chosen one or the other of the horns of this dilemma.

Perhaps we should logically begin with the matter of admission to membership.

(*Quoting from the Senate-passed bill and other proposals, Mr. Meany noted that they required the admission to membership of all applicants who met "lawful requirements"—with no suggestion of what these are. This might force a union to admit communists, crooks or company spies.*)

The AFL-CIO firmly believes that membership in unions ought not to be denied to otherwise eligible employees for arbitrary or discriminatory reasons. It does not believe, however, that federal legislation which would seriously undermine the legitimate rights and responsibilities of unions is an appropriate or necessary answer.

(*The same defect of over-generality is found in sections attempting to insure "equal rights and privileges" and "freedom of speech and assembly" to union members, Mr. Meany continued. Both give unions the right to set "reasonable" rules, but no one can tell what's "reasonable" until the matter is litigated.*)

The section (of the Senate-passed bill) prettily entitled "Freedom from Arbitrary Financial Exactions" is subject to the opposite criticism: Its provisions are unduly specific.

It provides that existing union dues and initiation fees shall not be "changed" or any assessment levied except (1) by vote of the members by secret ballot at a meeting or (2) by vote of the members

by secret ballot in a referendum conducted through the mails or (3) in the case of an international union, by vote at a convention.

(*All three procedures are acceptable and commonly used, Mr. Meany noted. But these rules forbid an international union from changing dues by referendum—a frequent and wholly democratic method. They also forbid a union from delegating to its executive board the power to impose assessments in cases of emergency.*)

How To Raise Dues

The effect (of barring emergency assessments) would probably be to increase the level of union dues, rather than to protect individuals from arbitrary exactions. If a union is to be prohibited from providing this precaution against possible bankruptcy, then the union's only method of insuring its solvency will be to raise dues sufficiently to avoid the necessity of assessments or special levies to meet critical emergencies.

The section (of the Senate-passed bill) which prohibits a union from barring access to the courts by its members is subject to the same criticism of over-rigidity. It is certainly arguable that the section as written would prevent a union from providing, in a collective bargaining agreement or by internal rule, that an employee must present his grievance under the grievance and arbitration procedure specified in the agreement, rather than in a lawsuit.

It is universally recognized on both sides of the collective bargaining table that sensible administration of a collective bargaining relationship cannot occur if the machinery which the parties provide to administer their contract can thus be ignored at will. The safety-valve included in this section—permitting a union to require members to exhaust internal procedures—is grossly inadequate, since the grievance and arbitration machinery very often takes substantially longer than six months (the time-limit prescribed in the bill).

(*Similarly, Mr. Meany continued, the Senate amendments regulating union disciplinary procedures appear on the surface to set reasonable standards, but would be unworkable in practice. He referred in particular to the requirements that "written specific charges" must precede disciplinary action, and a "full and fair hearing" precede the imposition of a penalty.*)

How specific must such charges be? While such a requirement

may be entirely reasonable with respect to some infractions, it is clearly inappropriate in cases of breach of decorum or order in a union meeting.

Internal union disciplinary proceedings are often quite informal and must be so, because they are handled by workers without legal advice or training. What is a "full and fair hearing"? In local union trials the entire membership frequently acts as a trial body. Is that an impartial body? Do the officers have to disqualify themselves in order to provide a "fair hearing"? Can the officers conducting the proceedings insist upon time limits in the presentation of a case if the discipline involved is only a $10 fine? Probably they can. But the language is such as clearly to invite contests on this kind of issue in the courts.

In sum, each of the provisions of the so-called "bill of rights" is subject either to the defect that the language is so vague and general that the only certain consequence is litigation, or, where more precise language is employed, to the defect that normal and proper union practices would be barred, even though inadvertently.

We do not, of course, mean to say that it is impossible to draft legislation which appropriately protects certain basic rights which union members should have within their unions. As I have sought to show, the bill as reported by the Senate committee does afford such protections.

(*Mr. Meany pointed out that the original Senate bill would cover all the constructive and regulatory measures he had described at the outset.*)

We venture to say that if the bill as reported by the Senate committee had been labelled a "bill of rights", no such amendments would have been added, for their appeal is largely semantic and their provisions do not bear dispassionate analysis.

Letting Crooks Escape

(*The impact of the provisions thus described is shown even more clearly when coupled with the other terms of the proposed legislation, Mr. Meany noted.*)

Let us consider the relation to other parts of the bill of the provision that no member of any union may be fined, suspended, expelled or otherwise disciplined except after a prescribed procedure.

Let us suppose that the president of an international union learns that the president and secretary-treasurer of a local union have been embezzling its funds. What is he to do?

Under existing union practice the international union president would, as an emergency matter, immediately suspend from office the local union president and secretary-treasurer, and would appoint a trustee to take temporary charge of the local union assets and books and records. This emergency step would *then* be followed by the service of written charges, the holding of a hearing, etc.

The reason for this emergency procedure is, of course, that if the local union officers were forewarned they might embezzle more funds and decamp, or destroy or alter the books. In the view we take, removal procedures are not adequate unless they authorize the international union to suspend local union officers in advance of notice and hearing in case of emergency. However, the exercise of such power (under the Senate-passed bill) would subject the international officers to a fine of $10,000 or two years' imprisonment or both.

(*The same penalties are provided for other violations of the so-called "bill of rights", Mr. Meany pointed out.*)

Jail for Keeping Order

Let us suppose, for example, that a local union president rules a speaker out of order at a local union meeting, that the speaker nevertheless persists in holding the floor, and that the president threatens that unless he sits down he will have him ejected from the meeting. The president's threat might be criminal under the bill as it now stands.

(*If the president were forced to carry out his threat, and was upheld by a vote at the meeting, the entire membership of the local union might be open to prosecution, Mr. Meany said.*)

(*Comparable injustice, to the same absurd lengths, would be wrought by amendments intended to protect union funds, Mr. Meany continued.*)

We have declared our support for a provision to make the embezzlement of union assets a federal crime; and we have no violent objection to providing a civil remedy in the federal courts, though we question the need for it.

There are indications, however, that (the section as amended by the Senate) was meant by some of its supporters to establish a broad fiduciary concept for union officers and employees, to be implemented by private suits to challenge disbursements of union funds for purposes of which the plaintiffs disapprove.

No one quarrels with the concept that a union officer occupies a position of trust with respect to union funds and property over which he has control. There is no basis, however, for seeking to equate a union to a bank by declaring that the officers of the former are, like the officers of the latter, "fiduciaries". The adherents of this concept, no matter how laudable their motives may be, simple do not understand the nature of a labor union.

A union does not exist for the purpose of making money. It exists as a mechanism through which its members can combine to promote their mutual improvement, both as employees and as members of society generally, and both materially and in other ways. Hence unions seek to promote what their members regard as a better society and a better world, both for their members and everyone.

What then is the intention of those who would equate union officials to bank officials as "fiduciaries"? If a union decides through its authorized officials or governing body to give money to the democratic unions of France or Italy or Germany to aid them in combatting their communist rivals—and this is not an imaginary case—are its officials to be open to suit by any member who disagrees with the disbursement? If one union gives money to a sister union for strike relief, and this happens all the time, are its officials to be sued by dissident members?

Suits for Following Orders

Senator McClellan, who sponsored this provision, made it clear that its purpose is that union officers shall be open to suit even though the challenged disbursement is approved by the union executive board. Presumably the same would hold for approval by a union convention. And the union officer is to be sued for recovery of the protested disbursement, even though it never went to him and he received no benefit from it. (He might also be subject to criminal prosecution, entailing a $10,000 fine, five years' imprisonment or both.)

Provisions like these have no place in the type of carefully-

conceived bill which we believe Congress should enact. The Senate committee bill placed primary reliance upon the disclosure of improper expenditures of union money and conflicts of interest on the part of union officials, and for this purpose required detailed reports from unions and their officers and representatives. The result of the Senate amendments is that requirements and obligations are piled one on top of the other, with resultant confusion and uncertainty as to the scope of the obligations which unions and their officers and representatives are required to meet under the bill.

* * *

Now, let me sum up, as briefly as I can, the AFL-CIO's position, since it has been maligned and manhandled in the daily press.

Our policy position, adopted by the General Board of the AFL-CIO on April 28, 1958, has not changed.

We support legislation which will get at the crooks.

We oppose legislation which will do harm to the trade union movement.

The Senate, through its ill-considered and ill-advised amendments, changed its committee's bill into one which we sincerely believe would do grave and irreparable harm to the United States trade union movement.

Misusing the Issue

Repeatedly we have warned the Congress that there are forces seeking to capitalize upon the corruption issue and determined to use it as a vehicle for the passage of legislation which would, under the guise of labor reform, do damage to legitimate trade unions and legitimate trade union activities.

This is exactly the situation today.

The employer organizations which have done exactly nothing about corruption in the ranks of employers are seeking to convince this Congress that the measure which passed the Senate was "too weak".

They oppose legislation to halt employer malpractices. They are not interested in getting at corruption, either in their own ranks, and the record shows that's considerable, or in the ranks of the labor movement. As a matter of fact, all too many employers have shown a desire for doing business with the crooks who masquerade as trade unionists rather than deal with bona fide trade union leaders for the

simple reason that the crooks give them a better deal. A crook who pretends to be a labor leader is not interested in the welfare of the union members, he is interested in lining his own pockets; and employers believe it is cheaper to help him line his pockets than it is to sit down and negotiate an honest contract that will meet the problems of the workers.

These employer organizations want this Congress to adopt restrictive, anti-union legislation. They want to make the unions weaker. They want, if possible, to abolish them. But they do not have the courage to tell the American people that that is their goal. Instead they piously pretend to be concerned about corruption, much of it encouraged by the employers of America, and use that phony concern as a disguise for harming unions.

This Congress can adopt properly drafted, necessary and adequate legislation to eliminate corruption, or it can move to throttle the American trade union movement.

The AFL-CIO supports the first alternative. It will fight the second with every resource at its command.

We want to get at the crooks. We assume that's what the Congress wants to do. We know that's what the American public wants to do.

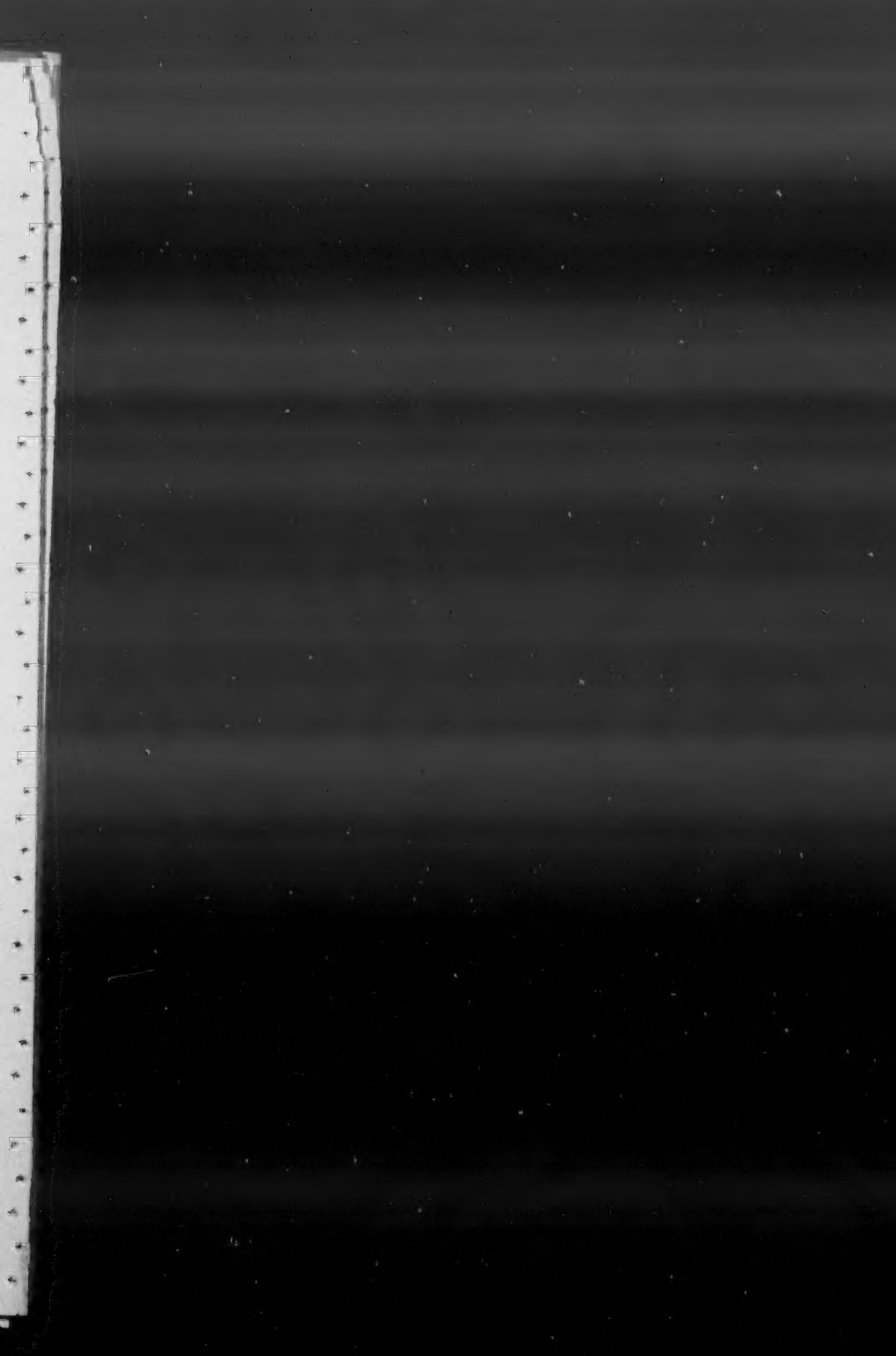
We respectfully suggest that we get on with the job.



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Labor's Position on Compulsory Arbitration

THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT, historically and presently, is opposed to compulsory arbitration. It believes that compulsory arbitration is the direct antithesis of those essential American freedoms—free enterprise and free collective bargaining.

On the other hand, voluntary arbitration widely used in labor-management relations, is of proven value and should not be confused with compulsory arbitration. The difference between "compulsory" and "voluntary" is as vast as it is important.

AFL-CIO President George Meany several years ago made clear labor's position on compulsory arbitration.

He called it "unworkable" because it "automatically kills free collective bargaining."

He called it "dangerous" because it would lead to government wage and price-fixing and so "spell death to a free economy."

He argued it would be "unconstitutional" because, even if invoked in a dispute threatening a national emergency, it would be unenforceable. And for this reason, as Meany put it:

"How, under the United States' Constitution, can you force employers to stay in business or workers to stay on the job under conditions they consider intolerable?"

Experience has shown, Meany said, that when collective bargaining breaks down, voluntary binding arbitration through an impartial umpire has provided an effective remedy for disputes affecting public safety and the national welfare.

To fully understand labor's position, it is important to know how arbitration is used and some of the background.

Arbitration for Settlement of Grievances

Unions for many years have sought to include in their contracts with management provisions for the adjustment of grievances that rise during the term of the contract. Normally these disputes refer to working conditions (light, ventilation, work load), to interpretations of the contract, enforcement of it, or to disputes that flare up unexpectedly.

When a worker and his immediate supervisor have such a dispute and cannot settle it, the matter is usually referred to the first step on the grievance ladder, i. e., the shop steward and the assistant foreman. If they cannot reach an agreement, it goes to the second step which might be, for example, the shop committee and the foreman. If agreement is still lacking, it will go to the third step, which might be the union local officers and the departmental superintendent. The precise steps vary from contract to contract but eventually the dispute might reach the union's national officers and the corporation's national officials.

Unions usually ask that the contract provide for arbitration of these grievances if they cannot be settled by direct negotiations. Procedures

often are set up for the selection of arbitrators by both labor and management. In some of the big industrial contracts, the union and the company jointly select and employ a national arbitrator who serves as the final umpire for an agreed term of years.

Arbitration of grievances is now fairly well accepted but occassionally company representatives will refuse to agree to such a contract. They say they don't want "an outsider telling us how to run our plant." There were several strikes in recent months, largely on this issue because the union feels that without this provision the company will simply say "no" to the grievances and there will never be any fair settlement unless the union calls a strike on each grievance. Without an outside judge to make these decisions, the parties will have to fight on each issue, which is close to primitive lawlessness and anarchy in the plant.

Although disputes on the arbitration clause are sometimes bitter and the cause of work stoppages, there is no desire by either labor or management for legislation on this subject. Both sides agree it should be a matter for negotiation and private agreement.

Arbitration for Disputes Over Terms of New Contract

The most difficult disputes are, of course, those over the terms of a new contract. Here there may be deep disagreement over wages, union security or "principles" as seen by the respective parties. Here the work stoppages may be long and even widespread.

In many cases settlement has been reached by an agreement on the part of the parties to submit the points in dispute to an arbitrator, or a board of arbitrators, which the parties select. This procedure has become rather common in the needles and garment trades. The parties in the bus and street car industry frequently resort to this procedure but this is on a case by case basis and not by virtue of long term agreements in advance. Various state agencies will push this method of settlement in the utilities field and, of course, conciliators and mediators frequently recommend it.

Both labor or management have opposed, however, any federal legislation **requiring** arbitration in these cases.

Conclusion

The federal government has not tried, and neither management nor labor has wanted it to try, to require arbitration of contractual disputes, even in basic industries. It has set up various procedures for airing the disputes before public bodies, and for forbidding stoppages temporarily and thus giving time for the parties to "cool off" and to negotiate. But in the end the parties are allowed to stop work if they think best.

Basically, this is because of both management's and labor's preference for "free enterprise" and the belief that no stoppage has been sufficiently harmful to justify departure from basic principles.

As President Eisenhower has said: "The contest between labor and industry cannot be abolished without abolishing economic freedom. The role of government is to serve as a referee."

Compulsory arbitration means loss of freedom.

The Legal Case Against 14-B

The following material is excerpted from the book "Union Security—The Case against the Right-to-Work Laws" published by the AFL-CIO in 1958. It constitutes Chapter 7 of the book entitled "The Legal Structure."

The division of power between the federal government and the states with regard to labor relations is controlled by the general division of powers established by the U. S. Constitution.

The Constitution follows a simple plan in its division of powers. It confers on the federal government power to deal with certain specified subjects, such as "*commerce . . . among the several states*" (Article I, Section 8).

It declares that, as to these subjects, "*the laws of the United States . . . shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, any thing in the Constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.*" (Article VI.)

It provides that "*the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution . . . are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people.*" (Amendment X.)

The federal government is thus a government of delegated and enumerated powers, but its power is supreme as to the subjects delegated. The "states' rights" preserved by the Constitution are of two kinds:

On subjects, like marriage and divorce, not delegated to the federal government, the states have exclusive, and hence supreme, power.

On subjects delegated to the federal government, like interstate commerce, the laws of the United States are supreme, and override state laws.

The Supreme Court and Labor Legislation

The Supreme Court has spelled out these doctrines in some detail in the field of labor relations. It has repeatedly held unconstitutional state regulations of labor relations as applied to plants covered by the federal

law, i.e., those affecting interstate commerce. The earliest of these decisions were handed down under the Wagner Act.

Supreme Court decisions have, however, repeatedly made it clear that federal regulation of industrial relations does not impair the power of the states to prohibit, prevent or punish violence in labor disputes, or in any way supplant or interfere with the traditional state police function of maintaining public order.

The line drawn by Supreme Court decisions is clear: the states may exercise their traditional police powers to protect public safety and order, but they may not, as to businesses affecting interstate commerce, adopt their own codes of labor relations because the federal code has occupied this field and federal legislation enjoys, under the Constitution, supremacy over state legislation.

The subject of union security is, however, an exception to this general rule by reason of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. It provides that state legislation with regard to union security which is more restrictive than the Taft-Hartley provisions shall prevail over the latter.

Elsewhere, (in Section 8(a) (3)) the Taft-Hartley Act provides that closed shop contracts shall be illegal as a matter of federal law, but that union shop contracts, requiring workers to join unions 30 days after hiring shall be lawful.

The effect of the two sections together is that states may outlaw union security entirely, but that they cannot permit any greater degree of union security than is permitted by the federal act.

The states can, in other words, legislate against union security, but not in favor of it.

The Taft-Hartley Act Approach

It is this provision in Taft-Hartley which led to the passage of many of the 18 state "right-to-work" laws, and it is this provision which renders constitutional their outlawing of union security provisions. Otherwise, the state laws would be unconstitutional, since they conflict with the federal law regulating union security.

This Taft-Hartley, "states' rights" treatment of union security has been summarized as follows by Professor Orme Phelps:

Normally, state restrictions upon union security would apply only to employers in intrastate commerce or in industries explicity exempted from the coverage of federal labor laws. However, the framers of the Taft-Hartley Act took the unique step of subordinating federal to state rules where the latter were more restrictive." [1]

After quoting the Taft-Hartley provision, Phelps goes on to say:

"The effect was to hand over most industries in interstate commerce to the right-to-work states in matters of union security."

Phelps says that the Taft-Hartley provision "subordinating federal to state rules where the latter were more restrictive" is "unique."

He is entirely correct: no other provision of Taft-Hartley is made subject to overriding by state law. The very same section which contains this provision provides in its first part (Section 14(a)) that any state law seeking to give collective bargaining rights to supervisors shall be invalid.

Should the states be given greater authority to regulate labor relations, regardless of whether a particular state's policy is pro-labor or anti-labor, such an increase in state power would necessarily be at the expense of that of the federal government, since concurrent regulation by both the states and the federal government would produce chaos.

The 'States' Rights' Label

The use of the "states' rights" label to cover this program is a good example of semantic deviousness. Professor Archibald Cox has aptly cut through this word barrage:

"... True local autonomy would cut both ways. In many states court decisions restrict labor's freedom to invoke economic weapons more severely than does the LMRA. Other states allow employees greater freedom to engage in strikes and picketing. One who proposed, because of a belief in federalism, to support the Goldwater bill authorizing the states to restrict strikes and picketing regardless of the national statute ought also to be willing to permit other states to tolerate such activities. The same comments apply to NLRA Section 14(b). Many people believe that the Taft-Hartley amendments were based upon an unsound approach to the problems created by closed shop and other union security contracts. Massachusetts has enacted statutes which permit unions to strike for such agreements and employers and unions to negotiate

them. The legislation also provides direct safeguards against the closed union and other abuses of individual freedom. Is there any less reason, from the standpoint of encouraging local autonomy, to permit Massachusetts to apply this law to businesses in interstate commerce than there is to permit Florida and Virginia to outlaw all union security agreements?" [2]

In deciding whether to regulate labor relations, the states must determine two separate issues: whether the proposed regulations are fair and just and desirable in and of themselves and, whether, as to business affecting commerce the states should in any event enter the field of regulating labor relations, or should leave it entirely to the federal government.

Uniform Labor Relations Code Needed

Labor disputes affecting interstate commerce, which is to say labor disputes in plants producing products for sale throughout the country or in more than one state, present problems of national scope and significance. These problems call for a uniform national solution, through a national labor relations code.

The very purpose of the Founding Fathers in empowering the national government in the Constitution to regulate commerce against the separate states was to secure a uniform regulation of commerce through the nation. The very purpose of a national labor relations act is to adopt for all industries in or affecting interstate commerce measures which will promote industrial peace, avoid strikes, and raise the living standards of the working population by recognizing their right to form unions and bargain collectively.

That is, of course, the basic theory underlying both the Wagner Act and the Taft-Hartley Act, save for the Taft-Hartley union security aberration.

Thus, Section 1 of the National Labor Relations Act sets forth two national problems with which it proposes to deal by a national solution. The problems, it recites, are:

"The denial by some employers of the right of employees to organize and the refusal by some employers to accept the procedure of collective

bargaining lead to strikes and other forms of industrial strife or unrest, which have the intent or the necessary effect of burdening or obstructing commerce . . ."

and

"*The inequality of bargaining power between employees who do not possess full freedom of association or actual liberty of contract, and employers who are organized in the corporate or other forms of ownership association substantially burdens and affects the flow of commerce, and tends to aggravate recurrent business depressions, by depressing wage rates and the purchasing power of wage earners in industry and by preventing the stabilization of competitive wage rates aud working conditions within and between industries.*"

Or more succinctly, the national problems are (1) strikes due to unfair labor practices, and (2) low wages due to the inability of workers to organize, which in turn "tends to aggravate recurrent business depressions."

For these national problems, the act provides a national solution which the act summarizes as follows in Section 1:

"*Experience has proved that protection by law of the right of employees to organize and bargain collectively safeguards commerce from injury, impairment, or interruption, and promotes the flow of commerce by removing certain recognized sources of industrial strife and unrest, by encouraging practices fundamental to the friendly adjustment of industrial disputes arising out of differences as to wages, hours or other working conditions, and by restoring equality of bargaining power between employers and employees.*"

Diversity of State Laws Produce Chaos

This language was originally part of the Wagner Act: it was re-enacted without change in 1947 as part of the Taft-Hartley Act. Since the problems are of nationwide scope, so also must the solutions be: since the problems are the same throughout the nation, the solutions for them must be uniform.

Conversely, a diversity of state labor relations laws is, if they are permitted to be applied to businesses affecting commerce, inconsistent with the premises of the national act and productive of chaos and injustice.

The real purpose of "states' rights" and "right to work" is the weakening of unions to induce anti-union firms to migrate to states with such "right-to-work" laws.

Professor Frederick Meyers, then associate professor, Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Illinois, put the motive behind the "states' rights" movement in labor relations this way:

"'States' Rights' has now become a slogan designed to limit the effectiveness of movements toward social change. In an earlier period, states' rights were a device which enabled encroachments by new forces on established status arrangements. It is an opportunistic slogan, rather than one of principle." [3]

The forces agitating for "right-to-work" laws and states' rights in labor relations are doing so on the mistaken notion that this is the way that industry is attracted to new areas.

The power drive behind the state legislation has been well stated by Professors Harry A. Millis and Emily C. Brown in their definitive study, "From the Wagner Act to Taft-Hartley." They make the point that the drive for restrictive state legislation was of a piece with the drive for the replacement of the Wagner Act with what turned out to be the Taft-Hartley law.

". . . Over the years the major national associations of employers, with the N.A.M. in the lead, had started with outright opposition to the Wagner Act and obstructionism, and only belatedly came to accept, verbally at least, the right to collective bargaining through majority representatives and its protection by law. But from 1937 on they continued to talk of the 'unfairness' of the law and to call for amendments. And after V-J Day, they went much further, relying on a public reaction aroused against unions by the postwar strike wave and inflamed by continuous publicity attacks. The campaigns were made not in the name of the interests of employers, so much as in the more appealing name of the interests of the public and of individual employees. The fact that they involved primarily a struggle over industrial and political power was concealed only from the uninitiated. The long propaganda campaign was directed in part at real problems on which experience clearly showed need for new legislation. But it went much beyond that; it used typical propaganda methods of appealing slogans, half-truths,

misinterpretation and possibly known misrepresentation, as well as failure to disclose real motives; and by these means, it prepared the way for seriously weakening the protection of the right to organize against the many employers who were still anti-union, of the freedom of unions to function in the interest of their members—and of the freedom of employers and unions to work out their own problems by collective bargaining—as well as for restraints upon abuses of power by some irresponsible unions."[4]

". . . And in 1947 the active drive for such restrictive legislation, spearheaded by the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce, as we have seen, bore fruit in a flood of legislation adding further restrictions upon union activity in some thirty of the states." [5]

Economic Balkanization

If particular states are allowed to depress wages, or keep them low, by weakening unions, and if the industry of these states really gains a competitive advantage thereby, then either of two results must follow:

The first alternative would be for the other states to follow suit, attack unions and lower wages.

The second alternative is for the other states to seek to protect their living standards by closing their markets to the products of sweatshop states. They will come to Congress for authority to levy duties on goods imported from sweatshop states, or for authority to bar such goods altogether.

Adoption of this second alternative would mean the economic balkanization of our country. Instead of constituting a single huge internal market, with free movement of goods between the states, the United States would be divided into numerous smaller markets. One of our nation's great economic advantages would be lost, and a long step taken toward destroying national unity.

The great importance of this subject is clearly revealed by the history of our Constitution: the principal reason for the calling of the Constitutional Convention of 1787 was to bind the country into an economic unit by substituting uniform federal regulation of commerce for regulation by the several states, each in the interest of its own industry.

The Articles of Confederation contained no delegation to the central government of power to regulate commerce and so to establish a uniform regulation of commerce. It was this principal defect which led to the first step in the convening of the Constitutional Convention. This was the "Resolution of the General Assembly of Virginia, January 21, 1786, Proposing a Joint Meeting of Commissioners from the States to Consider and Recommend a Federal Plan for Regulating Commerce." By this resolution the State of Virginia designated certain commissioners, among whom were James Madison and Edmund Randolph, to meet with commissioners from other states:

> *". . . to take into consideration the trade of the United States; to examine the relative situations and trade of the said States; to consider how far a uniform system in their commercial regulations may be necessary to their common interest and their permanent harmony; and to report to the several states, such an act relative to this great object, as, when unanimously ratified by them, will enable the United States in Congress, effectually to provide for the same."* [6]

In September 1786, the Virginia Commissioners met at Annapolis with Commissioners from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware. The commissioners of Delaware, Pennsylvania and New York, like those of Virginia, had been appointed to consider "this great object" of empowering the federal government to take over the regulation of commerce. The State of New Jersey had authorized its commissioners to consider also "other important matters."

In the absence of representation from the other states, however, the commissioners concluded that they should make no recommendation except the calling of a convention for the following year. They agreed that the New Jersey proposal that the convention consider other matters in addition to providing for uniform regulation of commerce was an improvement on the original plan, declaring:

> *". . . they are the more naturally led to this conclusion, as in the course of their reflections on the subject, they have been induced to think, that the power of regulating trade is of such comprehensive extent, and will enter so far into the general system of the federal government, that to give it efficacy, and to obviate questions and doubts*

concerning its precise nature and limits, may require a correspondent adjustment of other parts of the Federal System." [7]

This resolution was sent to the states and to the Congress assembled, and the latter, upon receipt of this resolution, called together that convention which became the Constitutional Convention of 1787.

The Constitutional Convention speedily and unanimously agreed upon transferring to the federal governmenet the power to regulate commerce among the several states. (See Constitution, Article I, Section 8.)

The Uniform Regulation of Commerce

That the securing of a uniform regulation of commerce continued to be considered a main object of the new Constitution is, however, repeatedly stressed in the Federalist, that brilliant series of pamphlets produced by Alexander Hamilton and James Madison, in their successful campaign to induce the states to ratify the Constitution.

Here are some typical excerpts:

"The competitions of commerce would be another fruitful source of contention. The states less favorably circumstanced would be desirous of escaping from the disadvantages of local situation, and of sharing in the advantages of their more forunate neighbors. Each state, or separate confederacy, would pursue a system of commercial policy peculiar to itself. This would occasion distinctions, preferences and exclusions, which would beget discontent. The habits of intercourse, on the basis of equal privileges, to which we have been accustomed since the earliest settlement of the country, would give a keener edge to those causes of discontent than they would naturally have independent of this circumstance. We should be ready to denominate injuries those things which were in reality the justifiable acts of independent sovereignties consulting a distinct interest. The spirit of enterprise, which characterizes the commercial part of America, has left no occasion of displaying itself unimproved. It is not at all probable that this unbridled spirit would pay much respect to those regulations of trade by which particular states might endeavor to secure exclusive benefits of their own citizens. The infractions of these regulations, on one side, the efforts to prevent and repel them, on the other, would naturally lead to outrages, and these to reprisals and wars." [8]

and

"In addition to the defects already enumerated in the existing federal system, there are others of not less importance, which occur in rendering it altogether unfit for the administration of the affairs of the Union.

"The want of a power to regulate commerce is by all parties allowed to be of the number. The utility of such a power has been anticipated under the first head of our inquiries; and for this reason, as well as from the universal conviction entertained upon the subject, little need be added in this place. It is indeed evident, on the most superficial view, that there is no object, either as it respects the interests of trade or finance, that more strongly demands a federal superintendence . . ." [9]

"The interfering and unneighborly regulations of some states, contrary to the true spirit of the Union, have, in different instances, given just cause of umbrage and complaint to others, and it is to be feared that examples of this nature, if not restrained by a national control, would be multiplied and extended till they become not less serious sources of animosity and discord than injurious impediments to the intercourse between the different parts of the Confederacy." [10]

In this chapter, we have explored the legal background upon which the "right-to-work" laws have been projected. It is obvious that "right-to-work" laws are an assault upon the nation's legal structure.

[1] Orme Phelps, "Union Security," UCLA, 1953, p. 49.

[2] Archibald Cox, "Federalism in the Law of Labor Relations," *Harvard Law Review*, 1954, Vol. 67, p. 1318.

[3] *Labor Law Journal*, Commerce Clearing House, Inc., Chicago, Ill., Vol. 3, May 1952, p. 330.

[4] Harry A. Millis and Emily Clark Brown "From The Wagner Act to Taft-Hartley," University of Chicago Press, 1950, p. 290-291.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 317-318.

[6] Documents Illustrative of the Formation of the Union of the American States, *Government Printing Office*, 1927, p. 38.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 42.

[8] The Federalist, No. VII, Hamilton (pp. 29-30). The Colonial Press, New York.

[9] *Ibid.*, XXII, p. 110.

[10] *Ibid.*, No. XII, p. 111.

American Federation of Labor and
Congress of Industrial Organizations

George Meany
President



Wm. F. Schnitzler
Secretary-Treasurer

Mitchell Opposes Compulsory Arbitration

Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell has stated the case against compulsory arbitration as a national policy in an address to the Safety Awards Dinner of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen in Washington, D. C. on Jan. 13, 1959. The following is the full text of his address:

THE DISREGARD FOR THE recommendations of the President's Fact Finding Board in the recent airline strike has caused considerable public worry over the effectiveness of the Railway Labor Act as an instrument for bringing a quick and satisfactory end to such disputes.

Impatient critics have started talking about compulsory arbitration again.

As you know, I have invited men from the industries affected by the Act to get together and sit down around a table and consider what changes, if any, may be necessary.

When I announced my intention to do this I said that I was of an open mind as to the opinions introduced and their disposition.

I am still of an open mind.

However, the talk about compulsory arbitration raises some grave questions.

I thought I would take this opportunity, to an audience of railroad labor men who have lived with the Railway Labor Act for many years, and lived with it responsibly, to review the pertinent experiences that other countries have had with compulsory arbitration.

I think it is to our benefit to examine that experience; certainly it should be considered in the present situation.

THE FIRST IMPORTANT RESULT of compulsory arbitration, in those places where it has been tried, or is in effect, is the apparently irresistible habit of government to cover a much wider field than was at first intended.

The experience has been that they could no more drop government into the arbitration of a few private matters without government domination of many other private matters than they could drop a stone in a pond without causing ripples.

Workers who claim some injustice, for example, threaten to strike. The government tells them they can't strike. Instead an arbitrator comes in to settle the matter. This places upon government the obligation to bring justice to the workers. By taking decision out of the hands of both the workers and the employers, government takes the responsibility for finding a just solution. What inevitably follows, of course, is that government soon finds itself setting wage scales, fixing the conditions of work, determining hours, hearing grievances, and throwing its dictatorial weight around in other private matters.

This characteristic should be especially significant to a society like ours that prides itself on the free decision of free men and free institutions. We have to consider and preserve the habit of freedom—the habit of concession and agreement—and the impact of compulsory arbitration on that habit.

IN SOME COUNTRIES, the necessary extension of government control—and apparently it is necessary to the system—has led to compulsory unionism, government influence and near domination of both unions and employer organizations, and such strange by-products as the fixing of dictated wage standards on workers in industries not even involved in the original dispute.

Another result that our society should find of interest is what happens to union and employer responsibility.

It is clear to me, as I think it is to most people, that when a third party is making the final decisions, the other two parties whose interests are at stake are going to conduct themselves differently than they would were they making the decision themselves.

This happens. Labor and management under systems of compulsion have developed a tendency to recklessness. They exaggerate their claims and charges. After all, what have they got to lose?

COMPULSORY ARBITRATION IS little more than the transfer of authority out of private hands and into public hands. But when management delegates to government the right to set pay scales and determine conditions, it gives up what we consider in this country a vital managerial function. For its part, a labor union loses its essential meaning when it delegates to government the right to determine the welfare of its members.

One significant result of compulsion in other countries—and one I think that exposes the extreme practicality with which the whole idea should be considered—is that while it was started to end strikes it did not end strikes.

What you find in those places is a constant rash of hit and run strikes, day long stoppages, slow downs and the like. These are labor's way of protesting what they think are unfair decisions from government. By the time they are dragged into court for striking, they are not on strike. Until the next day when it starts all over again.

Now these things happen because human beings are notorious for acting like human beings. They'll do it every time.

There are many other interesting reports from overseas, such as the fact that wages have actually declined under compulsion, the arbitrator's minimum tending to become the standard.

All of them, I think, should be looked at and studied.

NOW I HAVE NO IDEA what the meeting on the Railway Labor Act will produce. I don't know what opinions or ideas are going to be put on the table. Certainly if compulsory arbitration is discussed, it should be discussed in the light of the experiences I have mentioned tonight.

Nonetheless, thoughtful men in this nation, and in industries like yours, have an obligation to work toward such decisions fairly and objectively, in full possession of the facts. I myself have never feared the habit of freedom, and I do not fear it now.



BUILDING UNION PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS, B&W, 28 mins. Produced by the United Steelworkers of America, AFL-CIO. Available from the AFL-CIO Film Division. Rental $3.00.

This is a film about grass roots political action. It's the story of a union member, Carl, who goes along taking most things for granted. He helped organize his local, but he hasn't been active since. He has been busy enjoying his family, his fine middle-income home and his leisure time after work and week-ends. He feels secure with his seniority in the plant.

He likes to fish and he has been busy building himself a little boat out in his garage. He doesn't connect the widespread poisoning of fish by water pollution with the need for political action. Later, when his union committeeman comes around to collect a dollar for the local's voluntary legislative fund, Carl discovers the name of his State Assemblyman. He learns that his assemblyman is pushing a bill that would destroy the union's supplementary unemployment benefits program. He learns, also that this same assemblyman was a key person in stopping legislation against industrial pollution of the rivers in the state.

Carl gets talked into going to a special union legislative subcommittee meeting. He hears talk about issues and the candidates for the next election. Later he goes to a political meeting at a nearby school and hears the two candidates.

Next time Carl goes to a legislative committee meeting he really sounds off about his assemblyman. He refers to him as a stooge who doesn't really represent the people of the district. However, only 28% of the people cared enough to participate in the election. The man really won by default, not through popularity.

Carl's enthusiasum gets him appointed to the election committee of the candidate that the union's legislative committee decides to endorse. Carl, works hard on the committee assignment. He helps organize his precinct and others in the district. He compares this assignment to the job that had to be done when the plant was first organized.

His wife gets involved in the campaign. But most of all Carl stops taking things for granted. He digs into local, state and national issues. He wants to know about things. He wants to help the union organize politically so it can build a better community.

This is an excellent film and ought to be used extensively by all AFL-CIO affiliates.

★ ★ ★

THE WISCONSIN STORY. 16 min. B&W. Produced by Wisconsin State AFL-CIO. Available from AFL-CIO Film Division after July 1. Rental $2.50.

This film is especially useful for COPE training programs. It shows the ways in which union membership lists and their families are checked against the city and county registration lists, how door to door calls are made to push registrations, and the many techniques used to get out the vote on election day. The film emphasizes the use of the "telephone brigades" which were organized by the Wisconsin AFL-CIO COPE and the Women's Activities Division during the 1958 election campaign.

The film describes the work done in analyzing voting trends, precinct by precinct, and district by district, and concentrating on registration work and getting out the vote in those districts that have turned out a liberal and progressive vote in the past. These, of course, were primarily working class districts.

This film was made after the 1958 election campaign when unemployment was the key issue, so that little emphasis is given to educating on issues such as social security, housing, federal aid to education, farm problems, etc.

It is primarily a low cost film for training COPE workers to do effective work in the field of registration and getting out the vote on election day and should be useful to union groups which wish to emphasize this aspect of their political education work.

★ ★ ★

HELP WANTED. 28 min. B&W. Produced by IUE, AFL-CIO. Available from AFL-CIO Film Division. Rental $3.00.

This is a story about electrical workers and the towns where they live. It is a special story about decentralization of the plants where these people worked.

It is a story of Fort Wayne, Ind.; Lynn, Mass.; Bloomfield, N. J. and other communities where 30,000 regular jobs have been eliminated by a management decision to shut down and move to other locations.

What happens to seniority when 5,000 jobs are lost in a single community? What happens when the shutdown occurs? Are these future ghost towns? These and other questions are raised by the film, **"Help Wanted."**

The IUE points out the moral effect of management's unilateral decisions to decentralize production. It suggests that the workers, their families and the communities should be given greater consideration. Congressman Rodino of New Jersey suggests that this is a problem for the Federal Government.

★ ★ ★

BROTHER RAM. 22min. B&W. Produced by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. Available from AFL-CIO Film Division. Rental $2.50.

Rajahs, tiger hunts, snake charmers, and dancing snakes are not the subjects of this story of India. This film is about another India—about workers, their homes and their trade unions.

Brother Ram, an Indian worker, struggles hard to provide bare necessities. He walks long distances to work. Simple things like water are hard to come by. He and his family breakfast on tea and bread. His clothing and belongings are scanty. His pay is something like $20 a month.

Brother Ram is shown collecting his pay—and then meeting the money lender who takes more than half his earnings. We are reminded that this means that Ram will be borrowing money again before the end of the next month.

Many workers cannot read or write. They leave their thumb print on the payroll as a receipt. Even the tiniest union dues are a burden. They live and eat in dirty streets.

The film shows some of the Indian government's efforts in providing new housing and recreation areas. The trade unions have helped provide clean eating places near the workshops, medical services in the plants, reading rooms, and practice in democratic living.

The problems and operations of trade unions in this setting are also shown, ending with shots of the ICFTU Trade Union College at Calcutta and a description of its efforts in training union leaders.

Though the photography is dark in this film and the narrator's voice may be difficult to understand, the film offers a good opportunity to show how a worker lives in India. It is also very useful as evidence of ICFTU activities, the need for more international education programs and help in building trade unionism in less developed countries.

★ ★ ★

REPORT FROM ALABAMA. 25 min. B&W. Produced by NBC-TV. Available from AFL-CIO Film Division. Rental $3.00.

This is an NBC-TV report of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission's first public hearings in Macon County, Alabama.

The location is Tuskegee Institute, where Negroes have been going to college for many years. A complaint was filed by certain Negroes—professors, graduate students and farmers in the area. Their efforts to register for voting have been blocked for years. They turned to the weapon of boycott when they were "gerrymandered" out of the town limits by the state legislature.

Set up under the Civil Rights Act of 1957, the Commission's hearing was held to determine the facts about voting in Alabama. The question before the Commissioners was: Are certain citizens being deprived the right to vote?

The TV cameras tell a story of undemocratic practices that have

been permitted. You see and hear the witnesses on both sides: the Negroes who filed applications for registration, the county officials who took their applications, asked unnecessarily difficult questions and then, without official notice, denied all Negro applications.

Though the photography in this kinescope is bad and sometimes hard to distinguish, the film does a good job of highlighting the hearing on the denial of voting rights.

★ ★ ★

MR. CHAIRMAN. 17 min. Color Cartoon. Produced by Cinefacts, Inc. Available from AFL-CIO Film Division. Rental $2.50.

"Mr. Chairman" is a cartoon presentation of why we have rules for meetings and offers examples of the ways the rules work.

The "rules" are shown being used at many different types of meetings. The chairmen are confronted with many problems and are shown to be good and bad chairmen.

The heart of this film on parliamentary procedure is **the priority of motions.** This is rather complex. It is certainly more than the average union member needs to know in order to participate in a union meeting.

This film is primarily for use toward the end of a workshop or a series of classes on parliamentary procedure for local union chairmen. It may have some limited value in a general class on parliamentary procedure if there is adequate time for discussion.

★ ★ ★

THE LABOR MOVEMENT: BEGINNINGS AND GROWTH IN AMERICA. 13½ min. B&W. Produced by Coronet Films. Available from the AFL-CIO Film Division. Rental $2.50.

This film attempts, in less than 15 minutes, to show the early development of unionism in this country up to about World War I. It leaves much to be desired and in terms of emphasis is not very objective.

Opening in a cigar factory in 1870, the film portrays Samuel Gompers who is concerned about the insecurity of workers. New tools permit inexperienced workers, women and children to compete for the same jobs. Immigrants and folks moving into cities from the farms swell the labor force. Wages are pushed down.

Gompers gives leadership to those who believe unions can do something about these conditions.

The film covers the period of the 1870 economic depression with pictures of lithograph drawings of the railroad strikes of the period. Employers are portrayed as resorting to the "lockout," the "iron-clad oath" and the "black list." There is a brief section on the Knights of Labor. It ends with a series of "unsuccessful strikes" and the formation of the American Federation of Labor.

Two "disastrous strikes"—Homestead and Pullman—are mentioned as slowing the growth of the AFL. The period from the passage of the Clayton Act declaring labor not a commodity to the merger of the AFL-CIO is covered in one short commentary before the end of the film.

This film is too brief to be considered an overall history.

More importantly, in the attempt to dramatize the period, the film pretty much obscures labor's aims and aspirations and ends up leaving the impression that the main characteristic of unions was violence during strikes.

Since there are no labor history films, it may be used widely in the public schools. In the interest of objectivity these basic drawbacks of the film should be pointed out and discussed with the audience.

Union groups can use this film to start discussion of how labor started, what the workers were fighting for and against.

The film ends with a statement that out of these beginnings American labor has become a vigorous and significant factor in our democratic society. This is an important point to make in any discussion of labor history.

★ ★ ★

TEAMWORK IN ACTION. 30 min. B&W. 1954. Produced by International Society for the Welfare of Cripples. Available from the AFL-CIO Film Division. Rental $3.00.

This film is a story of an industrial accident in Ontario, Canada and how it is handled under the Workmen's Compensation Law of the Province (State) of Ontario.

The Ontario law is much superior to any one of the state workmen's compensation laws in the United States. The case covered involves an amputation and shows how the law works toward rehabilitation.

In Ontario, compensation for permanent partial disability is based on a lifetime wage loss theory. There is no question of a payoff, nor of fault or negligence. There is no lawyer—no claims agent for the insurance company.

Everyone involved in the case seems genuinely concerned with getting the person back to work as quickly as possible. There is teamwork between the person's personal doctor and the medical staff of the Compensation Board. There is teamwork between the field representative of the Board and its rehabilitation center.

While the Workmen's Compensation laws in your state are different than the one presented here, the film can be used to stimulate a discussion of the need for improving Workmen's Compensation in your own state.

It is extremely important to preview this film before using it and to have accurate information about the Workmen's Compensation law in your own state.

Workman's Compensation Slides Available

Recognizing the need for improvement in state workmen's compensation laws, the U. S. Department of Labor has recently loaned the AFL-CIO Department of Education slides comparing the major provisions of state workmen's compensation legislation.

In black and white the slides indicate on political maps of the United States whether or not an individual state meets the standards recommended by the International Association of Industrial Accident Boards and Commissions.

The standards selected are:

(1) Compulsory or elective coverage;
(2) Numerical exemptions, that is, employers who are exempt from coverage because they employ less than a stipulated number of employees;
(3) Occupational disease coverage;
(4) Provision for diseases caused by ionizing radiation;
(5) Medical benefits provided by each state for accidental injury;
(6) Medical benefits provided by each state for occupational disease;
(7) The degree of coverage provided handicapped workers under second injury funds;
(8) Maintenance benefits during rehabilitation;
(9) Type of administration of each state's workmen's compensation laws;
(10) The ratio of maximum weekly benefits to average weekly wages in each state.

The Department of Education has available an explanatory card which accompanies each of the slides.

The slides are especially useful for large meetings where the purpose is to show the audience the inadequacies of the laws in individual states compared to the standards which have been recommended by the administrators of the state and provincial laws of the United States and Canada.

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AFL-CIO Education News & Views
17 17
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Our finest Weapon

EDUCATION

Addressing the New York Teachers Guild (AFT, Local 2) recently, Harry Van Arsdale, business manager of the large IBEW New York local 3, made a thought-provoking statement on labor views on education and the meaning of education in a democratic society. Excerpts from his speech follow:

One of the paradoxes of American society today is that in the midst of great wealth, high production and military power, we have become a nation of misers when it comes to providing basic social necessities. We have somehow let ourselves be persuaded that more housing, more schools, more social benefits, roads and hospitals, would impoverish our nation. We seem to have lost our understanding that great wealth and high industrial production are not an end in themselves but exist to benefit the people, all the people.

At a moment when the United States of America has reached a world pinnacle, we are unable to maintain a school-building program in keeping with our population growth. And I am a little ashamed of the fact that the only argument which seems to convince many people as to the need for spending more money for education is so that we must keep up with the Russians.

I am willing to concede that in the military sphere it is urgent that we do everything we can to maintain some equality with Moscow. Khrushchev and his fellow-conspirators against world freedom have demonstrated over and over again that our military strength is the only deterrent against Soviet aggression. But I fail to see why the fact that the Russians may or may not be doing a great job in education must become the persuasive factor in our campaign for increasing appropriations for education. I am fearful about such propaganda because it may well destroy the meaning that education should have in a democratic society.

We in the labor movement believe in education because it is part of the heritage which a democratic society should provide for its people. We believe in education regardless of whether Russia launches a dozen sputniks and we don't launch any; regardless of whether Russia invents better instruments of death and havoc than we do. Education in a democratic society is intended to educate free men to their duties and privileges in that society.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND
CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

George Meany, President
Wm. F. Schnitzler, Secretary-Treasurer

815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

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Printed in U.S.A.

Education in a slave, totalitarian society is motivated by a single desire—to further the aims of world domination and to enslave people. This is mis-education and I have no desire to see a system in America which says that since x million Russians know calculus, there should be x plus y Americans who should also study calculus.

We of the labor movement are fighting for greater educational opportunities because as we fight for a shorter work week in modern, automated industry, such opportunities will be in greater and greater demand. Those who scoff at a 20 or 25 hour week for workers ask what workers would do with all that leisure time. The labor movement believes that greater leisure could lead to greater utilization of educational resources in America—if those resources existed. There is no reason why schooling must necessarily cease at 17 or 18 years of age. Education, as I understand it, is a continuing process without a terminal date. Why shouldn't a worker have the time, the opportunity—given the inclination—to continue his education beyond the grade school, the high school? This is not a class society which restricts higher education only to people of a specific social status.

We have found in our union that given the opportunity, our members will avail themselves of that opportunity. Today several hundred of our members, including officials, are going to school after working hours studying for their high school equivalency examination. Twelve hundred of our members have spent a week at Bayberry Land, our educational institution in Southampton, L. I., learning to think, getting a glimpse of the meaning of education and returning from their week's sojurn actively determined to learn and to study more and more.

The teachers of this country have done a wonderful job despite untold handicaps, insufficient wages and, frequently, substandard working conditions. It is time that government and the American people showed their appreciation of our teachers for the meaningful contribution and the cultural enrichment they have provided for our children and to grownups. It is up to us to impress upon our leaders in government and society generally that our educational credo must become a dominant force in American life. Practically speaking, we must press for:

1. More public schools.

2. Higher wages for teachers.

3. More educational opportunities on an adult level.

4. Removal of economic handicaps on workers so that their children can find it possible to go to college and to universities. We've reached a point in America where a college education means expenditure of $5,000 to $10,000 over four years.

5. Special provisions for more educational opportunities on a graduate level for capable students.

I don't offer this as a formal program, but it is certainly a *minimum* program which must be achieved soon. The era of automation which we have entered can imperil our country's economic future as more and more workers find that their jobs are vanishing because of ultra-modern machinery which can replace and will replace millions and millions of workers. A people better educated to the meaning of automation will be better able to meet those responsibilities, and a better educated people will in general be better able to grapple with the political and social realities which confront us today.

Labor has a tremendous job ahead to help build a better America for all the people, and the finest weapon in our arsenal is education. Let's all of us undertake to do what we can do to fashion a better America in the next decade.

LABOR MATERIALS FOR SCHOOL USE

A new reprint available from the AFL-CIO Department of Education which will be helpful to local unions in working with the secondary schools is, LABOR MATERIALS FOR SCHOOL USE. The original article written by Ruth Greenberg, education director, Connecticut AFL-CIO, appeared in the November 1958 "American Federationist."

"Most teachers, though not all, want to present unionism in an objective fashion," writes Ruth Greenberg, in her article which describes how the Connecticut program has evolved from a scholarship program and the mailing of kits of labor materials to students to a planned program of statewide materials and distribution of 16mm sound movies. The Connecticut AFL-CIO is working on a teaching unit on labor for the public schools in cooperation with the University of Connecticut.

Copies of the six-page reprint can be secured free of charge, from the AFL-CIO Department of Education.



SHORTER WORK WEEK | **GREATER EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES** | **BETTER PAYING JOBS**



Labor's Long Struggle for

PUBLIC SCHOOLS

James B. Carey, vice president of the AFL-CIO and president of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, recently delivered a hard-hitting address before the annual convention of the National School Board Association which met in San Francisco, Calif. The section which follows deals principally with the early history of the American labor movement and its contribution to the establishment of free public schools.

Copies of the complete speech, reprinted from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD may be had by writing to the IUE Education Department, 1126 16th Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

* * *

One hundred and thirty years ago in a small dimly-lit hall in New York City, a revolutionary document was read to a group of eagerly attentive workingmen.

The document was lengthy but it rose to a moving climax for the entire audience in one single sentence:

> **"We seek," the document proclaimed, "a system that shall unite under the same roof the children of the poor man and the rich, the widow's charge and the orphan, where the road to distinction shall be superior industry, virtue and acquirement without reference to descent."**

HELPFUL MATERIALS FOR TEACHERS

High school teachers will find these AFL-CIO publications especially useful in classes about labor unions: **Why Unions,** a 16-page pamphlet describing the function of unions in a modern democratic society, and **This Is the AFL-CIO,** an 8-page leaflet which includes a structure chart of the AFL-CIO.

* * *

An excellent four-page tabloid-size reprint entitled **Trade Unions and the American Way,** by A. J. Hayes, president of the International Association of Machinists, is available free of charge. Write to Gordon Cole, editor of "The Machinist," 909 Machinists Bldg., Washington 6, D. C., for copies.

* * *

Two pamphlets especially useful on labor history are: the Department of Labor's **Brief History of the American Labor Movement** which may be ordered from the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at 35c per copy, and Mark Starr's **Labor and the American Way,** an excellent pamphlet for high school students, which sells for 45c per copy. Order from Oxford University Press, 114 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

The year was 1829. The occasion was a meeting of the newly-formed Workingmen's Party. The document—revolutionary chiefly in the declaration I have quoted—was the Party's platform.

Thus began the movement for a free education system in the United States.

But in point of strict historical fact, there were earlier beginnings.

The American labor movement in that year of 1829 was only two years old, in the sense that just two years previously the first central body, combining a number of different crafts, had made its appearance in the United States.

But individual local unions, up and down the eastern seaboard, starting in the 1790's, had set free education as one of their principal goals.

This orientation, in the years that followed, resulted in a unique development in American unionism, a development unparalleled in the history of any other labor movement.

I refer to the extraordinary and little-known fact that during those early years, particularly through the 1820's, organized labor's first and foremost goal was not higher pay or shorter hours or better working conditions. Astonishingly, the number one goal, more often than not, was free education.

There were, in the 1830's, a surprisingly large number of labor newspapers. Always under the page-one masthead and at the top of the editorial columns appeared the slogan: "EQUAL UNIVERSAL EDUCATION."

Why this extraordinary concentration on education? The miracle and the glory of the American revolution was still fresh in men's memories. The very air that men breathed was vibrant with the promises held out by self-determination and self-government. The Declaration of Independence seemed to speak directly to our early workingmen when it asserted that "all men are created equal." Equal men should have equal rights, the unions asserted, but only through education can free men vote intelligently for leaders and policies to govern them.

"Never," says Historian Foster Rhea Dulles, "have a people had a greater faith in education—'the greatest



blessing bestowed upon mankind'—than this generation of Americans. The workers could not have been more determined in demanding it for their children as a right to which they were morally entitled."

Educational reform was indeed needed. Tax supported schools existed only in sections of New England. Elsewhere there was virtually no provision of any kind for the education of workers' children. Dulles relates that:

> **"Even in such populous and wealthy states as New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware—to say nothing of the new states in the west or the backward states of the south—the only provision for the children of workingmen and other poor families was the charity school—inadequate, inefficient and socially degrading."**



In New York City in 1829 there were more than 24,000 children between five and 15 who had never attended school. In Pennsylvania it was found that out of 400,000 children 250,000 had no schooling of any kind.

There was, of course, opposition to the idea of free schools; vitriolic opposition from industry, business and the commercial press. The National Gazette, for example, angrily contended that "Universal, equal education is impossible, if trade, manufacturing and manual labor are to be successfully prosecuted—unless the standards of education be greatly lowered and narrowed."

Business and industry had ample reason for their opposition. Rare was the large-scale enterprise that didn't employ child labor; and free education would, of course, remove a cut-rate work force. But the burgeoning labor movement was deadly serious and determined to win this struggle.

With free universal education as the primary plank in its platform, the Workingmen's Party, just a few months after its organization in 1829, entered the New York City elections and polled an astonishing 6,000 of the 21,000 votes cast.

> **This was encouraging, but the first great victory came not in New York but in Pennsylvania. In that state, the birthplace of American unionism, labor's persistent efforts finally bore fruit in 1834, when the legislature enacted a bill establishing a free, tax-supported school system. That was the turning point; in the years that followed, other states, one by one, fell into line.**

Thus Thomas Jefferson's dream of a half-century before, a democratic dream of free education, was realized; and it was realized by those whom it was chiefly designed to benefit—workingmen and their children.

It was labor's triumph, the inauguration of free public education, for there were no other groups of comparable size or influence in American society that supported this great step forward. On the contrary, most other organizations and groups were either opposed or skeptical. Even large sections of the clergy took the side of the employers, claiming that public schools would leave children too much free time to get in trouble, whereas 10 or 12 hours a day in a shop or a plant would keep the children under surveillance and leave them too fatigued for trouble-making after their work was done.

It was, history tells us, labor's triumph, but it was far from a final victory. Some of the biggest battles were yet to be waged and won, and the labor movement set itself, heart and soul, to winning them.

Free public education had arrived, but attendance was optional. As a result, child labor, the exploitation of tots six and seven years old, was still a blight on American civilization.

In the 1860's, therefore, the labor movement started pressing heavily for compulsory schooling. Slowly, painfully this fight was successful. Gradually labor found that it was no longer alone in the struggle; large sections of the public had become converted, even if business and indutry had not. Yet, as late as 1912 the labor movement had to call indignant attention to the fact that "of the 25,000,000 children of school age in the United States, 50% leave school at the end of the sixth grade, at approximately 14 years of age." In 1920 organized labor was fighting for academic freedom and for compulsory school attendance up to the age of 16.

Down through the years American unions continued their determined campaigns for more and better schools, for more and better trained teachers, adequate financing of school systems, free textbooks, and more state and municipal colleges.

Looking back on this dedicated, century-long struggle, John Dewey declared of the labor movement, "I say without any fear of contradiction that there is no organization in the United States—I do not care what its nature is—that has such a fine record in the program of liberal progressive public education . . ."



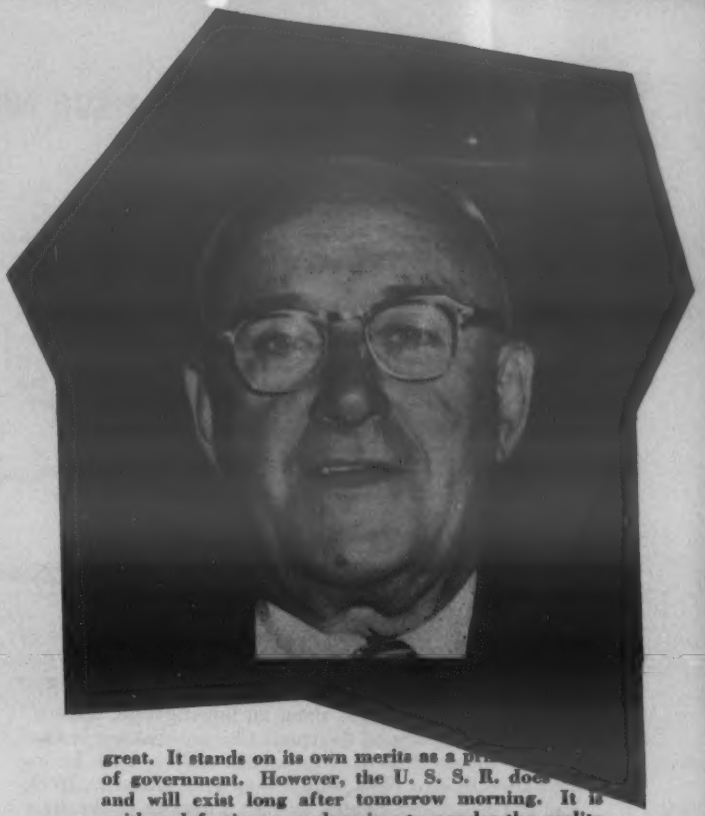
AFL-CIO Asks Congress To Pass School Aid Bill

The following excerpts are from the testimony on federal aid to education of AFL-CIO Education Committee Chairman, Peter T. Schoemann, before the Subcommittee on Education of the House Education and Labor Committee on March 5, 1959. Mr. Schoemann is also president of the Plumbers and Pipe Fitters Union and a vice-president of the AFL-CIO. He has been elected several times to the Milwaukee, Wis. Board of Education, serving on that board for more than 20 years with two terms as president of the board. Schoemann also testified before the Senate Subcommittee on Education on April 15.

* * *

On April 16, the House Subcommittee reported, by a vote of 4 to 2, a modified version of the Murray-Metcalf bill. The Subcommittee bill provides for federal grants of $25 for each school age child (estimated to equal $1.1 billion a year) for four years. The full Education and Labor Committee must now act.

Senate hearings ended April 15, but no further action has been taken.



I wish to express the appreciation of American labor that, in view of the vital urgency of the crisis in American education, the Committee has given federal aid to education early consideration in this first session of the 86th Congress. The AFL-CIO agrees on the extraordinary urgency of this question, and we hope the Committee's example will be followed by the whole Congress.

One hundred and thirty years ago last month, at a meeting in New York City, the trade unions of this country began their concerted struggle for free, universal, public schools. Since then, the slogan of the trade unions has been Equal Universal Education. With other liberal and progressive groups, we have urged upon the nation a truly democratic system of education.

Legislation to provide federal financial aid to education is required to fulfill one of the chief purposes of the national government—"the promotion of the general welfare." Few if any other domestic problems are more general or more closely related to the people's welfare than is education.

Considerations of improving our social justice, our productivity, our distribution, our international relations, all are involved in plans for an improved educational system. If the Soviet Union, as a nation, disappeared from the earth tomorrow morning, the need for federal aid to education would still remain great. It stands on its own merits as a pr... of government. However, the U. S. S. R. doe... and will exist long after tomorrow morning. It is neither defeatism nor alarmism to ponder the reality of sputnik, and now lunik. In two years we have moved from intercontinental missiles to interplanetary vehicles. To ignore these accomplishments in space—and the obvious Soviet lead—would be a lethal error.

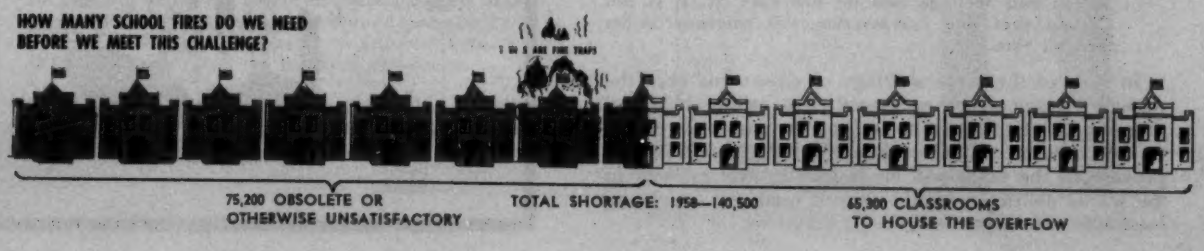
The solution to the problems of public education must begin where the child begins—in the elementary school. The child's secondary education is the foundation for his college education. With this in mind we urge that two broad areas receive immediate action. These are the construction of classrooms and adequate pay for teachers.

School Construction Needs

While America's classrooms do not need additional chrome or higher fins or a completely new model each year, neither is there advantage in ancient structures. School buildings do not improve with age.

While poverty is still widespread it is also true that few peoples of the world now, and none in the past, have equaled our individual well-being and our national wealth. Yet, it is this society that has children going to "school" in renovated basements, in buildings so inadequate that thousands of children are on part-time study.

A survey by the U. S. Office of Education shows that one out of every five buildings is a potential fire trap.





Even in the City of New York they had a school fire I read about. It brought about an investigation, coming, as it did, at the time of the tragic Chicago disaster in Our Lady of Angels School. This particular New York building dated back to 1890, with a new wing added in 1899. And if I remember rightly, at least a quarter of the New York schools were found to be more than 50 years old. Now, if that's the situation in New York, what can we expect to find elsewhere?

There are one of two ways in which we can obtain adequate school buildings for our children. The first is by legislation growing out of disaster. This is how we obtained much of the mine safety legislation in this country. The second is by legislation before the disaster occurs. This takes positive government leadership. The American labor movement looks to the legislative branch of the federal government to exercise the leadership necessary to provide an adequate program of federal financial aid for school construction. We ask this on behalf of America's children.

> **The United States Office of Education reported that as of last September, public school enrollment was 1,843,000 over the normal classroom capacity. Five and four-tenths percent of our total enrollment is in excess of classroom capacity. The states reported that in September 1958, we needed 65,300 classrooms just to house the overflow, and an additional 75,200 classrooms to replace facilities which are obsolete or otherwise unsatisfactory. Thus, for this school year we needed at least 140,500 additional instruction rooms. New construction has not solved the problem and even that may slacken without aid. As Secretary Arthur Fleming of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare said on February 17, it is not certain that new construction will continue at its present rate.**

In view of the acute shortage of classrooms over the nation, we urge speedy enactment of the proposed School Support Act of 1959 and its Section 5 provision for grants to the states for school construction. We note with approval that the funds will be granted to give priority to the school districts with the gravest need and which are least able to finance their needed additions.

We are particularly gratified that Section 9 insures that provisions of the Davis-Bacon Act will apply to insure that prevailing wage rates will be observed. I note, however, that these provisions do not insure time and one half for overtime for all hours worked in excess of eight a day or forty a week, and I would like to suggest that the policies of the 8-hour law and the Fair Labor Standards Act would be more fully carried out if the bill should incorporate these overtime requirements.

While the proposed school construction and teachers' salary grants have every justification in their own right, it is also true that they will make important contributions to putting America back to work. At their level of income, teachers can be expected to spend promptly virtually all of any salary increase, thus stimulating business activity. The construction provisions of the proposed act would serve as an important stimulus to those industries producing and processing building materials, as well as to the construction industry itself.

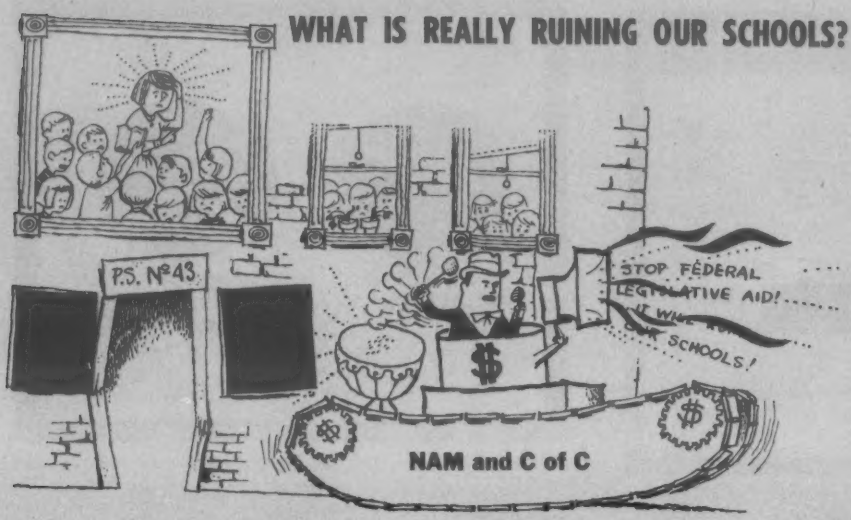
Raise Teachers' Salaries

In a recently-published study (The Big Red School House) of the Soviet education system, with its emphasis on "status" for teachers, the author, Fred M. Hechinger, makes a very pointed observation on teachers' position in the Russian community: "It is one of the great ironies of this century that a police state rather than a democracy thinks more highly of its teachers than of its policemen." Of course, the Russians deny teachers academic freedom but they do give them a great deal of social recognition.

The first step in reestablishing in the public mind in the United States the importance of the teacher is a step which requires government leadership. That step is to pay our teachers a fair salary.

> **At the beginning of the 1957-58 school year, according to the United States Office of Education, we had 91,200 full-time teachers in our schools on an "emergency" basis, as the holders of substandard certificates. Since then the situation has changed—for the worse. When the current (1958-59) school year began, five months ago, we had 92,337 "teachers" with inadequate preparation. These 92,337 people with substandard certificates are the teachers of hundreds of thousands of children in thousands of classrooms across our land.**





The figures speak with crystal clarity as to why more qualified young people are not attracted to teaching. The average teacher's salary in the United States. for the year 1957-58, was only $4,520. For the school year 1956-57, the median salary of all beginning teachers was $3,600.

Accordingly, we are entrusting the education of our children—the future of America—to people whom we pay a marginal wage.

These underpaid teachers are this year instructing 1,148,000 more children than they did during the last academic year, an increase of 3.5 percent over the 1957-58 school year. Inevitably, the question arises as to whether we are exploiting our teachers or our children, or both.

Less than 15 percent of the men between 35 to 54 years of age in the U. S. who have completed college earn as little as $4,000, according to the U. S. Bureau of the Census (1956). This indicates how far below average our teacher's incomes are.

The truth is that our teachers do not earn a living wage. The United States Department of Labor's 1951 City Workers' Family Budget, up dated as to prices and taxes to 1958, shows that a worker and his wife, with two children, require at least $4,656 per year for a "modest but adequate" standard of living.

Thus the teacher's average annual salary of $4,520 leaves him with only a subsistence wage level. He is not meeting the minimum $90 per week required each week of the year. The way he most often makes ends meet is to spend the summer and holidays working in some routine job instead of using this period to improve his worth as an educator. Under these conditions, as Secretary Arthur Fleming admitted on February 17, we cannot hope to attract "A-No. 1" men and women into the teaching profession.

It is for these reasons that the AFL-CIO heartily endorses the provision of Section 6 of the School Support Act of 1959 for grants to the states to be used for teachers' salaries.

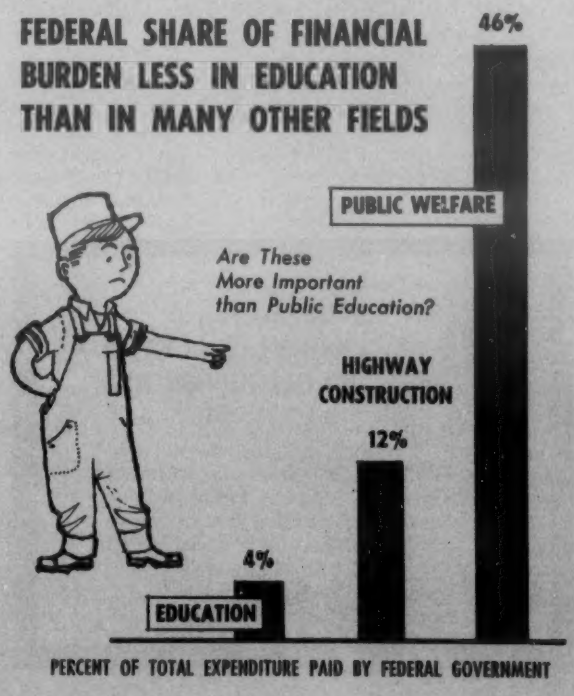
We approve the necessary safeguard of Section 8 that the federal grants not be used as an excuse to reduce the states' school effort or as a substitute for the states' essential effort.

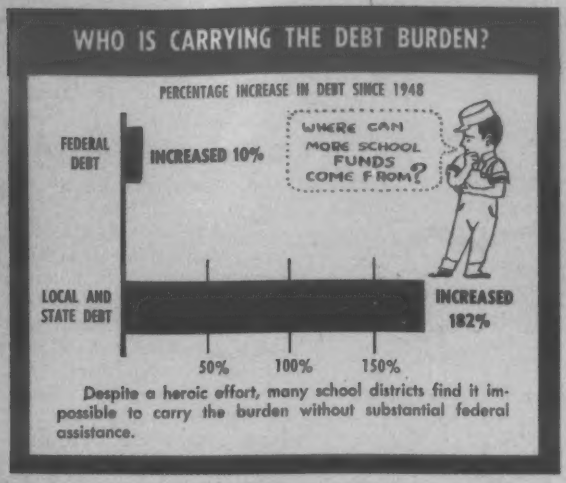
The Central Issue

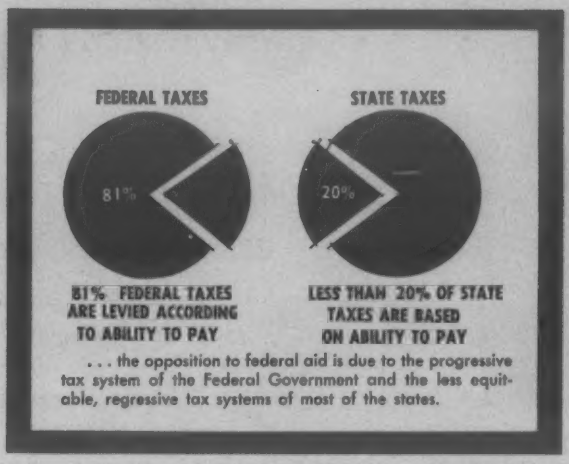
As in the past there are those who will oppose all federal aid to education on the grounds that it is a departure from past policy, that it implies federal control of education and that, since tax money must ultimately pay for any "expenditure" for education, it might as well be through the taxing power of local government. Unfortunately these old bromides will influence some who do not take time to analyze them.

The support of education by the national government is of course not an innovation of the 1950's. National aid to education is older than the Constitution itself, as evidenced by the Northwest Ordinance of 1785.

The suggestion that federal aid means federal control is a fake on its face. Nearly a century of major federal aid shows a record of continuing local control. No major national organization or group in America, and no group in the Congress, favors federal control, hence this is not a valid issue. Most organizations in the United States, like the AFL-CIO, insist on continuing local control of education. The proposed School Support Act of 1959, of course, specifically provides statutory safeguards for local control.







The suggestions that the states or localities can solve the pressing needs themselves is given the lie by the realities; they have not been able to do so. The truth, although they may be making a proportionately greater effort, is that some states and districts simply do not have available to them the tax source necessary to raise the funds required. Figures for the 1956-57 school year show that of our total, national school budget almost 2/3 comes from the local governments, about 1/3 from the states and only about 4 percent from the specialized federal grants. Thus it is clear that the localities are carrying the burden. Unfortunately those with the greatest need due to lack of tax sources are already making the greatest effort, in many instances having been such that school debt has reached its legal maximum. Overall local and state debt has gone up 182 percent since 1948, while the federal debt has increased 10 percent. Accordingly, it seems clear that despite a heroic effort, many school districts find it impossible to carry the burden without substantial federal assistance. While federal responsibility is expressed through payment of only about 4 percent of our overall school budget, the federal share of highway construction is three times that amount (12 percent) and that in public welfare over 11 times (46 percent) that percentage. Yet, if anything, the federal responsibility is even greater in education than in these other fields. As noted before, this is a national problem of all Americans, everywhere, and it must be met on that basis.



NATIONAL AID TO EDUCATION IS OLDER THAN THE CONSTITUTION ITSELF

1785—Northwest Ordinance (The articles of Confederation Aided in Establishing and Financially Supporting Public Schools.)
1862—Land Grant College Program Started
1917—Vocational Education Aid
1941—Federally Affected Areas Aid
1958—National Defense Education Act

It has been suggested from one important quarter that those asking federal action should be ready to pay the bill. First it should be clear that the working people are more than willing to pay their fair share of the taxes. Of course, we could collect all that is proposed to be spent on education by simply closing the loopholes of special privilege in our federal tax laws. Much of the opposition to federal aid is due to the progressive tax system of the federal government and the less equitable, regressive tax systems of most of the states. The so-called taxpayers' groups, of course, favor the latter system as it makes them less "taxpayers."

Section 2 of the proposed Act makes a central point to which we would like to call your particular attention. It is that states and localities do not now, in fact, control their school systems. Control implies direction, choice as to courses of action. The states and school districts do not have this choice. Instead, their decisions are governed by the reality of poverty . . . "the harsh demands of privation." Accordingly, H. R. 22 would have the effect of returning control to the local authorities, far more than it would imply any conceivable threat to whatever local control they have.

There is another bill which pretends to meet the present need for federal aid but fails to face up to the present situation or to the future educational needs of the nation. *This is H. R. 4268, the Administration's Bill.*

First of all, the bill is temporary, whereas there is every sign that the need will continue indefinitely with no end in sight. Second, while recognizing a "persistent widespread, substantial and serious shortage of classrooms," the bill backs away from the necessary steps toward prompt and effective action to cure this situation. Third, the bill completely ignores the teacher shortage and the best means of getting qualified teachers.

The bill's provisions are reluctant, and cautious, where bold action is needed.

* * *

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George Meany

GEORGE MEANY, President, AFL-CIO



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FEBRUARY, 1959*

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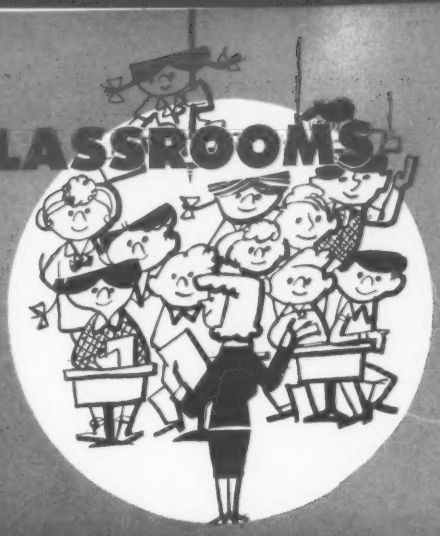
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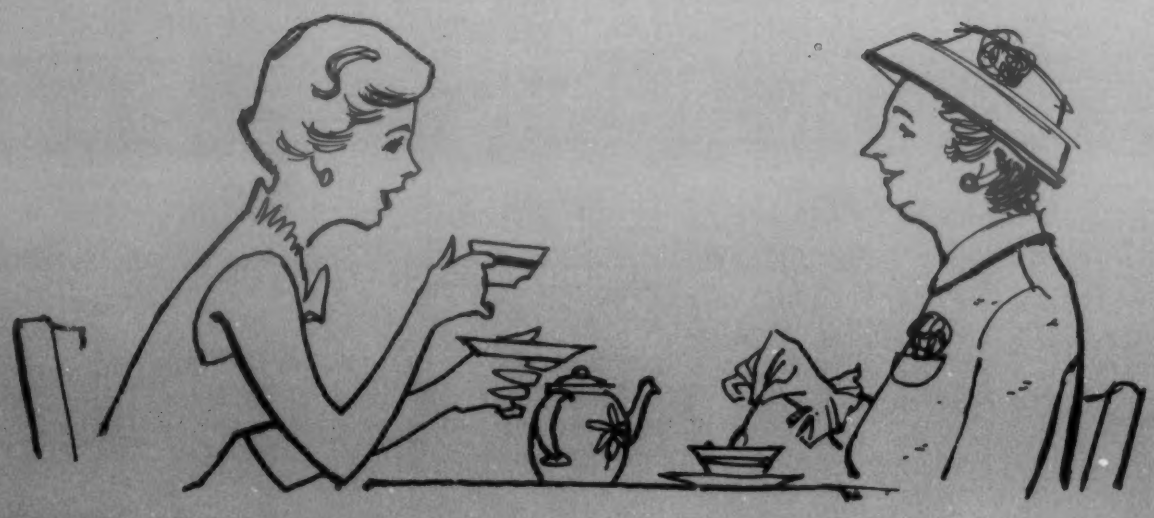
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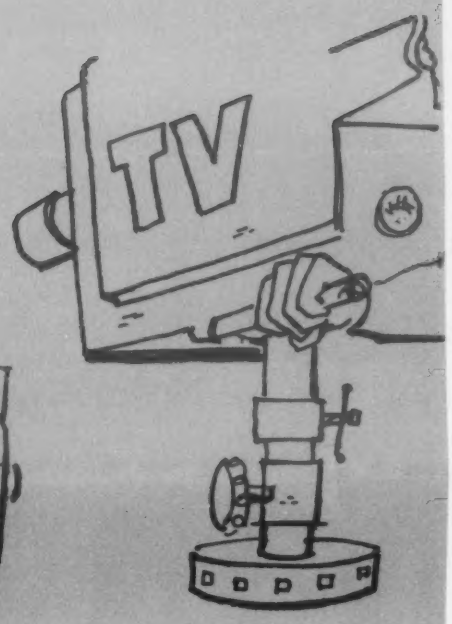
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'Right to Work' Laws Sow the Seeds of Depression

By HERBERT H. LEHMAN
Co-Chairman, National Council for Industrial Peace

DURING more than thirty years in public life, I have been guided by the belief that our laws should serve the common good. When a law is punitive or discriminatory in its intent or application, it can do great harm. Even though its evils may be quickly recognized, much time may pass—sometimes years—before public opinion can be aroused and legislative processes reinstituted to remove the offending law. We know this to be especially true where constitutional amendment is involved.

Some unwise laws have come into being at times of great emotional stress. Others have resulted from pressures brought by powerful lobbies that have not always represented the public interest. And many have been enacted because of a lack of public awareness of their purpose or effect.

In public office, from which I am now retired, I fought such unwise legislation with all my strength. In that fight I was privileged to be closely associated for many years with a very great man, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt. We fought together for the welfare and rights of ordinary men and women.

I am still carrying on this fight as co-chairman of the National Council for Industrial Peace, an organization devoted to the defense of the public interest, which includes the rights and welfare of working men and women and their unions. This organization has opposed the falsely called "right to work" laws which are being advocated by anti-labor elements in a number of our states.

In this present fight against the so-called "right to work" laws, I am associated with President Roosevelt's widow a great woman, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. She is co-chairman of the National Council for Industrial Peace.

In the campaigns in various states



HERBERT H. LEHMAN

by the advocates of the misnamed "right to work" laws we have seen attempts by a small but powerful group to enact laws under the cloak of "states' rights" that would hold wages down and take away decent working conditions.

ONE of the reasons "right to work" is so difficult to combat is the campaign of half-truths and misleading statements waged by its sponsors.

Aldous Huxley has described the technique in these words:

"In their anti-rational propaganda, the enemies of freedom systematically pervert the resources of language in order to wheedle or stampede their victims into thinking, feeling and acting as they, the mind manipulators, want them to think, feel and act."

In blunter terms, it is known as the technique of "the big lie."

In the campaign seeking public acceptance of "right to work" laws, the most misleading claim of all is the name. Such legislation does not provide a right to work. Where this misnamed proposal has become law, its effect has been to restrict freedom of contract between labor and employers by outlawing the union shop.

I believe that responsible labor unions are the greatest single safeguard of the right of the worker to be employed and to be treated fairly on the job. "Right to work" laws are aimed at crippling and destroying the means by which labor can safeguard these rights.

It should be pointed out that the Supreme Court has held that the Constitution secures to all a freedom of association, which includes the right to join a trade union and to bargain collectively with employers on the terms and conditions of employment.

The "right to work" promoters would have us believe their proposals really don't hurt a bit, that their purpose is not to wreck the collective bargaining process or to destroy unions or to legalize the exploitation of "cheap" labor so that some segments of industry can produce goods at 1920 wages to sell at 1959 prices.

To hear the "right to work" advocates tell it, the only reason the National Association of Manufacturers, the Chamber of Commerce and the so-called "National Right to Work Committee" spend such huge sums in efforts to enact these laws is to "save" working people from "union bosses."

But let's see who is really exploiting whom.

NINETEEN states have enacted these laws. With a single exception, these are either Southern states where low wages, child labor and substandard working conditions have been traditional parts of the economy or agricultural states where problems of labor-management relations are relatively unknown or not understood and where comparatively few people are employed in industry.

What has happened to working

people in these states? I would like to discuss some of the results of "right to work" laws that have come to the attention of the National Council for Industrial Peace.

I have studied a number of letters and advertisements in national publications. The letters are from mayors or chambers of commerce in Southern communities addressed to industry executives in the North. The advertisements are from development groups addressed to the same audience.

Let's see what they say. Selecting at random, here is a letter signed by the chairman of the industrial division of the chamber of commerce in an Arkansas community. Another is from the mayor of a Mississippi town to a Connecticut manufacturer. A full-page advertisement in a "class" publication is sponsored by a group in North Carolina. Arkansas, Mississippi and North Carolina are all "right to work" states.

The Arkansas letter, marked "personal," says:

"I would like very much to come and have a confidential talk with you. There is much to know about the favorable labor situation here that cannot be publicized. There is plenty of darn good labor within commuting distance, now making the bare minimum wage.

"These thousands of rural dwellers have little or no rent to pay and grow or raise most of the food they eat. They enjoy low living costs. There are no better workers anywhere. They will be with you and for you and listen to no leaders except your own.

"Closed shops are in violation of Arkansas' freedom-to-work law."

AND this is what the Mississippi mayor said about working people in his community:

"Our wonderful labor, 98 per cent native-born, mostly high school graduates, will lower average hourly industrial wage rates six to forty-nine cents below other Southern states and from fifty to ninety-five cents below Northern states.

"You will also get a much higher average man production, some plants even getting double what they got in their Northern plants.

"This labor is truly American, not afflicted with the 'something for nothing' idea, and works together joyously with management for the success of both. * * * No one will tell you whom you must employ, and all detrimental state laws for industrial operations have been repealed. The closed union shop has been outlawed in Mississippi."



Unemployment is the result when unfair competition from "right to work" areas puts decent companies out of business.

And the North Carolina advertisement read as follows:

"Within six months after our Southern work force was hired, it was producing at greater efficiency in North Carolina than we had ever experienced. And the majority of workers are operating machines completely foreign to them. * * * I have nothing but the highest praise for North Carolina workers. They learn rapidly, appreciate their jobs and are anxious to give a day's work for a day's pay."

An outraged secretary, reading this advertisement, wrote across it:

"People for sale—best quality—cheap!"

We see here a studied appeal to industry to move to "right to work" states where, shackled by such oppressive laws, a docile labor force will accept whatever wages and working conditions are thrown to them.

Then we have the recent opinion of the attorney-general of South Dakota on the meaning of his state's "right to work" law.

This official ruled that the South Dakota law grants a non-union worker the "right to work" for a lower wage than union workers and gives the employer the right to prefer him in promotions over union members despite provisions in an existing contract for seniority rights.

Under the "right to work" law in South Dakota, this could be used to destroy the entire structure of union contracts, to lower wages and to wipe out the seniority system.

The question naturally arises: Have the "right to work" laws been used for union-cracking purposes, to beat down wages and to worsen working conditions in the states in which they have been enacted?

The answer is yes. The story is one of lost jobs, impoverishment and heartbreak over the past twelve years since Section 14-b of the Taft-Hartley Act encouraged passage of "right to work" laws in individual states. I shall cite a few instances.

In the little town of Winchester, Virginia, 300 men and women workers of the O'Sullivan Rubber Corporation have been out of work since 1956. Their controversy with management began in the spring of that year when the workers voted 343 to 2 to be represented by the United Rubber Workers. The union asked for an increase of fifteen cents an hour, pensions, paid holidays and impartial arbitration of unresolved grievances.

The union contended the O'Sullivan workers were being paid forty to sixty cents an hour under the scale of similar plants elsewhere in the U.S.

The company countered with a three-cent offer. Negotiations dragged and got nowhere, and about 400 production workers walked out.

About three weeks later the company threatened to fire the strikers and replace them permanently. About seventy-five employes returned to work, and the company made good its threat and hired 165 new employes off farms in West Virginia and the Carolinas.

The employer then told union negotiators that strikers would be given jobs only as new ones opened, but

without seniority.

The company spurned offers of the Federal Mediation Service. State troopers patrolled the plant gates.

The strike dragged into 1957. The company then used a device that has become a familiar maneuver in "right to work" states. It asked the National Labor Relations Board to hold an election to see if the union represented the majority of its workers.

Under Section 9(c)(3) of Taft-Hartley, the striking workers had no vote. In October of 1957 the election was held and the strikebreakers voted, 288 to 5, to have no union.

At Darlington, South Carolina, the owner of a textile mill employing 523 workers went a step further. He closed his mill and sold its machinery at auction when workers voted for a union to represent them.

The mill machinery—$1,850,000 worth—went on the block in December, 1956. One bidder offered $1,600,000 for the complete mill, but the owner insisted that the machinery be sold piecemeal in order that the mill could not be reopened to provide jobs for the workers he was punishing.

In the cotton industry the Darlington mill was known as a money-maker. One of the secrets was low pay and a high-pressure speed-up that began in the weave room of the mill.

In April, 1956, the hard-pressed workers decided they needed a union to represent them and appealed to the Textile Workers Union of America. A National Labor Relations Board election was held in September, and a majority of the workers voted for union representation despite threats by the management.

The mill owner, who held 110,000 of the 150,000 shares of common stock, then called a stockholders' meeting and announced the mill was to be closed and liquidated. The mill was shut down and its machinery sold despite NLRB orders, the suffering of more than 500 workers and distress to the entire community.

"Right to work" laws have been used elsewhere to force down wages of workers as well as to "break" unions or prevent unionization of plants. The story of the Walker County Hosiery Mill at Lafayette, Georgia, is an example.

The Georgia "right to work" law went into effect in 1947. The hosiery workers previously had a contract with the Walker County company providing maintenance of membership.

With passage of the "right to work" law, the maintenance of membership clause became inoperative. In 1948 the company demanded as the price of a new two-year contract that it be made cancellable upon two weeks' notice. The company also demanded the right to reopen negotiations on wages at will. The union reluctantly agreed.

In June of 1948, the company demanded acceptance of a wage cut of ten cents an hour. The union refused, since wages were already too low and the cost of living had risen sharply after the end of the war.

The company retaliated with an anti-union campaign in which it enlisted the aid of local merchants. It "advised" workers to get out of the union and threatened to close the mill unless this was done.

Some workers were frightened into quitting the union. The company then gave notice of contract cancellation. Faced with pressures from community leaders, the workers panicked and the union was unable to rally support for defensive action.

The company then put the wage cuts into effect.

There are many other instances where "right to work" laws have been used against ordinary working men and women.

These laws have been used as a weapon by the Southern textile industry virtually to destroy the collective bargaining process and to force cancellation of a pension plan covering thousands of workers. In some communities the "right to work" laws have been reinforced by even more restrictive laws and ordinances.

A Baxley, Georgia, ordinance required that "any organization, union or society" that solicits members and has a membership fee system must take out a local license costing $2000 annually and must pay the town $500 for each member signed up.

An organizer of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union was convicted and sentenced to jail for refusing to comply with the Baxley ordinance.

In South Carolina six counties wrote identical ordinances requiring "a permit in writing * * * before any person shall solicit membership for any organization."

A 1953 Alabama statute stated that "any public employe who joins or participates in a labor union * * * shall forfeit all rights afforded him under the state merit system, employment rights, reemployment rights and all other rights, benefits or privileges which he enjoys as a result of public employment."

Similar anti-union ordinances have been in effect in Mississippi, Florida, Tennessee and Virginia. They have required lengthy and expensive litigation to combat. In the Baxley case, a Supreme Court decision was required to protect free speech.

WHAT is the effect of these oppressive measures on the economy and living standards of the "right to work" states?

No set of statistics can tell the whole story of suffering and want resulting from job loss or from income insufficient to meet human needs. But in other ways they are highly revealing.

The U.S. Department of Commerce "Survey of Current Business," which gives the U.S. per capita personal income average for 1957 as $2027, shows that income in "right to work" states was in one instance as much as $1069 below the national average.

The federal survey showed these states trailing behind the national average as follows:

Alabama	$703 less
Arizona	$277 less
Arkansas	$876 less
Florida	$191 less
Georgia	$596 less
Iowa	$221 less
Mississippi	$1069 less
Nebraska	$209 less
North Carolina	$710 less
North Dakota	$592 less
South Carolina	$842 less
South Dakota	$496 less
Tennessee	$644 less
Texas	$236 less
Utah	$333 less
Virginia	$367 less

Another set of government statistics is equally revealing. These are the figures showing the average weekly wages for the nation and for the individual states. They are contained in the Department of Labor's

official report, "Employment and Earnings."

Here, again, the federal government reported many "right to work" states lagging far behind the national average weekly wage.

For instance, North Carolina, where "right to work" has been in effect since 1947, had the nation's lowest average weekly wage—$55.25—in spite of the fact it has been a highly industrialized textile and furniture manufacturing state for many years.

These "right to work" states were below the national average weekly earnings as follows:

Alabama	$15.87 less
Arkansas	$25.76 less
Florida	$14.45 less
Georgia	$24.16 less
Mississippi	$23.83 less
Nebraska	$ 3.49 less
North Carolina	$28.28 less
South Carolina	$27.56 less
Tennessee	$17.67 less
Virginia	$18.03 less

In startling contrast to this depressing record of the "right to work" states is the story of steady economic progress by states that have not been shackled by these oppressive laws.

The 1957 average per capita personal income in California, one of our newest industrial states, was $2523, or nearly $500 more than the national average. And the weekly earnings average of Californians was $97.22, compared with the national average of $83.53 and the North Carolina wage low of only $55.25.

The per capita personal income in California jumped $62 in 1957 over the previous year, while in other states without "wreck" laws, such as Colorado, Washington and Ohio, it went up $126, $81 and $71, respectively.

The figures also show that New Mexico, another state without "right to work," had a gain of $151 in per capita personal income, or from two to two and one-half times that of two neighbor "right to work" states, Arizona and Texas.

As we examine the purpose behind the "right to work" laws and the manner in which this legislation is being widely used to undermine the processes of free collective bargaining, it becomes clear that "wreck" laws are not of benefit to the general welfare.

When the Wagner Act became law it was with the understanding of Congress that collective bargaining would be legalized throughout the nation in industries which were in the flow of interstate commerce or which affected interstate commerce. The principle of free collective bargaining was reaffirmed by Congress in the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947, although this law contained built-in provisions which, as I have pointed out, have been used to do great harm to the rights and welfare of working men and women.

During the past two decades the process of collective bargaining between the employer and workers, represented by responsible unions of their choosing, has become the accepted basis for stable labor-management relations.

Progressive employers have found it is to their advantage to deal with workers collectively through a strong and well-disciplined union instead of with workers individually. Such an arrangement promotes industrial peace, provides the employer with a stable, dependable force of skilled workers and results in higher production and a better fabricated product.

The Taft-Hartley Act legalizes the union shop, which makes possible a strong and effective union that can represent all workers in a plant responsibly.

Yet Section 14-b of the act provides that if a state enacts legislation concerning union security that is more restrictive than Taft-Hartley, then the state law takes effect. This permits a state to override and nullify the intent of federal labor-management policy, for the so-called "right to work" laws outlaw the union shop. Thus in the nineteen "right to work" states workmen are denied security against the watering down of a union's strength and bargaining rights.

There is no parallel for such action in federal law. Ordinarily, it is the rule that federal law supersedes state law and applies equally to each state —not the reverse.

As I have shown, employers in "right to work" states can and do make war on workers behind the shelter of these laws. In the process, they force wages down. This dries up purchasing power.

And, in an economy dependent upon mass consumption, the seeds of depression are sown.

"Right to work" laws are bad laws. Section 14-b of Taft-Hartley likewise is unwise legislation. In the public interest, both should be removed from the statute books.

Reprinted from the AFL-CIO American Federationist, MAY-JUNE, 1959

For instructors, chief stewards, grievance and bargaining chairmen, staff representatives, business agents, and others who formally or informally perform the basic, crucial job of educating the people who represent union members where they work — stewards, grievance or bargaining committeemen, shop delegates, etc. — whatever their title or name.



6 KEYS TO STEWARDS TRAINING

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- **PREPARING WRITTEN GRIEVANCES PROPERLY,**
  by MARJORIE BAILEY, IAM Education Department
- **TRAINING LOCAL OFFICERS IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE AGREEMENT,**
  by SARA GAMM, Pulp and Sulphite Research and Education Department
- **USE FILMS TO TRAIN SHOP STEWARDS,**
  by JOE GLAZER, United Rubber Workers education director
- **RAISING THE STEWARD'S SIGHTS,**
  by MARK STARR, International Ladies' Garment Workers education director
- **LEADERSHIP PRACTICES AND MEMBER PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL UNIONS,**
  by ROBERT L. KAHN and ARNOLD S. TANNENBAUM, University of Michigan

Good Stewards Make a Difference!

See page 13 for article on research study of participation in unions upon which this article is based.

"Should a steward keep the workers in his department informed about what is going on in the Union?"

This question was raised by the discussion leader in charge of a UAW Grievance Procedure training session attended by twenty-five stewards and committeemen.

A lively discussion followed on ways to increase members' interest in their union. Joe Brown, chief steward in the press department of an auto body plant said some stewards don't even let their workers know when Union meetings are scheduled.

"We gripe because Union members don't attend meetings, but how many of us take the trouble to let them know when meetings are to be held?" he asked.

A steward from the trim department carried the argument a step further. He said it is not enough to have notices of coming meetings posted on bulletin boards; some workers don't bother to watch what goes up on the bulletin boards. "And it's not enough just to tell workers that a meeting will be held on such and such a day. It's also important to tell them what business will be taken up at the meeting."

He said that what happens often is that many workers don't learn what's on the program for a meeting until the day after it is held. If a decision is made that they don't like, they howl and criticize the Union. "But if the steward keeps them posted about meetings and they don't attend, then they have themselves to blame," he said.

Asked by the discussion leader whether more workers would attend meetings and take an active part if stewards kept them posted about Union affairs, every steward and committeeman in the class replied definitely that they would.

The stewards expanded on this at length. Some said that most workers in the shop depend on the steward for information about the Union. At the shop level the steward is the Union's "communication center" with the workers. The degree to which he communicates information about Union meetings, programs, political campaigns, etc., will determine in no small way the degree to which his fellow workers take an active part in these Union events, the degree to which they participate in the shaping of Union policies.





Union Members Can Help Make Decisions

But communication is not a one-way street. If a steward keeps his fellow workers informed about Union affairs, they may in turn offer ideas and suggestions about problems that the steward handles.

However, here, too, the steward must take the initiative. He can do this by calling a departmental meeting to discuss problems with his shop members and get their help in decision making.

"When I have tough grievances to settle, I often call a departmental meeting right after work. I explain the problem and ask the workers how they think it should be approached. Maybe we don't always find the right answers but every guy at the meeting knows he has the right to put in his two cents worth. He knows his ideas will be taken seriously. And after a decision has been made, he knows that he helped to make it," a steward from the cushion department said.

Then he explained that workers who attend departmental meetings get practice in speaking before groups; they form the habit of pooling ideas with others; they acquire self-confidence and then when they attend regular Union meetings they are not afraid to assert themselves. Through practical experience they begin to think of their Union in terms of working together for common objectives. They identify themselves with the Union. This, after all, is the real difference between the active and the inactive Union member: The active member is committed to his Union, he feels that he is part of the Union. The inactive member, on the other hand, does not feel this sense of commitment; he seems to think that his obligation to the Union ends when his dues are paid. He has not formed the *habit* of Union participation.

Departmental meetings are like schools where workers acquire their first habits of participation, where they first become involved in the process of decision-making, and where they begin to identify themselves with the Union in an active way.

Thus, in addition to informing the workers in his department about Union meetings and issues, the steward should also encourage the workers to help him make decisions about Union problems in the department.

The steward who rarely asks his fellow workers to help him decide what should be done about grievances and problems in the department overlooks an opportunity to raise the level of member participation in his Union.

The Steward Helps with Personal Problems, too

Another way in which the steward awakens workers' interest in the Union is by helping them when they need help. In Union literature we are told that an able steward combines the functions of "contract policeman and shop lawyer." He must also serve as a resource person, giving aid and counsel to workers in his department who are in trouble, who are personally faced with in-plant or out-plant problems.

"What kinds of in-plant and out-plant problems do workers sometimes have?" the discussion leader asked, as he walked to the blackboard to list them. Typical of the different kinds of problems brought out by the class were these:

(1) Family trouble. A case was cited where a worker with such trouble was upset emotionally to such a degree that he could no longer perform his job with regular, normal efficiency. Although warned several times by the foreman about turning out defective jobs, the worker could not seem to "snap out of it."

(2) Shift change. In line with the seniority contract provision a young worker, during a period of layoff, was transferred from the day to the afternoon shift. He was anxious to continue working the day shift long enough to complete his semester of evening college classes, since he was working for credits.

(3) A worker returned to his job after a six-week layoff. He had no hospital and sickness insurance and his child needed a major operation. He was broke, and making an initial payment on a hospital bill was out of the question. He told the steward he was desperate and asked if somehow, someway, he might get help from a community agency.

Each of these problems was discussed in turn and each suggested other out-plant problems that some of the stewards had had to cope with in the past. They pointed out that in reality there is no such thing as "out-plant" problems, since the worker "brings his troubles with him on the job."

The class unanimously agreed that in such cases the steward should try to work out some adjustment, enlisting the cooperation of supervision and fellow workers if possible. And in the case of workers who need help from some community agency, the steward can always call his Local Union Officers or even his International Union headquarters for advice.

"Give a worker help when he needs it and you make a better union man out of him," the cushion room steward said. By a "better union man" he simply meant a more active unionist.





Workers Are Helped on Job

There are minor and major ways in which a steward can help the workers whom he represents. One of the most important ways is to take an interest in how the worker gets along on his job. After all, a man spends the best part of his life working.

In the course of an eight-hour day things can happen to make life on the job more unpleasant and irksome. A snarling remark by a foreman, an unjust penalty meted out by supervision, a sudden transfer to a harder job, an arbitrary speedup imposed by management, a layoff in violation of seniority, a promised merit raise that hasn't come through, a grievance turned in two weeks ago and somehow lost in the shuffle—these are some of the problems that can vex workers.

And it is in trying to get such problems settled that the steward should take an interest in the worker and his job. Even when the worker has only a *fancied* grievance, even when his complaint can't be contractually processed, the steward should still take an interest in the matter. He should explain the case to help the worker see for himself that *in terms of the contract* he is not aggrieved.

When it comes to legitimate grievances, the steward should do his level best to get a satisfactory settlement at the department level. If the worker thinks that the steward has not tried hard enough to win the grievance, if the worker suspects that the steward is "passing the buck," is taking the "easy way out" by referring the case to the next stage of procedure, then the worker will harbor resentment not only against the steward but against the Union itself.

Workers don't expect the impossible from their steward. They know he can't have a 100 percent batting average; they know there are times when management gets tougher than usual and refuses to settle grievances on their merits. But if the steward, by his day-to-day actions, convinces the workers that he is doing the best he can to win their grievances and to straighten out their difficulties on the job, then he will command their loyalty and respect.

And workers who feel loyal to their steward are likely to attend meetings when he asks them to, especially if he attends too.

Thus, there are four ways by which the steward can increase Union participation by workers in his department: (1) by keeping workers informed about what is taking place in the Union; (2) by inviting workers to help him make decisions on vital Union matters; (3) by helping workers on in-plant and out-plant personal problems (4) by taking an active interest in the workers on their job problems or grievances.

FRANK MARQUART
former education director, UAW Local 212

PREPARING WRITTEN GRIEVANCES PROPERLY

When the contract calls for written grievances in the early steps of the grievance procedure, the local sometimes finds itself in trouble because the stewards or committeemen do not write up the grievance form properly. Sometimes this results in a grievance that is hard to process in later stages of the grievance procedure. In other cases, the steward may simply give up and call on the over-worked Chief Steward or the Business Representative to do it for him.

Unions have worked out several different ways to solve this problem. In some large plants, locals have set up a procedure in which all grievances are written by a person who spends full-time on grievance work (Grievance Committee member, Division Chairman, staff person). This is done when the contract is very complicated, with many interpretations and supplemental agreements. The job of the steward, under this procedure, is to take up the grievance verbally, collect the facts, make notes and explain the grievance to the full-time person who writes it.

A variation of this, in some plants, is to have stewards write up most grievances on their own, but to instruct them that certain types of grievances (such as re-classifications or new incentive rates) should be written up in cooperation with the top Grievance Committee.

However, in the majority of cases stewards are expected to write up grievances themselves, if the contract calls for it. Often the top grievance representative in the shop or the local does not have time to do this. Moreover, stewards feel more pride in their job if they are made responsible for writing up the grievance.

RUN A SESSION AT YOUR STEWARDS' MEETING

If the stewards are expected to write up grievances, and they do a poor job of it, what can the local do? A good place to tackle this problem is at the monthly steward meeting. Set aside an hour (or more) for an educational session on grievance writing. This can be conducted by the Shop Chairman, Chief Steward, Education Chairman, union staff person, or anyone else familiar with the local grievance procedure.

A lively and informative meeting can be conducted as follows:

1) Explain the grievance procedure;

2) Tell the stewards what goes on the form and demonstrate by writing up a sample grievance;

3) Have each steward write up a sample grievance himself;

4) Discuss the results; and

5) Give a 5-minute talk on the main points made during the session.

By following this general outline, the Chairman can get in most of the important points on written grievances.

If there are newly-elected stewards in the meeting, it is very important to have each steward write up a grievance himself. They gain confidence by the "do-it-yourself" method.

This is the way a meeting session like this works:

1 To begin with, the Chairman (or whoever is leading this part of the meeting) should outline the grievance procedure (with a diagram on a blackboard). Explain at what stage the grievance is written, the time limits, who writes it, who signs it, how the foreman answers it, etc. . . . This shows the stewards exactly when and where they fit in.

* * *

2 Pass out a copy of the local union's grievance form. Explain the facts in a simple grievance, then write it out on the blackboard, following the form. At this point, you can explain the information needed in a written grievance—usually who, what, when, where, why, and the settlement the union wants. Take time here for questions and discussion from the stewards.

* * *

3 Give the facts in another, different sample grievance, after telling the stewards that they are going to write this one up themselves. When you are sure they understand this grievance and how the contract applies to it, have each person write it up. (With "green" stewards, it is a good idea to encourage them to discuss and help each other.)

* * *

4 Then ask several people to read what they have written on the form. Write up the grievance on the blackboard. Explain why this is a good way to word this grievance and tell them how much detail is needed.

* * *

5 Finish up with a five-minute talk emphasizing the main points made during the meeting. This will help tie down the information in their minds.

* * *

If your stewards are new and inexperienced, the local should not expect one meeting like this to solve all problems with written grievances. Most stewards will also need some informal "teaching" in the shop. An experienced steward, or the Chief Steward, will have to advise them until they learn how to write up different kinds of grievances and get more practice.

If the local really wants the stewards to stand on their own feet and write grievances, however, the Chief Stew-



ard should be careful not to take over the job when a steward comes to him for help. It is better to explain what to write and why. This takes time, but it will pay off in a steward who knows what he is doing.

FINISHING THE JOB

Getting stewards to write grievances properly is important, but it is only part of the job of training stewards. Many times the local thinks that the problem is written grievances, when actually the problem is bigger than this.

> **There are three common reasons why stewards make mistakes in writing grievances—1) they don't understand the contract, 2) they didn't get all the facts straight and 3) they don't know how to put it into words. It may be that education on the contract or on "getting the facts" is what the stewards need most. (This is covered in another article which appears on page 7.)**

However, if the local believes that the main problem is that stewards don't know how to put the grievance into words, they can help by preparing a mimeographed sheet of sample grievances of various kinds—layoff, recall, promotion, transfer, merit increase, overtime, safety, discrimination, etc. To prepare this, go through the local's grievance file and edit actual cases.

This helps because some stewards get paralysis when they have to write. It may be a good idea to tell them quite frankly that good grammar and spelling are not necessary in order to win a grievance.

SAMPLE GRIEVANCE FORM

NAME OF UNION AND NUMBER

Fill out in triplicate

Employee _____

Clock No. _____ Dept. _____ Shift _____ Job _____

Seniority _____ Foreman _____

Nature of Grievance _____

_____

_____

_____

Clause of Contract violated _____

Settlement Desired _____

_____

_____

Date _____ Signature of employee _____

Disposition of grievance _____

_____

_____

Date _____ Signature of foreman _____
of other representative
of company

Grievance No. _____ Steward _____

_____



POINTERS FOR STEWARDS

A useful guidepost for stewards in writing up grievances is to tell them to first check to see that they have the following facts:

WHO was the worker involved? (Name, badge number, department).

WHAT happened to the worker that caused the grievance?

WHEN did it happen—Date the grievance began, not simply the date it is written. In some grievances the hour of the day may be important.

WHERE did it happen—What department or section? In safety grievances the exact location may be important.

WHY is it a grievance—Clause or clauses of the contract violated.

WHAT SETTLEMENT does the union want?—Retroactive pay? To what date? Always request an adjustment as specific as possible.

While it is important for the steward to have all the details, it may not be desirable for him to put everything down on the form. Contracts and local union thinking vary on the amount of detailed information required, particularly under "Statement of Grievance."

Usually stewards are advised to be brief and give only the essential facts. There are many situations in which a written grievance is mainly a formality for getting a problem into the procedure. In these cases a brief statement of the case will do the job. A brief statement may also be advisable in situations where the company uses any mistake on the form to back the union into a corner. When this occurs, the local usually figures "the less said in writing, the better."

On the other hand, there are contracts and industries where the procedure requires detailed information on the form. This requires special attention to training stewards or committee members.

No matter whether the form should be brief or detailed, stewards should be urged to make written notes of *all* the information they collect about the grievance. This provides a handy reference later.

Stewards should be told just why the union wants a brief statement or why the form should contain a lot of details. If the local uses written grievance files as a help in determining "precedents," or to prepare for negotia-

The "Wrong" and the "Right" Way

NOT ENOUGH INFORMATION

Nature of Grievance: The foreman is picking on John Jones and yesterday he transferred him.

Settlement Desired: Bring John Jones back to his job.

BETTER WAY TO WRITE THIS UP

Nature of Grievance: On August 8, the foreman transferred John Jones from Department 13 to Department 91. He has seniority since April 9, 1952. George Cole, who has seniority since May 2, 1953, is still in our Department. Both of them are Assemblers. This violates the transfer clause, Section VIII of the contract.

Settlement Desired: Put John Jones back on his old job in Department 13 immediately and pay him retroactive pay for any money he has lost.

tions on faulty contract clauses, tell them that they should keep this in mind when they are writing up a grievance.

"CLINIC" SESSION

Another way of conducting a meeting on written grievances is to hold a "Clinic Session."

To start this off, have the Shop Committee or a staff person (whoever handles grievances at the top steps) spend about 15 minutes explaining common mistakes in written grievances that have given them trouble. They

EXAMPLE

Nature of Grievance: Health and Safety. Ventilation in the heat treat room is not adequate, causing unhealthy and unsafe conditions for the men working there.

Clause of Contract Violated: Sec. 4, Paragraphs 4 and 5.
Settlement Desired: Management should take immediate steps to correct this condition.

EXAMPLE

Nature of Grievance: On May 9, Jim Brown (Shipping Packer, rate $1.90 an hour) was assigned to the Stock Room to perform Stock Clerk's duties. He worked for two hours unwrapping and storing items in proper bins.

Clause of Contract Violated: Sec. 2, Paragraph 6.
Settlement Desired:

(1) Jim Brown to be paid for two hours at Stock Clerk rate ($2.20 per hour);

(2) The Company assign only Stock Clerk classification to perform stock clerk duties.

should give some examples, without using any names. Follow this up with a question-and-answer period.

Then ask the stewards what problems they have with written grievances. If there is a large attendance at the meeting, break them up into small groups of six to ten people, and ask each group to come up with two main problems, as they see it.

By doing this, you will find out what is on the stewards minds. It may be that they want pointers on certain types of grievances, and the Shop Committee can explain these. They may also be concerned about what to do with the member who won't sign a grievance. If they bring this up, there is opportunity for discussion on how to build solidarity in the department and when it is desirable for a steward to file a grievance himself on behalf of the union.

A "Clinic Session" like this is particularly valuable when your stewards' group has a lot of experience.

* * *

Education programs for new stewards and "refresher" sessions for experienced stewards will help a great deal in getting better-written grievances. They should be part of a total program to educate stewards and keep them up-to-date, however. Classes for new stewards, monthly stewards' meetings, individual discussions of grievances with stewards, and bringing the steward in to see how grievances are handled in higher steps—all these methods contribute to his know-how.

MARJORIE BAILEY, Education Department
International Association of Machinists

Training Local Officers In The Administration Of The Agreement



Administering the collective bargaining agreement is the single most important function performed by the local union. The job includes the handling of a multitude of grievances and complaints which may not, at first sight, seem to have any relevance or relationship to the agreement. Training for this work is a perpetual need in the local union.

This article deals with the first step in developing written material for such training. It does not deal with the question of who does the teaching—professionally trained persons or local union men and women trained as teachers. Nor does it deal with the more difficult question of techniques and material designed to cope with the problems of analysis and articulation which are especially at issue when non-professional teachers are employed.

The first and basic requisite, however the training is done, is to have a body of written case material that deals in one way or another with typical, daily problems that arise under the agreement in the plant involved. (It is assumed that no pending cases can ever be used, since these must be taken up through the usual procedures, and decisions made by the appropriate part of the union machinery of government. The training class can never intrude into the regular union processes.)

Large Group of Cases Needed

In order to operate in this framework, the teacher needs first of all a large group of cases, problems, complaints and other material descriptive of actual happenings in the kind of plant involved. Case material will vary from industry to industry and even within industries. The locale of the case, the jobs it involves, the machines and circumstances must all be familiar to the class. There are some problems which are common to all industries. but their number is limited.

A large and important group of cases are those which must be argued under the "general welfare" clause, or appear at first sight to be lost—a clear-cut case of discharge for cause, for example.

One of the most successful examples in the training program with which I have for years been associated [1] is the one detailed below, an event that actually occurred in a paper mill many years ago, but never fails to bring a fresh and timely response from the classes that use it today. Note, however, that all the circumstances of the case are written specifically for men in a paper mill. The case is not used successfully in other parts of the paper industry, for example box plants or bag mills.

> **"CASE OF THE BROKEN CLOCK. The actors are a steward and a plant superintendent in a paper mill. Last night on the 11 to 7 shift, some of the men in the machine room got into a stock battle. The steward was there, but took no part.**
>
> **"One man threw a wad of stock against a large and expensive wall clock. The clock was broken with the hands at 3:15.**
>
> **"This morning the superintendent has called the steward to come up to his office. He is going to ask him to help find the man who threw the wad. He has made up his mind to fire that man, if he can put his finger on him. If not, he is thinking of giving *everyone* on the night shift, including the steward, a layoff.**
>
> **"The superintendent is a reasonable man. He is friendly toward the union and fair. But he has told the men repeatedly that he will not tolerate horseplay. This is the third time in a few months that damage has resulted from horseplay in the plant. A month ago slight damage was done to a piece of equipment in the digester room. Men were reprimanded then but no one was laid off or fired. The agreement gives the company the right to lay off or to fire for this offense.**
>
> **"The act takes place in the superintendent's office."**

Another case, which is also of the same general type is an exception to the rule, for it is readily adaptable to a variety of industries. This case, detailed below, also happened in a particular pulp mill many years ago, but

[1] All references to the program from which the cases here were extracted are from the Union Training Program of the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers and United Papermakers and Paperworkers.

like the earlier case it arouses the same fresh, lively response in classes today. The case is written to retain much of the flavor and style of its original telling.

> "CASE OF THE UNTIDY WORKER. The aggrieved worker in this case is a very untidy man of 55. He came into the plant a few years ago from somewhere back in the woods. He goes unshaven and often with a long beard. He speaks seldom and when he does so, it is with a low rumbling tone that makes little sense. But he is a very faithful workman. He attends every union meeting, but never says a word. Nobody pays any attention to him, either on the job or at union meetings.
>
> "Now the foreman does not want to be bothered with this character. At least, this is the impression that the other workers have. The foreman begins to bear down on the man and to make things uncomfortable for him.
>
> "One day the man meets the foreman downtown and tries to argue with him. Later the man is seen sharpening a long-bladed knife on the job. The foreman gets excited and goes to the superintendent and asks that the man be fired. The superintendent calls the man into the office and suggests that the man quit of his own accord. The man does so.
>
> "But the next day after he has had a chance to think it over, the man decides that he wants to have his job. He appeals to his steward to get the job back for him."

Both of the earlier cases are used to set up an act in which different members of the class assume roles, and then the members of the class discuss the issues in the case and the handling of the case, against the background of the act. Many issues of contract administration cannot be handled this way, since they are less matters of the relations among people than matters of technical analysis.

Focus Attention on Specific Issues

When the solution of the problem or the handling of the issue requires technical analysis of some kind, the work material must take a different form, but again it must build upon actual circumstances. Local officers and stewards take refuge in generalities, just as everyone else does, so that the need for focussing attention upon *specific* issues is always in the background of any training.

In dealing with technical questions, the requirements of specificity and particularity are even more severe. Cases must be relevant to the industry and plant, and they must also be significant under the agreement. It is always easy to get a group of local union men to tear into a problem before them, but if they discover later that the problem really has no practical application to their own plant or agreement, they are left with a sense of unease.

An example of a problem involving the application of overtime illustrates a wide area of subject-matter that can be treated with cases or exercises of the same general kind. It should be clear, at a glance, that the problem detailed below has significance only in a continuous operation mill.

> "APPLICATION OF OVERTIME. A finishing room man was transferred to another department for one week while a machine man was off. His shift on the machine was 12 pm to 8 am. At the end of the week, he was to go back to the finishing room on the 8 am-4 pm shift. In order to get 40 hours of work the next week, when he returned to his regular job, he would have to work 16 hours in one stretch. He asked if he would get time and one-half for the last 8 hours. The foreman said no.
>
> "1) If the agreement was worded as follows, what would be the answer to the man's question? '*Time and one-half will be paid for all time worked consecutively in excess of 8 hours beginning at the start of a designated shift or all hours worked in excess of 40 hours in one week.*'
> Draw a chart or diagram below to explain your answer.
>
> "2) What would be your answer if the agreement said: '*All work performed by tour workers in excess of eight (8) hours in any one straight-time day except by changing shifts, or in excess of forty (40) hours in any one work week, but not both, shall be considered as overtime and paid for at the rate of time and one-half.*'
>
> "3) What would be the answer under the terms of your own agreement? Be ready to read the language of your agreement which governs this question."

These cases serve to illustrate the direction and trend of training material needed for work with local officers and stewards. Illustrations from the application of seniority clauses would emphasize even more strongly the necessity of using material derived very directly and specifically from the practices of the industry and the provisions of the agreement. General material would be useless; even where specific material is available, the job of training in this subject-matter is extremely difficult.

It should be clear by now that the old adjurations and exhortations, printed and illustrated, about "knowing the contract," "getting the facts" and so on are useless in local union training. Local officers and stewards, as noted above, take refuge whenever possible in generalities, and even with the use of concrete cases, they are often satisfied that the best way to handle the case is to "get the facts." But in confronting a concrete problem that is real and familiar, the local man will respond in specific terms, as well as in generalities.

Enormous time and energy are spent each year in preparing stewards' manuals. They have never, in our experience, seemed to contribute anything to the learning process. The insatiable demand for them should be recognized for what it is—not evidence of utility, but the persistent and optimistic desire of union officers everywhere to find shortcuts that will help them do a better job. There should be no illusion among people who are seriously interested in training about what the manuals do. They are never a substitute for good training material.

SARA GAMM
Research and Education Department,
International Brotherhood of Pulp,
Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers

Use Films to Train Shop Stewards

This article deals with using the two Canadian-made films, "Shop Steward" and "The Grievance," in a stewards training program. Both of these are available from the AFL-CIO Film Division. These films are booked quite heavily during the year and those who hope to get them from the National AFL-CIO Education Department for a specific date must request them far in advance.

Would you like to do something different at your stewards' and committeemen's meetings—something entertaining as well as educational, something that will have people saying, "That was a good meeting. We ought to have more of them."?

If you're interested, here's what you do and how you do it:

Order from the AFL-CIO Education Department the two films called **Shop Steward** and **The Grievance.** Order **Shop Steward** for the first meeting and **The Grievance** for the second. These two films, made by the Canadian Film Board, are probably the best and most widely used training films for shop stewards or shop representatives.

Let's start with the **Shop Steward.** This is a twenty-minute film about Johnny Waliczek, a newly-elected steward of a Steelworkers local. In the film Johnny settles two grievances. The first grievance arises over the foreman's right to transfer a man with seniority from his job to one with lower pay. The second involves the firing of an older man because his production has fallen off.

Before you show the film at your meeting, preview it. You want to know what the film is about so you can introduce it properly at the meeting. (Take about 3 minutes to introduce the film, telling your audience what the film is, what to watch for.*)

Get a panel of two or three of your best grievance-handlers. These could be experienced shop stewards, members of the grievance committee, officers—anyone who has had a lot of experience settling grievances in the plant. Your job (you may be education chairman, president, business agent or what have you) as chairman of the meeting is to "pick the brains" of your panel in reference to the film.

The film gives everyone in the audience, including the panel, a common experience. They have all seen the new shop steward at work.

Now we want to learn something from this experience. You ask the panel questions like the following:

"Did the steward do a good job? What was especially good about his actions?"

"Was there anything the steward did that you think was a mistake? Why? How would you have handled it?"

"Did you notice anything in the handling of the grievance or any other procedures that were different from the way we do things in our local?"

(For example, in the film the new steward is elected right in the shop by the men in the department. Is this good, bad, why?)

This steward obviously is winning the respect and confidence of the men in his department, and the foreman too. How does he do it?

Does the film suggest any ways in which the union member can make the steward's job easier? Can you think of others? (In the film a worker is fired but does not report to his steward. The steward goes to the worker's house. This can open an entire discussion on the responsibility of the worker. Good for a general membership meeting.)

Many other questions are suggested by the film and many more will be raised by your panel and by your audience. Don't forget your audience!

Remember you are using your panel as a starter but they are not the whole show. After the panel has been going about 20 minutes, shoot some of these questions, or others, out to the audience. Let the panel comment on the audience's comments. Give and take, but remember you are steering the ship. Keep it on course. Always refer back to the picture. Compare it to your own practices. If your procedures are better than those shown in the film—fine! Brag about them. If the film has some new ideas, think about them, discuss them. Maybe you will want to adopt them if they fit your plant and your union.

The second film, **The Grievance,** is half an hour long and is the detailed description of a grievance, going through all the steps in the grievance procedure from the foreman's level all the way to arbitration. It is an excellent film made (as was **Shop Steward**) by the fine Canadian film maker, Morten Parker.

Parker knows what goes on in a plant, how workers act under pressure. The film is real and alive. It was filmed in the General Motors plant in Ontario, Canada. It opens with shots of the interior of the plant where men are working on truck cabs. Cabs come to this particular assembly line from the paint drier where they have been exposed to a high degree of heat and therefore need time to cool before they can be worked on with safety. Truck cab No. 23, a rush job, is pulled out of the regular line and moved ahead, right after it comes out of the drier. The line supervisor, Douglas, orders Pickard to work on it. Pickard refuses on the ground that it is still too hot. An argument ensues and Pickard is ordered off the job. He is disciplined by being transferred to another job with a lower pay rate.

The grievance is followed through all the steps of the grievance procedure. Before each step, union and management representatives investigate and gather facts to present their case most effectively. The grievance finally goes to arbitration and a settlement is reached.

The same panel technique can be used as suggested for **Shop Steward.** You might want to change the personnel of your panel to give your program some variety. If you preview the film, many questions will come to you that you will want to put to the panel. For example:

1. The steward does quite a bit of thorough investigation of the grievance. How does he go about this? (He talks to the worker who had the grievance, he checks the contract, he talks with the foreman, he

*The Film Division of the AFL-CIO Education Department has discussion guides for both "Shop Steward" and "The Grievance." These are sent to the local union at the time the films are booked and will be helpful in planning the discussion following the films.

visits the plant hospital to check on previous burns received by Pickard, he questions the employee who replaced Pickard.)

2. How many steps were there in the grievance procedure in this film? Describe them. Is this much different than the grievance procedure in our plant? How is it different?

3. The local union decides to arbitrate the grievance. Exactly how is this decision made? (Grievance committee recommends arbitration to stewards' council.) How does this differ from procedure in our own plant?

4. How was the arbitrator selected in the film? How do we select the arbitrator in our own local? This case revolves around the refusal of a worker to obey an order he thinks will do him harm. What is the position of our own local on this kind of situation?

These two films are at least five years old. But if they haven't been shown in your local, they are still brand new for you.

There are a number of other films which are good for stewards or committeemen's meetings. One of these is a half-hour film called **Strike in Town,** which has good shop scenes and good contract bargaining sessions. Two other films which are being widely used now are the O'Sullivan strike film, **The Fourth Battle of Winchester,** which is good as a starter for discussing some of the union-busting provisions of the Taft-Hartley law and **Labor's Witness,** a Congressional Committee hearing with UAW President Walter Reuther testifying. Two other excellent films are **With These Hands,** produced by the ILGWU, and **24 Hours,** made by Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.

Book Steward Training Films NOW!

I would like the film "Shop Steward" for (give choice of three dates):

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____

I would like the film "The Grievance" for (give choice of three dates):

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____

Name _____ Title _____

Local Union _____

Address _____

City _____ Zone ____ State _____

☐ check enclosed ☐ please bill

Mail to AFL-CIO Education Department, 815 16th St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

Send in the blank on this page and put some of these ideas to work at your own steward's meeting. You will be glad you did!

JOE GLAZER, Education Director
United Rubber Workers, AFL-CIO



RAISING THE STEWARD'S SIGHTS

Our target in this article is ignorance and the dangerous confusion in union members' minds about the role of the labor unions in the community and in our nation. We can proceed to identify the areas where help is most needed and indicate resources available to help those working with shop stewards not only in building understanding of the contract, settling grievances and maintaining high morale in the shop, but also in removing ignorance about labor's larger aims.

One of the painful experiences which we all have had is to suddenly find that a good guy in the shop still has unconscious pockets of racism in his mind, or that he does not accept the substance of resolutions which have been repeatedly passed by big majorities at AFL-CIO conventions about tariffs, inflation, immigration, desegregation, etc. John Doe, good and loyal union member in the shop, does not carry over his union's decisions and recommendations in election times at the precinct level where his brother-in-law perhaps has a political job and other loyalties operate.[1]

The previous articles in this series have emphasized the need for member participation, the development of communication skills and the evoking of opinions from members in the shop, the duty of the steward to keep the members informed, as well as to check on their dues payments and to safeguard the health of the member by observance of safety and good working conditions. The emphasis has been rightly placed upon creating faith and confidence in the union generally through specific help given by the shop steward. The member accepts the Biblical admonition: "He that is faithful in a very little is faithful also in much." The usefulness of shop and de-

[1] There are often sources of help in planning programs, getting discussion outlines, appropriate pamphlets and speakers for those who want to broaden their program for stewards as this article suggests.

There are many good films and pamphlets for use in education on politics and government, available from the AFL-CIO Department of Education. The AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education, 815 16th St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C., have a number of small pamphlets and leaflets on political education and you can ask to receive their bi-weekly **Political Memo from COPE.**

The Committee also has regional representatives in the field. Chances are that your international union has a COPE department and your local and state central labor bodies have a political education program.

partment meetings in making joint decisions has been also rightly stressed.

However, the steward must find some place to fill his own jug from the stream of inspiration and information. How can he enthuse the new member unless he himself feels good about the union? Most unions have met the need for informed and inspired shop leaders by setting up special institutes for shop stewards and chairladies. These institutes themselves are in part a reward and a recognition of the valuable service which the steward gives to the union. On the job he often gets more kicks than cash and compliments for his services.

Obviously, then, the steward must know the history of his own union because he represents that union in the day-to-day operations. If the shop steward is uninformed, then the member will remain in ignorance. Every local should make available a lively illustrated leaflet or booklet which the shop steward can use to help in the introduction. The ILGWU has a "Welcome" leaflet which is given or mailed to new members. The steward also should be provided with at least one popular history of the whole labor movement.[2]

Community Problems

Increasingly, the shop steward is called upon to give help and assistance in *out-plant* as well as *in-plant* problems. Certainly, he cannot perform these important duties unless he himself receives help and training. Unless the steward is a dedicated soul with a full understanding and appreciation of the ideals of the labor movement, sooner or later he will fail even in the technical day-to-day details and responsibilities of his important job.

There is no division between theory and practice in this regard and there should be no conflict between the immediate aims and the long-time purposes of the union. It is easy to see, for example, that community services counselling implies a knowledge of the social agencies, and indeed some theory about charity and the government agencies which come in to help our citizens in time of need.[3]

Unless the shop steward understands and values the essence of our democratic freedoms, then he and the members in the shop will possibly become reconciled to bureaucratic administration. The disastrous short-sightedness of the Teamsters Union rank-and-file, and their failure until now to reform their organization, are immeasurably hurting the reputation of the labor movement as a whole. We can recall the earlier dangerous example of the German unions whose leaders were easily replaced by Hitler's nominees, partly because of the former's lack of contact with the rank-and-file. For many union members it was easy to change one boss for another.

In other words, the shop steward must be helped to understand the *why* as well as the *how* of trade unionism. He needs motivation *and* information. If he is not aware of the trend from *business* unionism to *social* unionism, then he may fall short of his duties as a leader at the plant level. He must "raise his sights" and he must have a larger perspective than can be obtained if he tries to concentrate only on his immediate shop problems. How, for example, can he combat the widespread accusations against Labor for causing higher prices unless he understands the real causes of inflation? The current fierce arguments about "right-to-work" bills involve a comprehension of the indispensable disciplines involved in group living and some knowledge of the legal status of trade unions and the long struggle to improve it.[4]

Economic Information

How can he combat the deceptive Nixon proposal for a federal sales tax unless he knows something about the various forms of taxation?[5] How can he prevent the shorter working day creating "moonlighting" in additional jobs unless he endeavors to influence his members to recognize the dangers of this procedure and to help them utilize wisely and creatively the leisure made possible by union effort?

The problem is, how best to equip our stewards with larger perspectives. Can we in special institutes help our shop stewards to be agents of information about, for example, Quemoy and Formosa and about the role which oil plays in the problems of the Middle East? All this means some understanding of economic geography. And there are popular textbooks, films and filmstrips which can be utilized for this. No one can doubt that relatively few of our shop stewards could explain to their members the AFL-CIO International Affairs program.[6]

The AFL-CIO, for example, has always fought valiantly for federal aid to education and we can help our shop stewards to see why this is necessary to any real equality of opportunity. Then, too, increasingly the AFL-CIO has boldly challenged red and black Fascism and also the Faubus attempts to continue segregation in the schools. The AFL-CIO has always defended such examples of public enterprise as the TVA. In all these subjects information, discussion and clear thinking are necessary if our active members in the shops are also active as citizens. The where-you-work democracy must necessarily be reinforced by where-you-live activity. More and more, trade unionists and producers line up with their fellow consumers and citizens in many municipalities.

Must we not, in order to win over public opinion

[2] Useful pamphlets and books on labor history include: **Forward March of American Labor** by Theresa Wolfson and Joe Glazer, published by the League for Industrial Democracy, 112 E. 19th St., New York 3, N. Y. (32 pp., 15¢ per copy, quantity rates); **Brief History of the American Labor Movement** published by the U. S. Dept. of Labor and available from the Supt. of Documents, U. S. Gov't Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. (86 pp., 35¢ per copy. Bulletin No. 1000, 1957 Revision); and the book, **Labor in America**, by Mark Starr and Harold U. Faulkner published by Oxford Book Company, 71 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. ($1.60 each, paperbound; 25 or more, $1.35 each).

Also available is the newly-revised *Labor and the American Way*, by Mark Starr. 92 pp. Oxford Book Co. (60¢, single copies; 40¢ per copy, 25 or more.)

[3] There are many sources for creating understanding of labor and the community. Help, advice and materials for educating on labor's relation to community welfare problems and agencies can be obtained by writing AFL-CIO Community Services Activities, 9 E. 40th St., New York 16, N. Y.

The American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO, 23 E. Jackson Blvd., Chicago 4, Ill., and the AFL-CIO Department of Education can help you create understanding and support of public education. The AFL-CIO Religious Relations Representative, 815 16th St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C., and the Religion and Labor Foundation, 2404½ N. High St., Columbus 14, Ohio, can help in programs on religious views of the labor movement.

[4] For ideas on educating on this subject send for the AFL-CIO Education Department publication **Educate on "Right-to-Work"** (12 pp. 5¢ per copy, $3.50 for 100). A good background pamphlet on the issue is AFL-CIO's publication No. 46, **Facts vs. Propaganda** (20 pp. 3¢ per copy, $2.75 for 100) while AFL-CIO has also published a more detailed analysis and treatment of this issue in the book **Union Security** (133 pp. $1.50 per copy).

[5] Send to the AFL-CIO Research Department, 815 16th St., N. W., Washington 6, D. C. for the September, 1958, issue of their publication "Economic Trends and Outlook" entitled **Nixon's Top-Heavy Tax Program.** For basic understanding of how our tax systems operate send to the same Department for the February, 1959 issue of "Labor's Economic Review" **State and Local Tax Burdens Must be Fairly Shared** and the February, 1958 issue **For a More Equitable Tax System.** A comprehensive treatment of state and local taxes is also available in book form from the AFL-CIO.

[6] Many education committees have found by trying it that stewards and local leaders are receptive to good programs on international problems. Contact the AFL-CIO Dept. of International Affairs, 815 16th Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C., for sources in this field, for their monthly AFL-CIO **Free Trade Union News** and the pamphlet **Questions and Answers on American Labor and World Affairs** (No. 84, 72 pp. 30c each; $20 for 100). With sufficient notice the department can also help you to get a visiting foreign trade unionist to speak at one of your stewards meetings.

against the threat of punitive anti-union legislation, rally our fellow citizens to our side even for reasons of self-defense? Must we not widen out the sense of belonging which is felt by a shop group to the wider areas of our community? The member or steward who does not know *why* he is a trade unionist and his relation to the organized labor movement is a potential scab.

Tackling Discrimination

Or, let's take the question of civil rights and discrimination as another example. Gunnar Myrdal, a distinguished Swedish social scientist in 1944 wrote a two-volume book on race relations in the U. S. called *An American Dilemma*. It has been read all over the world. In it he described our treatment of the Negro as our ". . . greatest and most conspicuous scandal," and our ". . . greatest failure." He went on to say that ". . . the simple fact is that an educational offensive against racial intolerence . . . has never seriously been attempted in America." Obviously much progress has been made in the last 14 years but, what are we doing about this "educational offensive" at the shop level.[1]

Eyes are now focused on the school desegregation controversy, and implimenting our labor movement's stand at the local level is crucial. How many stewards groups have discussed the "what," "why," and "how," of the AFL-CIO policy of no-discrimination in hiring, tenure, up-grading, etc. and in apprenticeship and vocational training programs in which unions participate?

The difficulties of doing this should not be underestimated. Many shop stewards already have a full assignment in settling grievances and piece rates, dealing with complaints and interpreting the clauses of their contract. In some large plants there might be an assistant steward to help in the outside duties. In the Ladies Garment Workers in New York City the union locals have developed a system of fire prevention wardens for each shop with such special supplementary duties. The Community Services Program of AFL-CIO trains counsellors other than shop stewards to help handle members' out-of-plant problems.

The trade union movement today must and will continue to function on a broader horizon than ever before. The shop steward is still a key figure in the daily operation of this changing movement. The quality of the steward is therefore decisive. When a shop steward gives out leaflets, keeps the bulletin board up to date, helps initiate new members, counsels members on a wide variety of problems, he is learning-by-doing and beginning to "raise his sights" in the best possible way. But if the labor movement is to remain alive and vital the knowledge, understanding and ability to function as a steward should start with these things—but not end with them.

Are we taking this into account in the programs we plan for stewards?

MARK STARR
Education Director, ILGWU

[1] For example, in dealing with prejudice and discrimination, some national and international unions have civil rights or anti-discrimination departments. The AFL-CIO Department of Civil Rights, 815 16th St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C., has produced a number of useful pamphlets on this subject. The National Labor Service, 386 Fourth Ave., New York 16, N. Y., sends out a monthly column and pamphlet packets for trade unionists on civil rights and civil liberties. It also publishes materials for use in education programs. The Jewish Labor Committee, Atran Center, 24 E. 78th St., New York 21, N. Y., works in this field and puts out monthly Labor Reports, which contain news stories on civil rights. They also have regional staff people throughout the country who are available for program help. You can get on the mailing lists of all of these groups by writing them.

Leadership Practices and Member Participation in Local Unions

Robert L. Kahn & Arnold S. Tannenbaum

Social psychologists have shown a consistent and increasing interest in the area of leadership and human relations skills. [The Human Relations Program of the Survey Research Center, among others, has conducted a number of research projects in this area, the results of which have been summarized by Katz and Kahn, Likert and Seashore, and others.*] One of the general conclusions which can be drawn from this research on the problem is that supervisory practices are of crucial importance in determining the productivity and satisfaction of industrial workers. While the leadership patterns which generate high productivity and satisfaction are not identical, the behavior of the immediate supervisor or primary group leader is a key determinant of both.

In studies of industrial organizations, we have looked on individual productivity as reflecting the amount of effort which an individual is motivated to expend in his organizational role. In the union local we predicted relationships between a union member's participation and his perception of the steward's skills in four aspects or functional areas of leadership.

The first of these refers to the steward's skills in communications. Many of the men depend heavily on the steward for information regarding the program and activities of the union. These messages may play an important part in interesting and motivating the member in local affairs. Communications from the steward may also facilitate member participation in ways quite distinct from questions of motivation. For example, knowledge of meeting times and issues to be discussed, election procedures, and the like may be given or denied the member according to the steward's diligence and skill in discharging the communications function.

The second aspect of the member-steward relationship which we measured deals with the practice of joint decision making. We assumed that such behavior on the part of the steward would in fact increase the member's control over union affairs, make the experience of membership more rewarding psychologically, and for these reasons motivate him to greater participation.

The third of the leadership functions which we attempted to measure is less specific, and relates to the steward's ability to provide a resource and support for the men in his shop. The question was whether the men feel they can get help from the steward when they need it. "Help" may mean a kind of technical resource, getting information about company rules and regulations, procedures to be followed with respect to making application for a better job or protesting some foreman action. "Help" may also refer to a more direct kind of support, the member's feeling that he has a friend of some standing and influence in the work situation.

The last measure of steward leadership included in this study hits more directly at the interpersonal relationship between member and steward. In asking the member whether the steward really takes an interest in him, we were trying to get some measure of the effect which characterizes this interpersonal relationship. Other research has demonstrated a connection between "employee-centered" supervision and productivity, and has indicated also that trust and liking may be a condition for the effective use of supervisory skills. For these reasons we predicted a relationship between the member's perception of steward interest and the member's actual participation in the union.

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* Daniel Katz and Robert Kahn, "Some Recent Findings in Human Relations Research." In Swanson, *et al.* (Eds.) *Readings in Social Psychology* (Revised). New York: Henry Holt, 1952. Pp. 650-665.

Rensis Likert and Stanley Seashore, "Employee Attitudes and Output." In *Monthly Lab. Rev.*, Vol. 77, No. 6, June, 1954. Pp. 641-648.

Do Your Members Participate?

Many studies have been made of foremen and supervisors which show that the way in which they work with the men and women under their direction has a great deal to do with the productivity and job satisfaction of these workers. Two researchers at the University of Michigan, Robert L. Kahn and Arnold S. Tannenbaum, have now made a study of stewards along a similar line. They wanted to see whether steward's relationships with the workers they represent had an effect on members' activity in the union as a whole.

They have discovered, as many thoughtful unionists already knew, that the shop STEWARD IS A KEY TO BUILDING A STRONG UNION AND GETTING MEMBERS TO PARTICIPATE IN THE LOCAL'S PROGRAM.

The above article is based on a chapter from the book "Participation in Union Locals," by Tannenbaum and Kahn. (275 pp. 1958. Row-Peterson and Co., Evanston, Ill. $5.50.) The book covers other aspects of participation in the four local unions besides the area covered in this article.

* * *

Because this is somewhat academic in its interpretation of the problem, you will find an article on page 2 by Frank Marquart, who has had long experience in training stewards. He analyzes the findings of the researchers in a local union situation. As his article indicates, good stewards do make a difference!

The data presented below are taken from a study of membership participation in four local unions. The unions chosen for study are of the industrial type, are within the size-range of 350-850 members, and are located in Michigan. They were chosen to differ in their level of membership participation as measured by attendance at meetings, member activities at these meetings (such as making and seconding motions, asking questions, etc.), involvement in committee work, and voting in union elections. The locals are assigned fictitious names, and are, in descending order of membership participation: National Sergeant, Ensign, Walker.

The locals were also found to differ in the degree to which the members consider themselves as exercising contol over the affairs of their local. Membership participation and membership influence in the local were found to correspond closely, with the order of locals on degree of membership control being: National, Ensign, Sergeant, Walker. It is within the context of these organizational characteristics that we shall present and discuss some of the differences in steward practices among the four locals.

Data were obtained by means of paper and pencil questionnaires given to about 150 members of each local.

The Extent to Which the Stewards Keep the Members Informed About What Is Going On in the Union

Table 1 presents data for the membership of each local, based on responses to the question: "How well does your steward keep you informed about what is going on in the union?"

Table 1

Reported Communications Practices of Stewards

Local	Rank Order in Member Participation	Rank Order in Member Control	Doesn't keep us well informed	Tries, but doesn't do too well	Usually keeps us well informed	Keeps us very well informed	Total percent
National	1	1	10%	12	46	32	100
Sergeant	2	3	17%	23	43	17	100
Ensign	3	2	12%	15	48	25	100
Walker	4	4	29%	23	37	11	100

The hypothesis that the level of membership participation will vary directly with the extent to which the stewards keep the members informed receives some support. National, which ranks highest in participation, ranks correspondingly high in communications skills at the steward level. Walker, on the other hand, ranks lowest in both these respects. A correlation also appears to exist between membership control and the extent of steward communication. No group, whether leadership or membership, can maintain effective control without having at its disposal appropriate information about the matters under consideration. The mere fact of knowing will not give the members control over the affairs of their union; however, they certainly will not be able to institute control unless they do have knowledge.

The Extent to Which the Steward Asks the Members' Help in Deciding What Should Be Done About Union Matters

Communication is seldom a one-way process. If stewards inform members about union affairs, the members may respond by offering their reactions or ideas. If the steward makes some systematic attempt to solicit such action, a process of joint decision making may be under way. To illuminate the effects of this steward behavior on participation, each respondent was asked, "Does your steward ever ask the men to help him in deciding what should be done about union matters?" Table 2 presents data based on responses to this item.

Table 2

Reported Practices of Stewards in Involving Members in Decision Making

Local	Rank Order in Member Participation	Rank Order in Member Control	He never or hardly ever asks us	He sometimes asks us	He often asks us	He always asks us	Total percent
National	1	1	12%	26	34	28	100
Sergeant	2	3	17%	26	38	19	100
Ensign	3	2	29%	26	29	16	100
Walker	4	4	31%	28	22	19	100

In the two active unions, and especially in National, the majority of stewards "often or always" involve the men in the decision-making process.

The Extent to Which the Steward Helps the Member in Need

A third important leadership function is that of resource person, a person to whom a member of the group can turn for assistance. Each respondent was asked, "How much help do you feel you get from your steward when you really need it?" Table 3 presents data based on responses to this question.

These data suggest that effective support on the part of the steward is an important aspect of the active union's

Table 3

Reported Assistance from Stewards

Local	Rank Order in Member Participation	Rank Order in Member Control	Hardly ever or seldom get help when I need it	Sometimes get help	Usually get help	Always get help when I need it	Total percent
National	1	1	2%	7	29	62	100
Sergeant	2	3	2%	8	45	45	100
Ensign	3	2	3%	6	44	47	100
Walker	4	4	12%	17	43	28	100

mode of operation, and probably a key factor in its success.

The Amount of Interest Steward Takes in Members' Getting Along on the Job

One of the characteristics of successful leadership which has been demonstrated repeatedly in the industrial environment is a concern for, or interest in, the group member. Each respondent was asked, "How much interest does your steward take in your getting along on the job?" Table 4 presents the responses to this question.

Table 4

Reported Interest of Stewards in Members on the Job

Local	Rank Order in Member Participation	Rank Order in Member Control	Takes no interest in me on job	Takes a little interest in me on job	Takes quite a lot of interest in me on job	Takes a great deal of interest in me on job	Total percent
National	1	1	5%	12	32	51	100
Sergeant	2	3	6%	25	41	28	100
Ensign	3	2	10%	20	36	34	100
Walker	4	4	12%	32	28	28	100

Participation on the local level appears to vary with the interest which the stewards are reported to take in their men. These differences between locals support the inference that such an orientation on the part of stewards is one means by which a union leadership develops membership participation.

Summary and Conclusions

This article has been concerned with certain leadership skills and functions, and with their relationship to member participation and control. Interpretation of these findings deserves explicit mention, since alternative interpretations are not wholly implausible. Are the better communications practices of stewards in active locals properly regarded as a cause of this activity, or is it not that the members of such locals (active for other reasons) demand and get adequate communications from their steward?

Some light can be shed on this problem, however. Our interpretation receives corroboration, first of all, from the clustering of activity around certain stewards within each of the four locals. Analysis of variance indicates a highly significant conformance of activity level along departmental lines in each plant. That this is attributable in part to differences among the stewards who serve these departments seems reasonable. Those locals in which the four steward practices described are most prevalent are most active, and, within each local, stewards who offer such leadership have the more active shops. Since the locals themselves were selected for rough comparability in age, community, recent labor-management history, ethnic characteristics, and other essentials, and since the assignment of workers to departments in each plant certainly is accomplished without any attempt to create clusters of active union members, the conclusion is reinforced that the level of union activity is determined in large part by the situation as the worker experiences it. It is hard to doubt that the steward has a major share in defining this situation.

> "Member participation in a union does not just grow; it must be cultivated. It must be desired by the membership and fostered by the leaders. The results of the present study suggest that high membership control appears to exist where leaders such as the stewards are aware and responsive to the members' needs and problems."

Through his role as grievance processor, decision maker, and communicator, the steward appears to be an important instrumentality for the promotion or the weakening of union democracy. He may or may not help keep the men informed, involve them in certain decisions, work for the achievement of their goals, and offer them a supportive relationship. Insofar as he performs these functions effectively, our data argue that he is stimulating member participation and contributing to membership control in local affairs.

The differences among the four locals illustrating the relationship between the human relations skills on the part of stewards and membership control and participation are summarized in Table 5.

Table 5

Rank Order of Locals on Membership Control, Participation and the Practice of Human Relations Skills on the Part of Stewards

	Rank Order						
Local	Membership control	Participation	Steward informs members	Steward helps men	Steward takes interest	Steward asks men to help decide	Summary human relations skills
National	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Ensign	2	3	2	2	2	3	2
Sergeant	3	2	3	3	3	2	3
Walker	4	4	4	4	4	4	4

Member participation in a union does not just grow; it must be cultivated. It must be desired by the membership and fostered by the leaders. The results of the present study suggest that high membership control appears to exist where leaders such as the stewards are aware and responsive to the members' needs and problems. Stewards in locals where membership control is high appear to have taken on added responsibilities and to give serious weight to their "supervisory" role in the union. They are stewards not only in the formal sense of the word, but they take on some of the functions of consultants, communicators, and mentors. They interact with their men over and beyond the formal requirements of their role. They let their men know what is going on and in turn obtain the opinions of their men on union matters. They appear to value their men as individuals. It seems likely that these skills and behaviors are among the causes of member participation.

MATERIALS AND FILMS FOR YOUR STEWARDS EDUCATION PROGRAM

AFL-CIO Manual for Shop Stewards

Handy pocket-size steward's or committeeman's manual. Includes sections on The Steward's Job, How to Settle Grievances, Enforce the Contract, Steward's Dictionary, etc. Place one in the hands of each of your stewards. (No. 75. 64 pp. 20c per copy; 10-99 copies, 17c each; 100-999 copies, 15c each; 1000 or more, 13c each.)

AFL-CIO Teaching Guide

For steward training classes. This is a simple teaching outline for a six-session course for stewards. Based on the AFL-CIO stewards manual, each session contains page references to relevant sections in the manual. (37 pp. $1.00 per copy.)

Film—The Shop Steward

(Described on page 9) (22 min. B&W. 1952. Rental $2.50.)

Film—The Grievance

(Also described on page 9) (32 min. B&W. 1955. Rental $3.00.)

Films for Labor

AFL-CIO's film catalogue of over 300 other useful titles to help you in educating stewards and having them keep the membership informed on all the issues and problems facing the union movement. Indexed by subject matter and title. (No. 22. 96 pp. 25c per copy; 10-99 copies, 23c each.)

Shop Stewards Poster

Is one of a series of AFL-CIO posters for use on bulletin boards, etc. It contains a famous quote by Woodrow Wilson on grievances and depicts the role of the shop steward. (Poster No. 3. 8½x11". 5c per copy; 100 copies, $3.00.)

AFL-CIO Education News and Views

Each month reviews new films, pamphlets and books and contains articles with ideas to apply to your stewards and other union education programs. (Free subscription available to union officers and instructors.)

Reprinted from five issues of 1958, *AFL-CIO Education News and Views*. For additional copies, write to AFL-CIO Education Department, 815 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

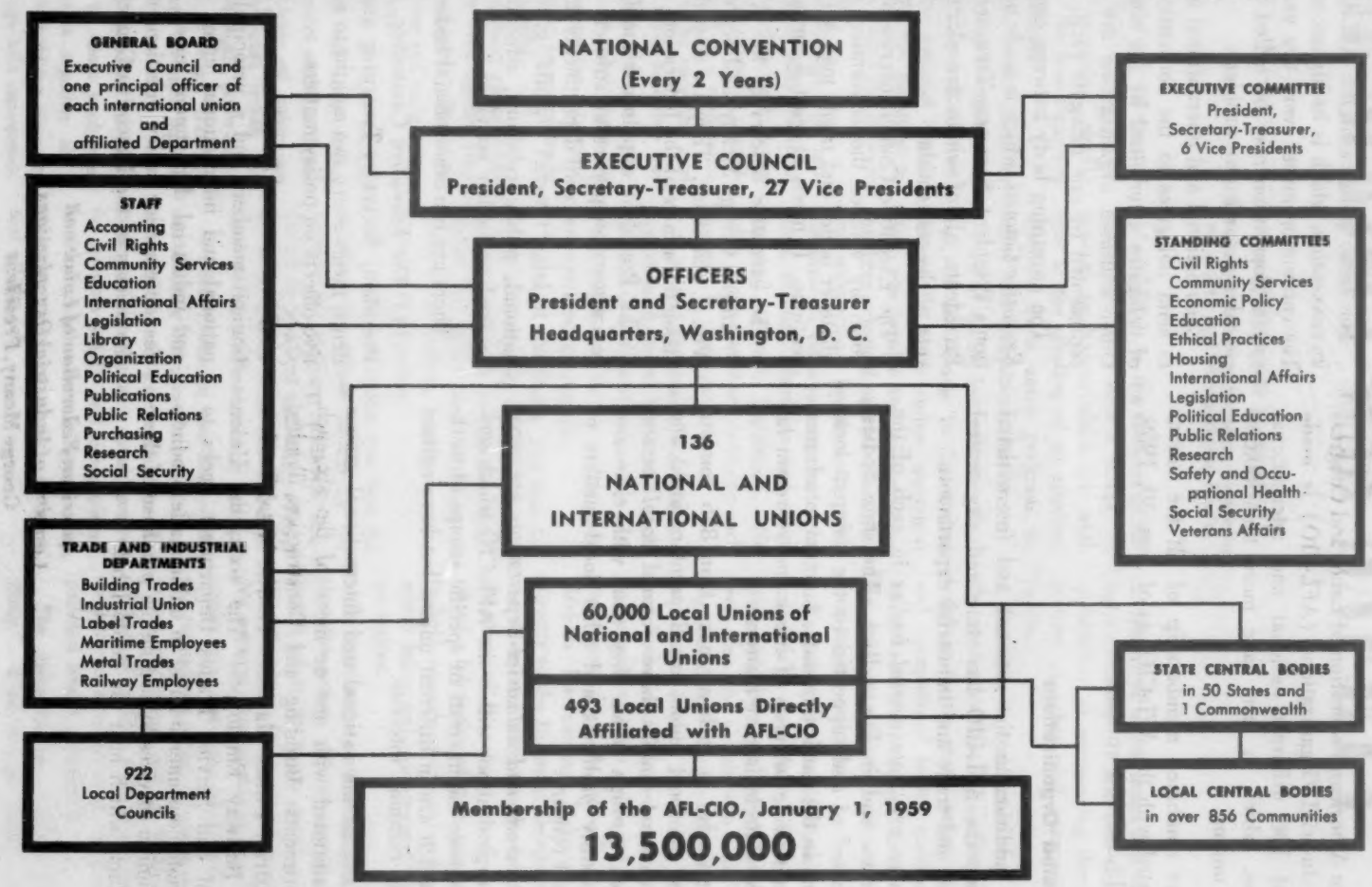
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

George Meany, *President* **Wm. F. Schnitzler, *Secretary-Treasurer***

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Printed in U.S.A.

STRUCTURAL ORGANIZATION
of the
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS



Structure of the AFL-CIO

Membership

The American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) is made up of 136 different national and international unions, which in turn have more than 60,000 local unions.

The combined membership of all the unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO, as of June 30, 1959, was 13,500,000 workers.

Affiliated Organizations

In addition to the national and international unions, the AFL-CIO has state and city central bodies and trade and industrial departments.

There are *state central bodies* in each of the 50 states and in Puero Rico. The state bodies, composed of and supported by the different local unions in the particular state, function to advance the state-wide interests of labor and represent labor on state legislative matters.

Similarly, in each of more than 856 communities, the local unions of different national and international unions have formed *local central bodies,* through which they deal with civic and community problems and other local matters of mutual concern.

The *trade and industrial departments* are separate organizations within the AFL-CIO which seek to promote the interests of specific groups of workers which are in different unions but have certain strong common interests.

Many of the national and international unions are affiliated with one or more of the six such departments: Building and Construction Trades, Industrial Union, Maritime Trades, Metal Trades, and Railway Employees. The sixth, the Union Label and Service Trades Department, seeks to promote consumer interest in union-made products and union services by urging the purchase of those products which bear the union label.

Policy Determination and Application

The basic policies of the AFL-CIO are set by its *convention,* which is its highest governing body. The convention meets every two years, although a special convention may be called at any time to consider a particular problem.

Each national and international union is entitled to send delegates to the convention, the number of delegates determined by the size of the union. Other affiliated organizations are entitled to be represented by one delegate each.

The governing body between conventions is the *Executive Council,* which is made up of the federation's President, Secretary-Treasurer, and 27 Vice Presidents, all of whom are elected by majority vote of the convention.

The Executive Council carries out policies laid down by vote of the convention and deals with whatever issues and needs may arise between conventions. It meets at least 3 times a year.

The *executive officers* of the AFL-CIO are its *President,* George Meany, and *Secretary-Treasurer,* Wm. F. Schnitzler. They are responsible for supervising the affairs of the federation.

The President appoints a number of *standing committees* on particular subjects and directs the committees and staff departments in providing services to labor through organizing, legislative, international, public relations, educational, economic research and other activities.

There are two other official bodies:

(1) The *Executive Committee,* made up of the President, Secretary-Treasurer and 6 Vice-Presidents, meets every two months to advise the executive officers on policy matters.

(2) A *General Board,* made up of the Executive Council members and a principal officer of each national and international union and each trade and industrial department, meets at least once a year to consider policy questions referred to it by the officers of the Executive Council.

American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations
George Meany, *President*
Wm F. Schnitzler, *Secretary-Treasurer*
Washington 6, D. C.

First AFL-CIO Conference

THE SUBJECT WAS SAFETY

By RICHARD F. WALSH
Chairman, AFL-CIO Standing Committee on Safety and Occupational Health

NOBODY is "against" safety and occupational health. Everybody agrees that "something" should be done about it. But how many are willing to do something?

To find the answer to this question, the AFL-CIO Standing Committee on Safety and Occupational Health recently held its first national conference at the AFL-CIO Building in Washington. We looked for answers and we found them.

We obtained the answers from representatives of some fifty national and international unions sent to the conference by their respective organizations. They came to a conference where there were no speeches and where no one but trade unionists was in attendance. They came to a conference designed to give them an opportunity to discuss the ways and means of establishing an active trade union safety movement.

After a brief opening general session, the delegates were divided into four sub-groups, supplied with identical sets of questions and assigned to four separate rooms.

Once they arrived in their rooms, the delegates took off their coats, rolled up their sleeves and got down to work on problems of achieving safety and occupational health for trade unionists through labor-management relations, through training and education and through legislation.

At the close of the three half-day sessions devoted to these problems, the sub-groups came together at a final general session where they reported their findings and recommendations under rules of good and welfare. The results of their work are to be found right after this article.

In addition to the findings of the conference, there were a number of general conclusions which are pertinent to the creation of an effective, dynamic trade union program for safety and occupational health.

First of all, the fact was recognized that, of all groups in the United States, the trade union movement alone was capable and willing to use the three principal pathways to safety and occupational health made possible through labor-management relations, through education and training and through legislation. No other group would or could approach the goal in these three ways.

A second conclusion was that cooperation between labor and management would provide America with a far better pathway to safety than progress through tragedy.

The third conclusion was that the key to labor-management cooperation was the joint labor-management committee for safety and occupational health—not endless, wordy speeches praising cooperation.

A fourth conclusion was that the criterion for action should be the number of training seminars conducted by national and international unions and their local unions rather than merely conferences and forums.

A fifth conclusion was that—without shifting its own duties and responsibilities to government—the trade union movement should actively promote safety and occupational health legislation benefiting all workers—non-union and union—both on and off the job.

The sixth conclusion was that it was not enough for a collective bargaining agent to represent workers in matters of wages, hours and working conditions. It also had the responsibility of representing them in matters of safety and occupational health.

The seventh conclusion was that the conference was a good start toward an active trade union safety and occupational health movement, but it could not be judged until after the delegates went to work on their own recommendations.

No one who watched these trade unionists at work during the conference could have any doubt that here were men and women who were "doing something" about safety and occupational health for their fellow trade unionists. That was why it was not surprising when a delegate to the conference, Fred B. Driscoll of the Barbers International Union, went directly to the House of Delegates of the Maryland Legislature—he is a member of the House—and introduced a bill authorizing the governor to hold annual safety conferences to which labor and management would be invited.

In summary, it is certainly true that the safety and occupational health of trade union members on the job cannot be produced by waving a magic wand at this or any other conference; but if the hard work and the enthusiasm of the delegates to the recent conference are an indication of what is to come, then we are going to have an effective safety and occupational health movement.

The delegates *are* "doing something." What is *your* answer to the question which gave rise to the first AFL-CIO Conference on Safety and Occupational Health?

General Recommendations for Achieving Safety Through Labor-Management Relations

1. Cooperation between labor and management will provide America with a far better pathway to safety and health than progress through tragedy.

2. There are no valid reasons why labor and management cannot unite in discharging their common responsibilities for safety and health, despite allegations concerning the high cost of safety and the prerogatives of management.

3. The trade union movement generally should take a more active role as the collective bargaining agents of their members and obtain recognition for matters of safety and health as well as wages, hours and other working conditions.

4. All trade unions were urged to negotiate safety and health clauses in their collective bargaining agreements. The AFL-CIO Standing Committee is requested to determine by a study to what extent trade unions do represent their members in matters of safety through collective bargaining agreements.

5. The language of a safety and health clause can be general or specific, depending upon circumstances in each industry. It was noted that too specific language might deny latitude to both labor and management in resolving their problems.

6. Joint labor-management committees were recommended as the most effective method of achieving the mutual goal of safety and health. Emphasis was placed upon membership of top-level management officials on the committee, no matter what form of joint committee might be chosen.

7. Where joint labor-management committees cannot be established promptly, the local union should establish its own safety and health committee and work toward a joint committee.

8. Whenever possible, safety and health problems should be resolved within the structure of the joint safety committee. Grievance machinery in a contract should be used as a last resort and, where possible, the number of steps reduced.

9. Properly trained union safety men should be on joint committees and such representatives should be rotated so as to stimulate interest in safety among local union members.

10. Jointly agreed-to rules, regulations and penalties should be made known generally by posting them on bulletin boards and other methods. Plant inspections, accident investigations and reports should be joint efforts of management and labor.

11. Discipline for just cause is mutual responsibility of labor and management. Application of penalties—particularly where discharge is a penalty—must be subject to grievance machinery of contract as the terminal point. A worker has the right not to work under hazardous conditions without being penalized.

12. Genuine safety and health requirements are not "featherbedding," and that tag is used too often as a propaganda roadblock to prevent attainment of safety and health.

General Recommendations for Achieving Safety Through Education and Training

1. National and international unions should set aside time at their conventions for consideration and action upon matters of safety and health affecting their members on and off the job. State and city central bodies should also earmark time for the same reason. Consideration should be given to regional meetings at which representatives from several states might convene.

2. There is no substitute for training. Apprentice training courses should include training in safety and health. Job training should include such training. International unions should require safety and health training courses to be conducted by its local unions or jointly by local unions and their employers where such cooperation is possible. The proper agencies of the federal and state governments should be contacted and their cooperation sought to provide training courses. The AFL-CIO should promote training courses for representatives designated by its affiliates; graduates of such training would then establish training courses in their respective international unions.

3. Local unions, city central bodies and state bodies should actively participate in all public efforts to promote safety and health on and off the job. Labor has a positive role to play in community, state and regional safety efforts. In this connection all international unions and their local unions are urged to affiliate and participate actively in the National Safety Council through its Labor Division.

4. Trade union publications should play a more active role in shaping the attitudes of members toward safety and occupational health. A regular safety section could be made a part of every publication. Reference books and monthly magazines devoted to safety could be utilized by local unions and international unions. Films on safety and health matters should be included as training materials. Current developments on the safety and occupational health of local union members could be posted on bulletin boards in union offices and on the job.

5. Since training is the foundation of a good safety program, each international union should consider having a staff person with either full-time or part-time responsibilities for development of the international union's safety program under the guidance of the elected officers. Where possible, more international unions should look forward to establishing safety departments to service their local unions in the particular safety and occupational health problems of their industry.

6. Families of trade union members should be made aware of the interest and activities of trade unions in the field of safety and occupational health through meetings to which the families would be invited by local unions and city central bodies.

7. Local unions should regularly obtain reports in their meetings concerning their safety and health program. Case histories of accidents and occupational diseases affecting their own members should receive full consideration as well as the preventive work being done on and off the job by the local union to safeguard the lives of its members and their families.

8. Training in the field of nuclear radiation hazards should receive increasing emphasis since the use of radioisotopes is spreading rapidly in many industries. Some international unions are already active in this area, but each international union should prepare to meet this growing hazard.

General Recommendations for Achieving Safety Through Legislation

1. The labor movement has by no means achieved its goals in safety and occupational health sufficiently to regard safety legislation as a minimum standard. We recommend that adequate safety legislation be enacted on both the federal and state levels to provide the necessary standards for safety and occupational health legislation which will protect all workers, both unorganized and organized.

2. Labor bears a part of the responsibility for enactment of necessary legislation in this area. Such glaring deficiencies as inadequate and improperly trained personnel, low salaries and absence of civil service status require prompt legislative correction. Management, too, must measure up to its responsibilities in this respect and should join with labor for effective legislation and proper administration of necessary legislation.

3. Enactment of necessary legislation does not automatically result in achievement of legislative goals. Attitudes of elected officials of government and its executive branches frequently spell the difference between success and failure. Their records in office should be given consideration at the polls.

4. Federal legislation should be obtained establishing federal standards in safety and occupational health, and federal grants-in-aid should be made available to those states willing to adopt such federal standards and to implement them by effective administration.

5. Legislation creating administrative agencies, to establish flexible codes of safety and occupational health after public hearings, is preferable to enactment of specific laws for each kind of hazard.

6. Administration of safety and occupational health laws should place emphasis upon obtaining corrective action designed to eliminate hazards and reserve the application of penalties to firms which obstruct or defy safety and health legslation.

7. State and city central bodies should urge the governor in each state to call an annual state-wide safety conference to which representatives of labor, management and insurance companies would be invited.

8. State and city central bodies should call upon each state labor commissioner to establish a standing advisory committee on safety and occupational health, the committee to be made up of representatives of labor, management and insurance companies charged with the responsibility of making periodic recommendations concerning the safety program of that state.

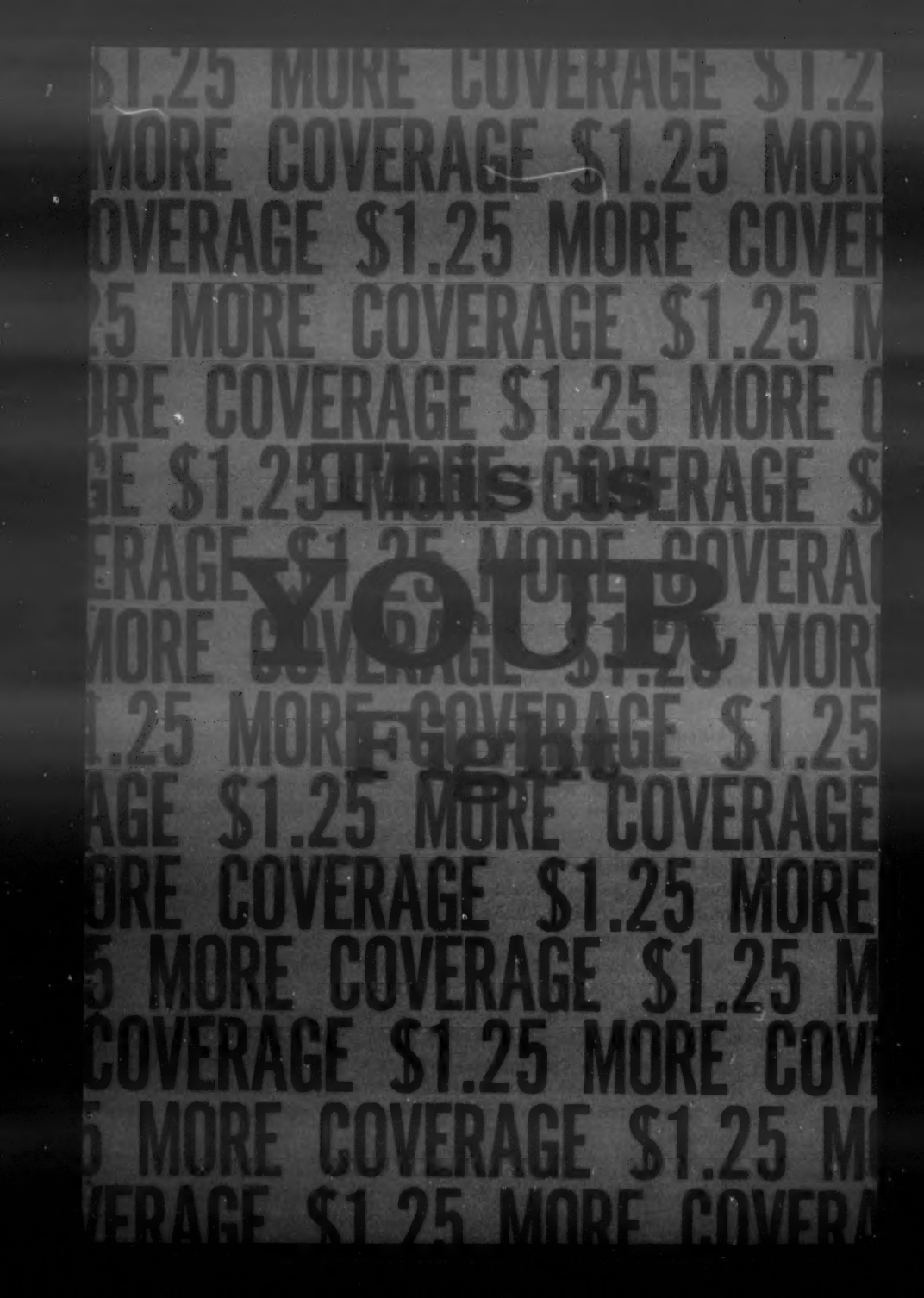
9. State and city central bodies should foster the establishment of adequate and accurate statistical services by proper state agencies in order to know the nature and extent of hazards and thus understand the problems which face their members. Such agencies should have the benefit of joint advisory committees made up of labor, management and insurance representatives. Similar action by the AFL-CIO is also recommended.

10. State and city central bodies should stimulate state governments to provide, through proper agencies, personnel who could join with labor and management in giving training in safety and occupational health techniques. Similar action by the AFL-CIO is needed in the area of the federal government.

11. State and city central bodies are urged to establish standing committees on safety and occupational health to promote necessary legislation and for other purposes. The AFL-CIO Standing Committee on Safety and Occupational Health is urged to stimulate such action among state and city central bodies where legislation is lagging. That committee is also requested to learn how many such committees are now in existence.

12. The AFL-CIO Standing Committee is urged to to develop a legislative program at the federal level in conjunction with the AFL-CIO Legislative Department.

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Why I Am Opposed to 'Right to Work' Laws

By ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

I AM frequently asked why I oppose laws which certain groups are trying to enact in our states under such slogans as "right to work," "voluntary unionism" and the like.

I am glad to give my views because much confusion as to the wisdom of this legislation has resulted from misrepresentations by its sponsors.

I feel that if I can help clear away the fog, I will have performed a useful service to my fellow Americans.

If our nation is to meet the needs of today and continue to go forward, all of us must be able to distinguish that which is good for the general welfare from that which is bad. I consider "right to work" laws to be bad for the individual states and bad for the nation.

They are bad not just for working people but for employers as well, many of whom shortsightedly support this legislation.

Such laws would impose grave injustices on all working people. But employers would suffer, too, for the end result would be not only lower wages but a shrinking national economy and a drying up of purchasing power for America's mass production economy.

This would mean that our farmers also would be hurt. Everybody would be harmed in one way or another.

Most people realize we are a nation of workers and that whatever is harmful to the majority of our citizens is hurtful to the whole nation. It follows, then, that every man and woman who is dependent upon a job for his livelihood should understand the time-bomb that is concealed in these laws under plausible-sounding but untruthful slogans and labels.

The labels "right to work," "voluntary unionism," "voluntary union membership" and the like are misnomers, of course.



ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

They are the sugar-coating to make palatable the bitter pill of the real intent of the laws which, I am afraid, most people do not take the time to read.

The "right to work" label is an implied promise that the legislation does not carry out. Such laws do not guarantee anyone a job or even the right to have a job.

The "voluntary union membership" slogan is another deceptive distortion to divert attention from the fact that this legislation makes legal a compulsory open shop, destroying the right of employers and employes to agree mutually on a union shop at the collective bargaining table.

This right is, of course, a key provision of the federal Taft-Hartley Act. Therefore, the agitation to enact state "right to work" laws is a highly suspect maneuver to override and nullify federal law.

As simply as I can say it, I am opposed to "right to work" legislation because it does nothing for working people, but instead gives employers the right to exploit labor.

Not only does it do nothing for working people, but it robs them of the gains they have made over more than a half century of bitter struggle for betterment.

These rights to a fair return for their labor and skills, to decent working hours and reasonable job security were first recognized nationally, and became federal labor policy, in the presidential administration of my late husband.

I believe the Wagner Labor Act of 1936 was, in its way, as important a contribution to human progress as the Magna Carta and our own Bill of Rights were to our forebears.

I cannot bring myself to believe that anyone in his right mind would seriously advocate abolition of the freedoms brought into being by those documents.

Nor can I believe that the majority of our people will permit a backward step through "right to work" laws toward the grinding toil and impoverishment that were the workers' lot in the past century.

I AM glad that my faith in the wisdom of our people was borne out in the November election. As we all know, five out of six states where "right to work" was an issue voted overwhelmingly against it.

I thought Senator Lyndon Johnson expressed it very well when he said the election outcome showed Americans "will not veto the Twentieth Century."

The election result has taught the "right to work" sponsors at least one lesson. In New Mexico, since the election, they have changed their name from "Citizens' Right to Work Com-

mittee" to "Educational Committee for Voluntary Union Membership." But I do not believe this new slogan will deceive our citizens any more than did the "right to work" label.

As I have said, our federal laws clearly state workers have a right to a voice in determining what shall be fair pay for their labor and skills. These laws provide that a majority of workers in a plant may select a trade union of their choice to represent them in collective bargaining with management.

This certainly seems a fair arrangement to me. The workers gain strength by sticking together which they otherwise would not have. The union provides them with a voice through which to present their side.

But suppose workers had no unions to represent them. Each employe would have to make his own arrangement with his employer. What chance would one worker have in an argument with management over a pay raise or better working conditions?

And if the employer decided he could hire two young workers for the wage he was paying an older, more experienced hand, what could the older worker do about it without the collective strength of a union to protect his rights?

The federal labor-management act also provides for reasonable union security. If a majority of workers decide there should be a union security clause, and this is agreed to by management, then it becomes a part of the contract and a "condition of employment."

A worker does not have to be a member of the union to get a job. But he is expected to become a member of the union after a period of thirty to sixty days.

This gives the union fair and reasonable security to carry out its responsibilities with the employer which arise because under the Taft-Hartley Act the union must by law represent all employes in the plant.

It would not be fair to the majority of workers, who have chosen a union to represent them and pay dues to support the continuing costs of union organization, to have to pay for obtaining a wage increase, or to prevent a wage cut, for a few workers who might try to get these benefits free.

A union requires membership of all in the plant, too, to prevent watering down of its strength through normal turnover or employment expansion and to combat establishment of a company-dominated union or non-union shop.

Here, again, the principle of union security is not only recognized by federal law but is in keeping with the American system of democratic government, which says that the will of the majority shall prevail.

It is this union security clause which gives workers a fair balance with management at the collective bargaining table. Without it, the strength of the workers' union can be whittled down to the point where an employer can pay the lowest possible wages.

It is at this keystone of strength that the "right to work" sponsors have aimed their laws. When this is understood I feel sure all will agree that it shows the true purpose of these laws as seeking first to weaken and in the end to destroy all unions, and with them the whole structure of collective bargaining between labor and management.

To make this part of the American democratic system appear odious and suspect, the "right to work" sponsors use another slogan. They call the union shop clause "compulsory unionism," which, as I have explained, is not true. This is simply a demagogic maneuver by employers to play on man's natural feeling that no one should be forced to do what he does not want to do.

It is a "nice" way of putting controlling power back into the hands of employers.

The extent to which "right to work" sponsors go to try to make us believe they are something they are not would be ludicrous were the aim of their deceptions not so dangerous to the nation's welfare.

Someone sent me a copy of a recent leaflet put out over the name of a so-called "National Right to Work Committee." It has on its cover the figure of a man, obviously representing "management," shaking hands with another, obviously a worker. The caption reads: "A coalition of employers and employes united in a common cause."

The inference, of course, is that employers are sponsoring "right to work" laws to help workers, and that workers are behind them, when nearly everyone knows this is just the opposite of fact and truth.

By now it is certainly well known that sponsorship of "right to work" laws stems from the National Association of Manufacturers, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the American Farm Bureau Federation which they control, and that the large amounts of money spent in various states in an attempt to force passage of the laws comes mainly from some of our large corporations.

Perhaps it is not as widely known that the National Association of Manufacturers launched its first campaign to "break" trade unions at its national convention of 1903—more than a half century ago—and has been hard at it ever since.

As to the question of whether workers look to employers or trade unions to protect their interests, we have the answer in U.S. government records.

Between 1947 and 1951 the federal government conducted 46,119 secret ballot elections on the question of whether workers want the union shop. In 97 per cent of the elections the workers voted for the union shop.

I think it is not unreasonable to question the motives of the "right to work" sponsors in view of these facts.

I can best sum up my opposition to "right to work" laws in these words:

I am opposed to this legislation because it is narrow in concept, punitive and discriminatory against wage-earners, and is designed solely to benefit employers.

I am opposed to it because its real aim is to destroy American labor.

I am opposed to it because the campaign to enact "right to work" laws is based on dishonesty and deception.

I am opposed because it would upset the present balance between labor and management that has become a basic guarantee of a prosperous national economy.

I am opposed to "right to work" laws because they promote industrial strife instead of industrial peace.

It is true that unions have become powerful over the years. But we should not forget that the power of the unions is puny compared to the power that goes with the enormous wealth of Big Business. And business had power first.

Whether unions have grown and with this growth have become powerful is not the problem today.

The problem, rather, is to make both labor and business feel the responsibility that goes with power, and to use this power mutually for the benefit of all.

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